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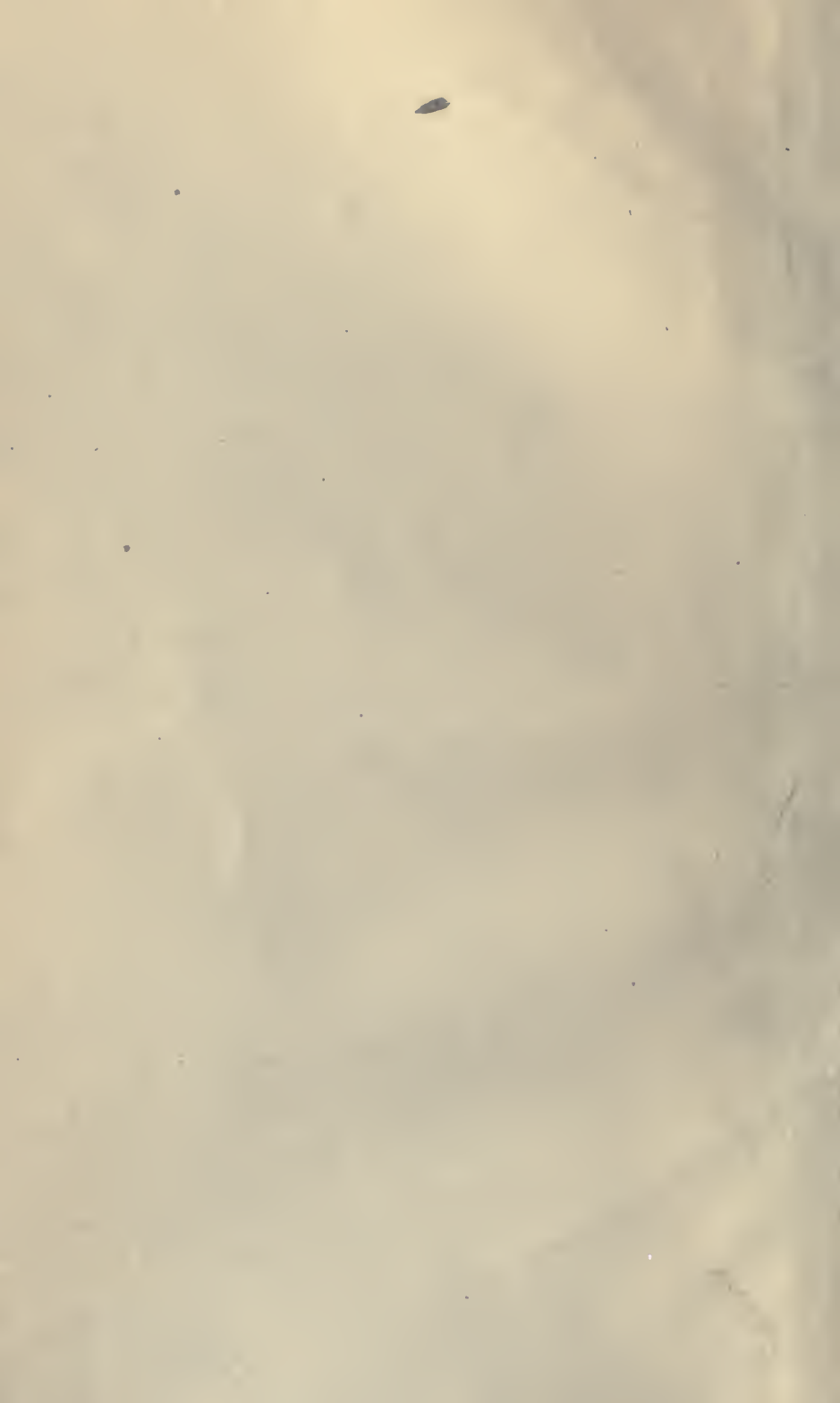
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A GRAMMAR

OF THE

CLASSICAL ARABIC LANGUAGE,

TRANSLATED AND COMPILED FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST
APPROVED NATIVE OR NATURALIZED AUTHORITIES.

BY

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and Allahabad.*

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IN AN INTRODUCTION AND FOUR PARTS.

Part IV.—The Common Processes.

FASC. I.



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NOTICE.

This Fourth Part completes my work. It deals with ten processes—Imāla, Pause, the Oath, Alleviation of Hamza, Concurrence of Quiescents, Initials of Words, Augmentativeness of Letters, Substitution of Letters, Transformation of the Unsound, and Incorporation—not one of which, so far as I am aware, has received more than incidental and brief (not to say scanty) notice in the Arabic grammars of European authors. I venture, therefore, to hope that this novel presentment of them as separate and independent subjects, treated with a fulness commensurate with their importance, may prove useful and interesting to students of Arabic grammar.

The Index of References to the *Kur'ān* is entirely the work of my friend, Mr. G. E. Ward, M. A. (Oxon.), a retired member of H. M.'s Indian Civil Service, to whom I am much indebted for this valuable compilation. And in the preparation of the remaining Indices I have been ably assisted by Mr. H. J. F. Arnold of the Theological College, Salisbury.

M. S. HOWELL.

7 March, 1911.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO ABBREVIATIONS OF REFERENCES.

At the end of the last prefatory note add

Whenever I say, "Our Master", my meaning is "the learned AlMadābighī", [as to whom the present writer has no further information;] or, whenever I say "Our Master the Sayyid", my meaning is "SBd"; or, whenever I say "AlBa'd", my meaning is "YH" (Sn. I. 3).

* A, After "printed in Egypt" insert "in 1288".

AHD. ABŪ ḤANĪFA Aḥmad Ibn Dāwūd ADDĪNAWARĪ, the Grammarian, Lexicologist, Arithmetician, Astronomer, Botanist, and Historian (d. 281 or 282 or before 290), author of the *Kitāb an-Nabāt* and the *Kitāb al-Aḥbār at-Tiwāl*.

Am. Add

* Also his Exposition of the Evidentiary verses of the Book of S, cited from extracts printed by Jahn in his Notes on *Sibawaihi's* *Buch*.

ANI. The celebrated Ḥāfiẓ, and the Traditionist of the Age, ABŪ NU'AIM Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh alMihrānī alIṣbahānī aṣṢūfī (b. 334 or 336, d. 430), author of the *Ḥilyat alAuliya'* (Portraiture of the Saints) and the *Tārīkh Iṣbahān* (History of Iṣbahān).

* ANj. The Gloss (c. 1293) of ABU -NNAJĀ upon the CAj, printed in Egypt in 1303.

AW. Read "Abu -lKāsim 'ABD ALWĀRITH Ibn Sufyān Ibn Jubrūn, known as ALḤABĪB, of the people of Qurṭuba, the Lexicologist (b. 317, d. 395), one of the Masters of IAB".

BB. After "Grammarians" add "Lexicologists, Philologists, or Readers".

Bgh. The Ḥāfiẓ Muḥyi -sSunna, or Rukn adDīn, or Zakī Allāh, Abū Muḥammad AlḤusain Ibn Mas'ūd, known as ALFARRĀ, or IBN ALFARRĀ, ALBAGHAWĪ (from Baghā or Baghshūr, a town in Khurāsān between Marv and Harāt), ashShāfi'ī, the Jurist, Traditionist, and Commentator (*d.* 516, at, or past, 80 years of age), author of the *Maṣābīḥ asSunna* and other works.

* BK. The *Burhān-i-Kāfi*, a Persian Lexicon, by Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusain Tabrizī, printed in Calcutta in 1274.

* CAj. The Commentary (*c.* 887) of Kh upon the Aj, printed in Egypt, with the Gloss of ANj, in 1303.

CHd. The celebrated Commentary, entitled the *Kāfi* (*c.* 654), on the Hd, by the author of the Text (*see* Hd *below*), said by Syt in the BW to be much quoted by Jrb in his Commentary on the SH (*see* II. 1354, 1385, 1552, 1585, 1702, 1713, 1735).

[Syt's remark is applied in HKh. V. 360 (No. 11302) to *AlHādī*, a Commentary by the same author on another grammar of his, the *Mabādī fi-tTaṣrīf*; but it properly belongs to the CHd mentioned in HKh. VI. 470-1 (No. 14334), as is clear from the description of the work in the Jrb and BW as "*Sharḥ alHādī*" (not *Sharḥ alMabādī*).

DAd. The *Dīwān alAdab*, on Lexicology, by Frb.

DK. The Shaikh alIslām Abu-lḤasan 'Alī Ibn 'Umar alBaghdādī, known as AD-DĀRAḤUṬNĪ (from Dāraḥuṭn or Dār alḤuṭn, a large Ward in Baghdād), the celebrated Ḥāfiẓ and Shāfi'ī Jurist (*b.* 306, *d.* 385).

* Dm. For the second paragraph read "Also the Commentary entitled *Ta'liq alFarā'id 'alā Tashīl alFawā'id* (*c.* 820), by the same author upon the *Tashīl* of IM, cited from extracts quoted in the Sn, and latterly from an incomplete MS (copied in 1059) belonging to the India Office, Whitehall, London."

[This MS (No. 964 of Loth's Catalogue) contains an interesting passage in folios 8, 6, "The Shaikh TDT mentions, at the end of his Commentary on the syntactical *Hājibīya* that IM sat in IH's class, and learnt from him, and profited by him; but I have not come upon this statement from any one else, nor do I know whence he took it, and God best knows the truth of the case". In the MS folios 8 and 5 are transposed, the proper order being 4, 8, 6, 7, 5, 9. The "syntactical *Hājibīya*" is the *Kāfiya* of IH, on which TDT is said in HKh. V. 17 to have written "a great Commentary, like that of R".]

Dn. The Shaikh alIslām Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Ibn Sa'īd alUmawī (their freedman) alKurtubī, known as ADDĀNĪ (from his residence at Dāniya, a city in Spain, one of the governments of Balansiya), the Ḥāfiẓ, Reader, and Traditionist (*b.* 371, *d.* 444).

* Dw. After the additions made in Part I, Fasciculus III, and before "and of Abū Nuwās", insert "of 'Ubaid Allāh Ibn Kais arRuḳayyāt, edited by Rhodokanakis; of Ma'n Ibn Aus, edited by Schwartz; of Aus Ibn Ḥajar, edited by Geyer; of AlKumait Ibn Zaid alAsadī (his *Hāshimīyāt* only) edited by Horovitz, with the Exposition of Abū Riyāsh Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm alKaisī, the Philologist (*d.* 339)".

[On Abū Riyāsh see YR. I. 74.]

FB. The *Faṭḥ alBārī*, a great Commentary by IHjr upon the SB.

* Fhr. The *Fihrisa* (Catalogue) of Books studied by its compiler, the Ḥāfiẓ ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad IBN KHAIR alAmawī (with *Faṭḥ* of the Hamza) alIshbīlī, the Reader, Grammarian, and Lexicologist (*b.* 502, *d.* 575 at age of 73), contemporary with IBshk, edited by Codera and Ribera from a MS written in 712.

[Pupil of IArb, IAt, ITr, and others. BM. 65 calls him "a Kurtubī", apparently because he conducted the service at the Cathedral of that city from 573 till his death there in 575.]

Em. The Shaikh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Alī ALFAZYŪMĪ, the Reader and Lexicologist (d. 770), author of the Msb.

Frb. Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāk Ibn Ibrāhīm ALFĀRĀBĪ, the Lexicologist and Philologist (d. about 350, under 70 years of age), maternal uncle of Jh.

Frd. ALFĀRIDĪ, about whom I have no information.

Hd. The Grammar entitled *AlHādī fi-nNaḥw wa-sṢarf*, by 'Izz adDīn 'Abd AlWahhāb Ibn Ibrāhīm alKhazrajī azZanjānī, author of the OHd.

IAB. The Hāfiz of the West, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh, known as IBN 'ABD ALBARR, anNamarī (from anNamar Ibn Kāsīt, a well-known clan) alKurtubī, the Jurist and Traditionist, the Doctor of Spain, and the Master of his Age in Tradition and Memorials of Antiquity (b. 368, d. 460 or 463, at the age of 95), author of the *Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat alAṣḥāb*.

[Pupil of AW.]

IAs. The Hāfiz of Syria, nay, of the World, Thiqat adDīn, or Nūr adDīn, Abu-lKāsim 'Alī Ibn Abī Muḥammad AlHasan adDimashkī ashShāfi'ī, known as IBN 'ASĀKIR, the Traditionist of Syria in his time (b. 499, d. 571), author of the History of Damascus.

IAz. The learned Jamāl adDīn Abū Muḥammad AlHusain Ibn Badr IBN ARYĀZ Ibn 'Abd Allāh, the Grammarian (d. 681), author of a Commentary on the *Taṣrīf* of IM.

IJzr. The Hāfiz Shams adDīn Abū-lKhair Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad alKurashī adDimashkī ashShāfi'ī, known as IBN AL-JAZARĪ, the Reader and Traditionist (b. 751, d. 833).

IMH. Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad, known as IBN ALMULLÀ AL-ḤALABĪ (d. about 990), author of a Commentary on the ML.

JDB. The Kāḍī-IKudāt JALĀL AD-DĪN Abu-lFaḍl 'Abd ArRaḥmān Ibn 'Umar ALBULḲĪNĪ, the Shāfi'ī Jurist (b. 763, d. 824).

Jhz. Abū 'Uthman 'Amr Ibn Baḥr alKinānī alLaithī (from Laith Ibn Baḥr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kināna Ibn Khuzaima) alBaṣrī, the celebrated Philologist of the Baṣrī school, and one of the Masters of the Mu'tazilis, known as ALJĀḤIẒ, because his eyes were prominent, and also called ALḤADAQĪ, for the same reason (d. 255 at AlBaṣra, over 90 years old).

Kfj. The Shaikh Muḥyi-dDīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sulaimān arRūmī ALKĀFIYAJĪ (so called from the frequency of his reading and teaching the *Kāfiya* of IH) alḤanafī, the Jurist, Theologian, Commentator, Traditionist, Grammarian, Logician, and Philosopher (b. 788 or 790 or before 800, d. 879), one of Syt's Masters.

Khz. Abu-lFaḍl Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far ALKHUZĀ'Ī (d. 408).

KIM. The Ḥāfiẓ and Kāḍī Abū 'Abd Allāh ALḲĀSĪM IBN MA'N Ibn 'Abd ArRaḥmān alMas'ūdī alKūfī, the Traditionist (d. 175).

KK. After "Grammarians" add "Lexicologists, Philologists, or Readers".

Lth. ALLAITH Ibn AlMuẓaffar (so named by Az), or Ibn Naṣr (as the author of the KF says in the *Bulgha*), or Ibn Rāfi' (as others say), or Ibn AlMuẓaffar Ibn Naṣr (as in Mr. I. 46), Ibn Sayyār alLaithī alKhurāsānī, the Philologist, Lexicologist, and Grammarian, who was Secretary to the *Baramika*.

* MAZ. The *Muḥaddimat alAdab*, an Arabic-Persian Lexicon, by Z, edited by Wetzstein.

* MDh. After "*alJauhar*" insert "(c. 332-6)".

Mhd. Abu-l'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār atTamīmī alMahdawī (originally of AlMahdiyya in the territories of AlKairawān), the Reader, Grammarian, and Commentator (*d.* 440).

[This is the year given in the BW. The TM (No. 9) has "about 493", which must be wrong, because IBshk. 89 says that he entered Spain "about 430", while HKh. II. 330, 384, 488 says, that he died "after 430".]

Msb. The Glossary entitled ALMIṢBĀḤ ALMUNĪR (*c.* 734), by Fm.

SBd. AsSayyid ashSharīf Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad alḤasanī alMaghribī, the denizen of Egypt, alMālikī, known as AS SAYYID ALBULĀIDĪ, the Reader, Commentator, and Grammarian (*b.* 1096, *d.* 1176) author of a Gloss on the A.

[Cited by Sn under the designation of "Our Master the Sayyid".]

SIM. The Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Uthmān SA'ĪD IBN MAṢṢŪR alKhurāsānī, resident of Makka, the Traditionist (*d.* in, or after, 227), author of the *Kitāb asSunan*.

SJj. The Sayyid Zain adDīn Abu-lḤasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad alḤusainī alJurjānī alḤanafī, known as AS SAYYID ASHSHARĪF and AS SAYYID ALJURJĀNĪ, the Doctor of the East (*b.* 740, *d.* 814 or 816).

* Sn. After "ASṢABBĀN" insert "*(d.* 1206)".

* TSh (as amended in Part I, Fasciculus III). After "Rittershausen" add "and latterly from the complete text edited by De Goeje".

* Tsr (in Part I, Fasciculus III). After "MS" add "and from a copy of the *ed.* lithographed in Persia in 1285-6".

* TKhlf. The *Tārīkh alKhulafá* (History of the Khalifas), by Syt, edited by Lees.

Wkd. The *Ḳāḍī* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Wāḳid ALWĀḲIDĪ alAslamī alMadanī, freedman of the Banū Hāshim, or, as is said, of the Banū Sahm of Aslam, author of works on the *Maghāzī* (Campaigns) and other subjects (b. 130, d. 206 or 207 or 209).

[He moved from AlMadina, and settled in Baghdād, where he served as *Ḳāḍī* for four years under AlMa'mūn, dying in office.]

YH. The Shaikh Jamāl adDīn Abu-lMufaḍḍal Yūsuf Ibn Sālim ashShāfi'ī alḲāhirī, known as ALḤANAFĪ, the Philologist (d. 1176), author of a Gloss on the A.

[Pupil of SBd. Cited by Sn under the designation of "AlBa'd".]

YIM. The celebrated Ḥāfiẓ Abū Zakariyā YAḤYĀ IBN MA'IN alMurri alGhaṭafānī (of the Murra of Ghaṭafān, their freedman) alBaghdādī, the Master of Tradition in his time (b. 158, d. 233 at age of 75, or 77, or 70 and odd, years).

* YR. The *Irshād alArīb ilā Ma'rifat alAdīb*, commonly known as the *Mu'jam*, or *Ṭabaḳāt, alUdabā*, by YĀḲŪT ARRŪMĪ, also called ALḤAMAWĪ (see Mk), edited by Margoliouth.

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 sound—(2) unsound—(a) in *ind.* and *subj.*—
 final not elided here, but quiescent—(b) in *apoc.*
 and *imp.*—with ٤ of silence—or without—

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importation of ح of silence—this ح why so named—its positions—first position— ح allowable here, not necessary—except in one case—another case added by IM—remaining positions to be found in § 648.

- § 645. Elision of final ح and ي in terminations of versicles, and in rhymes—nearing of “terminations of versicles”—such elision more suitable in *ns.* than in *vs.*—elision of quiescent ح and ي in *ind.* of defective *n.*—likened to elision of quiescent ن in *apoc.* of كُنْ —allowable in terminations of versicles—and sometimes necessary—and frequent in rhymes—elision in these positions thus established—*ex.* in rhyme—elision of ي of defective *n.* in continuity—and in terminations of versicles—in pause necessary—or allowable— ل not elided in terminations of versicles, or in rhymes—S’s description of reason for elision of *rad.* ح and ي in rhymes—his meaning— ل not elided in rhymes—elision of pronominal ح and ي (1) in rhymes—*exs.*—pronominal ل not elided—(2) in terminations of versicles.

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- § 646. Pause upon ت of feminization— ت (1) kept in (a) *p.*— لَعَلَّتْ , نُسِتْ , بَتْ , لَاتْ —(b) *v.*— ت why kept in *p.* and *v.*—pause upon ضَرِبَتْ —(c) *n.*, after sound quiescent—(2)

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retained or changed into ح in *n.*, after (a) vowel—(b) unsound quiescent—*o. f.* of verbal ت of feminization—of nominal ح —opinion of S, Fr, IK, and most GG—of Th—Tanwīn in *acc.* of *n.* made *fem.* by ح why not converted into ل —pause with ت preferable in sound *pl.* and what resembles it—why preferable—pause with ح here—as *dial. var.* or anomaly—*dial. vars.* of هَدَاهَات —its number and pausal form in each *dial.*—opinion of Ks—of GG—of IH— هَدَاهَات mentioned among verbal *ns.*—opinion of R— هَدَاهَات or هَدَاهَات as proper name— أَرَلَات — عَرَقَات or عَرَقَات —analysis of this word—pause with ح preferable in other formations—pause with ت in such as رَحِمَةٌ — مِنْ بَعْدَمَتْ —opinion of IJ— ت for ح sometimes found in Codex— أَمَرَات —pause in such cases—pause upon ح how affected by orthography of Codex—pause with ت in such as رَحِمَةٌ — أَيْت — ذَات —sometimes أَمَتَا —pause upon ذَات —pause upon ت when not for feminization.

- § 647. Continuity treated like pause—mostly in poetry—*exs.*—sometimes in prose—pausal forms thus admissible in continuous speech—*exs.* in prose and poetry— عَهْل and الْقَصَبَا —explained as

instances of this treatment—^{أَعْطِنِي أَيْبُضَةً}—
unusual quiescence of rhyme-letter—practice
of *Hijāzīs* and *Tamīmīs*.

- § 648. Second position of *ء* of silence—*interrog.* مَا 852-870
governed in *gen.*, and not compounded with
| ذَا — *ء* here necessary or preferable—reason
for this difference—third position—*exs.*— *ء*
when not affixed—dispute about its affixion to
word ending in quasi-inflectional vowel of
uninflectedness—pause upon *uninfl. ns.*—(1)
حَىٰ ذَلْ or حَىٰ هَلَا — this ا — اَنَّهُ or اَنَا
positions of pause with ا — (2) هُوَ or هُوَ —
mostly هُوَ and هِيَ — seldom هُوَ and هِيَ —
but never اَن for اِنْ — sometimes only هُوَ and
هِيَ — (3) هُوَ or هُوَ , and هِيَ or هِيَ —
this *ء*—pause upon هُوَ — the only quiescent
followed by this *ء* — (4) اَكْرَمَكَ or اَكْرَمَكَ —
pause upon ك of *pron., masc. or fem.*—
اَكْرَمَكَ and اَكْرَمَكَ — (5) اَكْرَمَكَ and اَكْرَمَكَ ,
اَكْرَمَكَ and اَكْرَمَكَ — sometimes اَكْرَمَكَ and اَكْرَمَكَ —
retention of ي better than elision—elision in
acc. better than in *gen.*—practice of some
Readers—(6) اَكْرَمَكَ and اَكْرَمَكَ and

٠ ^٠م , and مَ٠ and مَ٠ — م in first four
 quiescent, and its *conj.* , or ى omitted—dis-
 pute as to whether this , or ى be part of *n.*—
 ٠ in last two also quiescent— مَ٠ and مَ٠
orig. ٠ and مَ٠ — discussion as to whether
conj. after ٠ be part of word—in continuity,
conj. (a) better elided when ٠ is preceded by
 quiescent—but ى of هَ٠ not elided—(b) indis-
 pensable when ٠ is preceded by mobile—but
 sometimes omitted, and ٠ even made quiescent—
 in pause, *conj.* always omitted, and ٠ quiescent
 —Raum and Ishmām disallowed by some in
 ٠ of *pron.*, after Damma or Kasra, , or ى —
 allowable, without dispute, after Fatha—
 allowed by some after any consonant or vowel —
 (7) هَ٠ — ٠ in تَ٠ and هَ٠ —pronounced
 with Kasr and conjoined with ى —never pro-
 nounced with Damm— ى sometimes elided
 from هَ٠ in continuity, with or without
 quiescence of ٠ —always elided in pause, with
 quiescence of ٠ —(8) حَ٠ , فِ٠ , and عَ٠ , or
 حَ٠ , فِ٠ , and عَ٠ —preferably with ٠ ,
 sometimes without— م sometimes quiescent in
 continuity—(9) مَ٠ and مَ٠ —always
 with ٠ .

- § 649. Pause upon single ن of corroboration after (1) Fat'a—*exs.*—additional *exs.*—(2) Damma or Kasra—this ن treated like Tanwin—restoration of ى of *pl.*—and of ن of *ind.*—practice of Y—disallowed by S.

CHAPTER IV.—THE OATH.

- § 650. Common to *n.* and *v.*—definition—jurative *prop.*, (1) verbal—its *v.* how attached to the sworn-by—quasi-jurative *vs.*—(2) nominal—يَمِينُ أَللَّهِ —
—أَمِنْ أَللَّهِ—opinion of S—improbabilities in it—opinion of KK—their argument—ل of inception prefixed to أَمِنْ—vowel of its Hamza—عَلَىٰ عَهْدِ أَمَانَةِ اللَّهِ—meaning of أَمَانَةِ اللَّهِ—
— oath and *correl.* equivalent to one *prop.*—suppression of (1) the *correl.*—when indicated by (a) the *prop.* enclosing or preceding the oath—this *prop.* a quasi-compensation for suppressed *correl.*—not the *correl.* itself—(b) a context following the oath—suppression of *correl.* necessary or allowable—(2) the jurative *prop.*—sometimes because indicated by an *adv.* to the *v.* of the *correl.*—عَوْضَ quasi-jurative—sometimes not so—جَيْرَ also quasi-jurative—sometimes not so—pronunciation of its final—(3) the sworn-by—(4) the oath whose *correl.*

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is corroborated by the $\text{ن} - \text{حَقًّا}$, etc., used in place of oath—and so نَا —and expressions denoting a vow or covenant—object of oath—three things involved by it—(1) the oath—(2) the sworn-to—what part of it is corroborated by the oath—(3) the sworn-by—not always God.	
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ف not used—*correl.* a nominal or verbal *prop.*,
aff. or *neg.*—nominal attended, (1) if *aff.*, by
 اِنْ or ل or both—اِنْ uncontracted or contracted
 —nature of ل —wha it is prefixed to— ل in
 لَزِيْدٌ قَاتِلٌم — (2) if *neg.*, by مَا or لَا —this مَا
op. or *inop.*— لَا exemptive—or by اِنْ —verbal
 attended, (1) if *aff.*, (a) when its *v.* is a *pret.*,
 by ل with or without قَدْ , or by قَدْ alone—لَقَدْ
 best—except with *aplastic vs.*— ل alone, or
 قَدْ alone, allowable—nature of ل prefixed to
correl. separated from oath by condition headed
 by لَوْ —(b) when its *v.* is an *aor.*, by ل with or
 without ن of corroboration—omission of ن —or
 of ل —opinions of BB and KK—*aor.*, in sense of
 present, allowable as *correl.* of oath—and then
 corroborated by ل without ن —(2) if *neg.*, (a)
 when its *v.* is a *pret.*, by مَا or لَا —if *pret.* in
 sense, by مَا —if future, by لَا or اِنْ —(b) when
 its *v.* is an *aor.*, by مَا or لَا , the latter with or
 without ن of corroboration—or by اِنْ —*ex.* of
 لَنْ and اِنْ disallowed by Mb—لَمْ or لَنْ
 not allowable—or very rare—subsidiary ل
 often prefixed to *cond.* instrument preceded by
 oath—especially if oath be suppressed—*neg. p.*
 allowably suppressed, (1) in *correl.* of oath,

from *aor.*—not from nominal *prop.*, nor from *pret.*—(2) otherwise than in *correl.* of oath, from لَا يَزَالُ , etc., and, in poetry, from other *aors.*—explanation of apparent suppression of *neg. p.* from *pret.* in *correl.* of oath—anomaly said to be involved in it—opinion of IHsh—of IMH—of R—of Fr—sign of affirmation not suppressed from *aor.*—suppressed *neg. p.* always لَا , not مَا —IU and IUK on suppression of مَا —none of the four *ps.* suppressed except لَا .

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 why not elided—(2) اَللّٰه هـ —(3) اَللّٰه هـ —
 (4) اَللّٰه هـ — ذَا how parsed by Khl—and by Akh—sense of *interrog.* Hamza—treatment of Hamza in اَللّٰه on prefixion of *interrog.* Hamza—*ex.* of اَللّٰه —disjunction of Hamza peculiar to اَللّٰه after ف with or without *interrog.* Hamza—compensation here the disjunction of Hamza in اَللّٰه —not the preceding *interrog.* Hamza— ف said to be *red.*—proof that the هـ , the *interrog.* Hamza, and the disjunction of Hamza in اَللّٰه are *subst.* for jurative *p.*

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CHAPTER V.—THE ALLEVIATION OF HAMZA.

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نَبْوَةٌ —and of IH—(2) when quiescent is |, by well-known betwixt-and-between—elision and change disallowed, and strange betwixt-and-between impossible—(3) when quiescent is a sound letter, or a *rad.* و or ی, or a coordinative *aug.* و or ی, by elision after transfer of vowel to quiescent—not by betwixt-and-between or change—رَفُوتٌ and نَشَوْتُ, رَفُوْتٌ and قَرِيْتُ — كَمَاةٌ and مَرَاةٌ -- خَبِيْتُ and حَبِيْتُ — *conjug.* of اِنَاظَرُ —*exs.* of alleviation where quiescent is not in same word as Hamza—شِيْءٌ and سُوْءٌ —alleviation obligatory in *cat.* of يَزِيْ, and of *pret.* اَرَى and *aor.* يَزِيْ —i. e., in certain *derivs.* of اَرَيْتُ — and frequent in *cat.* of سَلَّ — more so in اِسْلَالٌ than in اِجَارٌ —cause of its frequency—consequent elision of *conj.* Hamza—اِسْلٌ —distinguished from اَلْكَهْرُ —explanation of mode of pausing upon final mobile Hamza—no explanation needed for quiescent Hamza—two methods of pausing upon final mobile Hamza—the first explained in chapter on Pause—the second begun by alleviating Hamza—modes of alleviating, and then pausing, when Hamza is (1) not preceded by | —(2) preceded by | —Hamza

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<p>quiescent when thus substituted for Hamza— cases where this change is not allowable— anomalies in connection with initial Hamza— irregular elision of Hamza in ^{هَـ}فَاس and ^{هَـ}أَرَيْتَ or ^{هَـ}هَلْ رَيْتَ —elision of Hamza sometimes avoided by transposition.</p>	
<p>§ 659. <i>Imp.</i> of <i>v.</i> whose ^{هَـ}فَ is Hamza quiescent in <i>aor.</i>— ^{هَـ}خَذَ, ^{هَـ}كُلَّ, and ^{هَـ}مَرَّ—their <i>rad.</i> Hamza elided, and <i>conj.</i> Hamza then dispensed with—their measure—elision obligatory in ^{هَـ}خَذَ and ^{هَـ}كُلَّ, not in ^{هَـ}مَرَّ —^{هَـ}أَخَذَ and ^{هَـ}أَكَلَ not said, but ^{هَـ}مَرَّ or ^{هَـ}أَمَرَّ—regular form of these three <i>imps.</i>— irregular form always used in ^{هَـ}أَخَذَ and ^{هَـ}أَكَلَ— but either allowed in ^{هَـ}أَمَرَّ—i. e., when incep- tive—in interior of sentence retention of Hamza more frequent—but elision allowable— this subject why discussed here.</p>	956-958
<p>§ 660. Transfer of vowel from initial mobile Hamza to preceding ^{هَـ}ل of <i>art.</i>—^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ—^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ with <i>conj.</i> Hamza expressed—^{هَـ}ل being construc- tively quiescent—^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ with <i>conj.</i> Hamza elided—^{هَـ}ل being actually mobile—^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ more frequent than ^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ—^{هَـ}الْأَفْتَدَارُ and ^{هَـ}الْأَسْتِغْفَارُ treated like ^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ—^{هَـ}مِنْ لَحْمٍ or ^{هَـ}فِي لَحْمٍ and ^{هَـ}مِنْ لَحْمٍ—^{هَـ}الْحَمَرُ</p>	958-963

and ^{مِنْ} ^{ثَنْ} , or ^{لَنْ} and ^{مِنْ} ^{لَنْ} — ^{فِي} ^{لَعْنَةٍ} and ^{اللَّعْنُ} and ^{اللَّعْنُ} — ^{مِثْلُ} — ^{مِثْلُ} —
 explanation of second ^ل — ^{مِنْ} ^{لَعْنٍ} and ^{اَقْلَ} and ^{اِسْلَ} — ^{سَلْ} or ^{اِسْلَ} — ^{مِنْ} ^{لَعْنٍ} dis-
 allowed by IH—comparison between ^{اَلْاَحْمَرُ} ,
^{سَلْ} , and ^{قُلْ} in respect of retention or elision
 of *conj.* Hamza—^{قُلْ} how relevant here for
 comparison.

- § 661. Two Hamzas combined—in one word or two—
 when in one word, alleviation necessary—only
 second Hamza changed—their quiescence or
 mobility—if first mobile, and second quiescent,
 then second changed into (1) ! after Fatha—
^{اَيْتَزَرُ} 1st pers. sing. of aor. subj. from ^{اَيْتَزَرُ} —
^{اَيْتَزَرُ} a mispronunciation — ^{اَيْتَزَرُ} aor. ^{اَيْتَزَرُ} allowed
 by some—but disallowed in KF—(2) ^ي after
 Kasra—^{اَيْتَزَرُ} — ^{اَيْتَزَرُ} (3) ; after Damma—
^{اَيْتَزَرُ} —if first quiescent, and second mobile,
 which never occurs in position of ^ف , then, (1)
 in position of ^ع , first incorporated into second
 —(2) in position of ^ل , second changed into ^ي
 —^{اَيْتَزَرُ} —incorporation why not adopted here—
^{اَيْتَزَرُ} —if both mobile, then second changed, (1)

if final, or non-final but pronounced with Kasr; into ى — (2) if non-final and pronounced with Damm, into , — (3) if non-final and pronounced with Fath, into , if first be pronounced with Fath or Damm, and into ى if first be pronounced with Kasr—thus second mobile Hamza either final or not—final of three sorts, and non-final of nine—final changed into ى in all three sorts—non-final into ى in four; and , in five sorts—*exs.* of (1) final—(2) non-final pronounced with (a) Kasr—prescribed action necessary— اِئِمَّة *pl.* of اِمَام —not اِمَّة — اِئِمَّة in IX. 12—or اِمَّة —its second Hamza converted into ى or sounded true—how pronounced by Readers—softening or sounding true allowed in reading the K_{ur}, but not conversion into ى —two former pronunciations not peculiar to اِئِمَّة —conversion best according to GG—(b) Damm—(c) Fath, when first is pronounced with (a) Fath or Damm—*pl.* and *dim.* of اِدَم —doubt as to whether اِدَم be Arabic—(b) Kasr—opinion of Akh on two of the nine sorts— اِئِن or اِئِن — اِدَم or اِئِم —second changed, or sounded true, when first is aoristic—even if second be pronounced with Fath—this sounding true regular in five *vs.*—but change necessary when first is not aoristic—

doctrines of GG that second must be converted
 — $\text{جَـ}^{\text{ء}}$ orig $\text{جَـ}^{\text{ء}}$ — its second Hamza not put
 betwixt and between — $\text{جَـ}^{\text{ء}}$ not a case of two
 Hamzas according to Khl — خَطَايَا a case of
 two Hamzas according to S — and therefore
 mentioned here by IH — but not according to
 Kh' — opinion of S approved — occurrence of
 sounding true and softening — interpolation of
 | between the two Hamzas — no conversion
 when Hamzas are separated by original | —
 alleviation preventible by interpolated | —
 and therefore prevented by existing | — combi-
 nation of two separate Hamzas ineffective in
 causing alleviation — ذَوَا نَب — Hamza of
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 elision adopted here instead of conversion — and
 extended to its variations — Hamza converted
 into ي pronounced with Fath in *cat.* of مَطَايَا
 — and خَطَايَا — whether word contain two
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 consecutive Hamzas — predicament of two
 Hamzas combined in two words, if first Hamza
 be (1) inceptive — first not alleviated — mode
 of alleviating second — interpolation of | —
ers. — treatment of two Hamzas after entry of
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Hamza—(2) not inceptive—unusual to sound two consecutive Hamzas true—treatment of two Hamzas if both be mobile—mode of alleviating (a) first alone—(b) second alone—*ex.*—(c) one of two Hamzas whose vowels are of the same kind—(d) both Hamzas together.

- § 662. Treatment of two Hamzas (1) if first be quiescent—additional method transmitted by AZ—mode of alleviating (a) first alone—(b) second alone—(c) both together—(2) if second be quiescent—(3) if both be quiescent.

CHAPTER VI.—THE CONCURRENCE OF TWO QUIESCENTS.

- § 663. Common to *n.*, *v.*, and *p.*—(1) impossible—i. e., when first is a sound letter—two quiescents then often supposed to concur—explanation of such concurrence—and of supposed quiescent at beginning of sentence—Kasra naturally employed as means for removing difficulty of articulating quiescent—instances of its employment—(2) possible, though heavy, when first is a letter of softness—why possible with unsound letters—lightest when first is ا —less light when first is و or ي preceded by Damma or Kasra, respectively—least light when first is و or ي preceded by Fatha—last combination peculiar to *dim.*—^{س ع و} ^ي ^و — ^ي ^ا ^و and ^و ^ا — incorporation or pause prescribed for second

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 ing of “letter of softness” and “letter of
 prolongation”—! a letter of prolongation—
 , and ى letters of softness or prolongation, or
 neither—these letters loosely termed “letters
 of prolongation and softness”—concurrence
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 of their finals, even in continuity, is pausal—
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respectively—ل why treated differently in
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 إِخْخَافُوا , quasi-original—and permanent—hence
 return of their ع s inevitable—ل s why retained
 in إِغْزَوْنِ , لَغْزَوْنِ , and إِغْزَرَا —first quiescent
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 of two quiescents, anomalous in other cases—
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 Hamza to preceding quiescent—*exs.* with Fatha
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(5) Kasra preponderant over Damma in ^و اِ ^و مِ —	
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 exemplification—its use— فَعَلَ constituted as
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exs. with three *rad.*—and with more—mea-
 surement of *tril.* agreed upon—but of *non-tril.*
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 among KK—thus four measures possible for
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 to be reproduced—some words not measurable—
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judged to be *aug.* unless otherwise indicated—

قَبَّانُ, حَسَّانُ, فَيِّنَانُ — مَرَّانُ — مَرَّانُ —

derivation and declension of حَسَّانُ — and of

قَبَّانُ — predicament of ن when a double letter, or a sound and a soft letter, are interposed between the / and the ف — another condition

added by some — ن of مَرَّانُ — (2) when medial, upon three conditions—for three rea-

sons— *aug.* in عَرَنْقَنُ — and عَرَنْدَدُ — but

rad. in (a) نَهْشَلُ, though *aug.* in نَرْجِسُ — (b)

عَنْدَلَيْبُ, خَنْدَرِيسُ, عَنْقُودُ, قَنْدِيلُ, قَنْطَارُ —

—though *aug.* in عَنْسَلُ, حَنْظَلُ, عَنْبَسُ, عَرْزُدُ, —

and كَنْدَايِلُ, خَرْنُوبُ, عَرْنَيْقُ — (c) كَنْهَيْلُ —

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§ 678. ضَرْبَةٌ, ضَرْبَتُ, ضَرْبَةٌ *aug.* in (1) *fem.*, (a) ضَرْبَةٌ and ضَرْبَتُ —

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—but not ضَرْبَتُ — “*fem.*” explained

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not reckoned by IHsh—nor mobile § by R—(b) ^{٥٦}اَنْت and its variations—contrary opinions—(2) *aor.*—no other aoristic letter reckoned by IM among *aug.*—aoristic letters held by R to be *ps.*—(3) certain *inf. ns.* with their *derivs.*—and without—(4) *quasi-pass.*—^٩تَرَسَّسْ — in other positions ت not judged to be *aug.*, unless so indicated—^٩تَرْجُمَان — *aug.* when (1) initial — ^٩تَفَعَّال — (2) final — ^٩فَعْلَوْتُ — and ^٩فَعْلَوْتِي — ^٩تَفَعَّلْتُ — ^٩عَزَّكَبْتُ — opinion of S on final ت after *aug.* ى preceded by three or more *rad.*s. — and after *aug.* ى preceded by three *rad.*s. — ^٩سَبَّوْتُ — ^٩عَزَّكَبْتُ of ن — (3) medial—^٩كَلَّمَا and ^٩يَسْتَعْوَر — in other cases ت *rad.*, unless otherwise indicated.

§ 679. ٥ *aug.* in pause—٥ and ل rarely *aug.*—*exs.* of ^٩اَمَات and ^٩اَمَهَات for ^٩اَمَات and ^٩اَم — ^٩اَرَقَ for ^٩اَرَقَ — *ex.* of ل — neither ٥ of silence, nor ل of distance, really *aug.*—٥ a letter of augmentation—regular only in pause—necessary there, or allowable—its augmentativeness denied by Mb—but genuine, though rare—proved by (1) ^٩اَمَات for ^٩اَمَهَات *pl.* of

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^{٢ ٢}اُم —verse combining both *dial. vars.*—distinction between ^{٢ ٢}اُمات and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهات in use—^{٢ ٢}اُمهت for ^{٢ ٢}اُم —its measure—theory that its γ is *rad.* —^{٢ ٢}اُم and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت then two different *o. fs.*—weakness of this theory—no argument from transmission of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت in the 'Ain—authority of the 'Ain not admitted by F—(2) ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت for ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت —Mb's only answer to ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت — γ in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت , and in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت —in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت rightly held to be *aug.*—similarly in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت — γ in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت — γ of silence not really a letter of augmentation.

- § 680. ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت *aug.*, (1) regularly—^{٢ ٢}اُمهت of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت —refutation of Z on former—(2) by hearsay ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت —theory of S—loss of mobility in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت —anomalous use of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت and γ in ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت and ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت as compensation for it—*aor.* of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت according to S—criticism of Mb on his theory—theory of Fr—*aor.* according to him—objection to his theory—^{٢ ٢}اُمهت neglected by IM and his son—only nine letters of augmentation mentioned in Alfiya—excuse for omission of ^{٢ ٢}اُمهت .

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 ی —substitution retained with adventitious ة
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 sounded true in بَاتِعٌ , any more than *rad.* , in
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يَاْءٌ and يَاجُلْ — weakness of two last — يَ of *du.* convertible into ا — substitution of ا for Hamza (1) obligatory — meaning of “obligatory” — (2) regular, but not obligatory — its substitution for ن or Tanwīn in pause upon (1) *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn — (2) *v.* to which single *corrob.* ن preceded by letter pronounced with Fath is affixed — تَاجِبٌ for (a) تَاجِبٌ — (b) تَاجِبٌ — (3) اذْنٌ — ا why substituted for ن in these positions — its substitution for ة — اَلْ for اَلْ — explanation given in KF.

- §. 685. يَ most extensive *subst.* — substituted for nine letters — its substitution why so frequent — regular and anomalous — regular for three letters — for ا in two cases, where preceding letter is (1) pronounced with Kasr — قِيَالٌ and غِيَابٌ — ا why then converted into يَ — (2) يَ of *dim.* — for و in ten cases, where و is (1) preceded by Kasra, and (a) final — و why then converted into يَ — (b) before ة of feminization — و why then converted into يَ — no distinction here between separable and inseparable ة — two anomalies — (a) سَوَاةٌ — its measure and other peculiarities — (b)

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^٩مَقَاتُورٌ — ^٢مَقْتَوِي or ^٢مَقْتَوٍ, *pl.* ^٩مَقْتَوُونَ — no third
 anomaly — ^٢سَوَاءٌ used as *pl.* — ^٩سَوَاسِيَةٌ and
^٩مَقَاتِيَةٌ — IBr's explanation of ^٩سَوَاسِيَةٌ — (c)
 before ^١ of feminization, abbreviated or pro-
 longed — (d) before *aug.* ^١ and ن — (2) ع of
inf. n. having the ع of its *v.* transformed, and
 its own ع preceded by Kasra and followed
 by ^١ — ^٩سَوَارٌ and ^٩سَوَاكٌ — ^٩لَوَاكٌ and ^٩جَوَارٌ —
^٩رَاجٌ — ^٩حَوْلٌ and ^٩عَوْدٌ — transformation rare
 where ^١ is lacking — ^٩قِيمٌ — anomalous to sound
 , true when conditions of transformation are
 fulfilled — ^٩نَوَارٌ — no counterpart of it — ^٩قَوَامٌ
 not an *inf. n.* — (3) ع of *pl.* having its ^١
 sound, and its ع preceded by Kasra, and, in
sing., either (a) transformed — , then over-
 powered by Kasra in *pl.* — no necessity for ^١
 after it here — ^٩حَوَجٌ — or (b) quiescent, pro-
 vided that in *pl.* it be followed by ^١ — , then
 overpowered by Kasra in *pl.* — five conditions
 of conversion here — , sounded true if ^١ be
 missing — ^٩ثِيَرَةٌ — explained as expanded from
^٩ثِيَرَةٌ — or contracted from ^٩ثِيَارَةٌ — or trans-
 formed from ^٩ثَوْرَةٌ to distinguish *pl.* of ^٩ثَوْرٌ bull

from *pl.* of ^{oo}نور slab (of dried curd)—, also sounded true if mobile in *sing.*—^{oo}طِئَال and ^{oo}جِيَاد—or if ل be unsound—(4) final, fourth or upwards, and after Fatha—, why changed into ^{oo}ي in *pret.* and *pass. part.*—*pret.* here conformable to *aor.*, and *pass. part.* to *act. part.*—^{oo}يَشَايَان and ^{oo}تَدَاعَيْنَا and ^{oo}تَغَايَيْنَا—(5) quiescent, single, and immediately after Kasra—^{oo}اَجْلَاوَان — ^{oo}سَوَار and ^{oo}صَوَان—^{oo}اِجْلِيَان — (6) ل of *ep.* ^{oo}اَلدُّنْيَا — ^{oo}فُعَالِي and ^{oo}اِجْلِيَان — ^{oo}اَلدُّنْيَا as substantive—^{oo}اَلْعَالِيَا *eps.*—use of ^{oo}اَلدُّنْيَا as substantive—^{oo}فُعَالِي ل of substantive ^{oo}اَلْقَصِيَا — ^{oo}اَلْقَصَوِي not altered—conflict of opinion—(7) combined with ^{oo}ي in single, or virtually single, word, while first of them is quiescent, original in nature and quiescence—^{oo}مَيْت and ^{oo}سَيْد—their measure ^{oo}لِي and ^{oo}طِي — ^{oo}فَيْعِل — not ^{oo}فَيْعِل — sounded true if , and ^{oo}ي be in separate words—or if first of them be mobile—or adventitious in nature—or quiescence—^{oo}عَوَّة — ^{oo}حَدَوَّة and ^{oo}عَوِيَّة , ^{oo}اَيُّوم , ^{oo}ضَيُّون — ^{oo}رِيَا and ^{oo}نَهْو — *dim. of n.* whose third is a mobile , , and whose broken *pl.* is on measure of

مَفَاعِل —treatment of this و in *dim.* how accounted for—*dim.* of اَسْوَد when an *ep.*—of عَجَّوز and عَمُود —*pl.* and *dim.* of ضِدُون —(8) ل of مَفْعُول from *v.* whose ع is pronounced with Kasr in *pret.*—this ل why converted into ي — مَرَضُو — sounded true if ع of *v.* be pronounced with Fath — مَعْدِي —reason for either treatment of و —different versions of *ex.* cited in Aud—(9) ل of *pl.* نَعُول —عَصَى , قَفَى , and نِائِي —sounding ل true anomalous in *pl.*—necessary in *sing.* —عَتَى and قَسَى —IM's language in *Alfiya*—(10) ع of *pl.* فَعَل sound in ل —صَدِم and نَدِم —صَوْم and نَوْم more frequent— و sounded true if ل be unsound—or be separated from ع by ا —نِيَام anomalous—substitution of ي for ا and و in *gen.* and *acc.* of *du.* and *perf. pl. masc.*—its substitution (1) for ا (a) regular—(b) anomalous or weak—(2) for و (a) regular—(b) anomalous—dispute as to regularity of صَدِم —and of يُجِل , صَبِيَّة , and نَدِيَّة —its substitution for Hamza (1) regular, but not obligatory—(2) necessary—substitution of و and ي for Hamza necessary in two

cats.—^ی anomalously substituted for many letters—its substitution for rest of above-mentioned nine letters confined to hearsay—frequent in such as (1) ^{مَلُوتٌ} and ^{قَصِيْتُ} — meaning of “such as”—second duplicate not converted in unaugmented *tril.*—substitution of ^ی for (a) first duplicate in ^{فَعَالٌ} when a non-inf. substantive—not ending in ^ة of feminization — ^{دِيَابِيجٌ} and ^{دِيَابِيسٌ} — (b) second duplicate or third triplicate in (a) ^{مَلُوتٌ} — dispute as to whether this form be *deriv.* or original—(b) ^{قَصِيْتُ} — (c) ^{دَرَبِيكٌ} — (d) ^{لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ} and ^{نَظَنَّهُتْ} — (e) ^{سَرِيَّةٌ} — ^{تَسْرِيْتُ} — (f) ^{يَا تَمَى} — ^{تَقَضُّضٌ} — ^{تَقَضَّى} not used—(g) — (h) ^{تَصْدِيَّةٌ} — its measure and formation—(i) ^{دَهْدِيْتُ} and ^{نَلَعِيْتُ} — its formation — (j) — (k) ^{مَكَاكِيٌ} — (l) ^{قَبْرَاطٌ}, ^{دِيَبَاجٌ}, ^{دِيَوَانٌ}, and ^{دِيَاچٌ} — their formation—(m) — (n) ^{شَهْرَازٌ} and ^{دِيَمَاسٌ} — (o) ^{أَنَاسِيٌ} (2) — its *sing.*—substitution of ^ی for ^ع, ^ب, ^س, and ^ث—these four

substitutions weak—and for ج — ی substituted for eighteen letters in all.

- § 686. , substituted for three letters—for | in one case, 1300—1320
 where preceding letter is pronounced with
 Damm—نَيْبٌ—for ی in four cases, where
 ی occurs (1) quiescent, single, in a *sing.*, and
 after Damma—ی unchanged if mobile—or
 incorporated—or in a *pl.*, preceding Damma
 being then converted into Kasra—(2) after
 Damma as ل of (a) فَعَلٌ—(b) a *n.* ending in
 fundamental, inseparable, ة of feminization—
 تَوَانِيَةٌ—(c) a *n.* ending in *aug.* ا and ن — رَمِيَانُ
 —(3) as ل of فَعَلَى when a substantive—سَعِيَا ,
 رِيَا , and طَغِيَا said to be anomalous—meaning
 of “anomalous”—spellings of طَغِيَا —(4) as
 ع of فَعَلَى when (a) a substantive—لَكَ طَوْبِي
 —(b) an *ep.* acting as a substantive—indication
 of its so acting—*o. f.* of اَلطَّوْبِي , اَللَّوْسَى , and
 اَللَّخْوَرَى — Damma of فَعَلَى , when a pure *ep.*,
 said by GG to be converted into Kasra—ضِدْزِي
 and حِدْزِي —opinion of IM and his son—its
 differences from saying of GG—language of
 Shl—طِيْدِي as a substantive—substitution of
 , (I) for ا (a) obligatory in such as (a) ضَوَارِبُ

and ضَوْرِبٌ —cause of conversion in *dim.*—and
 in broken *pl.*—(b) ضَوْرِبٌ —(c) اَوْدِمٌ and
 رَحْوِي —(e) نُضَوْرِبٌ and ضَوْرِبٌ —(d) اَوْدِمٌ
 and عَصْرِي —(f) اَلْوَانِ , etc., and اَلْوَاتِ , etc.,
 —cause of conversion—! s here assumed to be
 orig. و s—(b) weak in such as اَنْعَوْ and حَبَلَوْ
 —every final ! converted by Fazāra and some
 of Kais into ي in pause—reason for such
 conversion—heaviness of ي why tolerated in
 pause—similar excuse for conversion of ! into
 Hamza—ي retained by Tayyi in continuity—
 ! converted by some of Tayyi into و in pause—
 ي more frequent than و in *dial.* of Tayyi—
 retained in continuity—reason for conver-
 sion of ! into ي or و —(2) for ي (a) obliga-
 tory in such as (a) طَوْبِي , مَوْسِرٌ and مَوْتِنٌ
 and مَيَّاقِنٌ , مَيَّاسِرٌ and مَيَّاقِنٌ —بُوطِرٌ
 and بَقْوِي —(b) ضَوْرِبٌ —بِيضٌ —مَيَّاسِرٌ
 —(c) تَقْوِي —(b) anomalous, weak, in
 such as (a) مَمْضُو —(b) مَشُو and نَهُو —reason
 for change of ي into و here—(c) جِهَادَةٌ —
 dispute as to reality of change in مَمْضُو and
 جِهَادَةٌ —*dims.* of شِي and عَيْن —of ضَيْعَةٌ and

بَيْتٌ —retention of ^بى not obligatory—opinion of IM—^{بُيُوتٌ} and ^{بُيُوتٌ} —شُيُيٌ —the last said to be a weak *dial. var.*—substitution of و for Hamza (1) allowable—^{جُونٌ}, *pl.* ^{جُونٌ}, not a satisfactory *ex.*—(2) necessary—substitution of و for ^ح.

- §. 687. م substituted for four letters, (1) و , necessarily, in ^م alone—evolution of ^م from ^م —vowel of its ^ف —^م —, generally restored in prefixion—م in ^م said by Akh to be a *subst.* for ^ح —^م (a) aprothetic—(b) *pre.* to ^ى of 1st *pers.*—^{مِى} —^{مِى}, ^{مِى}, and ^{مِى} —^{مِى} more correct than ^{مِى} —(c) *pre.* to explicit *n.*, or to *pron.* other than ^ى of 1st *pers.*—م combined with و in ^{مُوَيُّو}—explanation suggested by F—opinion of S—another explanation reported by F—opinion of IJ—*dial. vars.* of ^م —(2) ل of *art.*, in *dial.* of some—(3) ن , (a) regularly before ب , when ن is quiescent—language of IM—reason of conversion—immaterial whether ن and ب be in one word or two—ن written as ن , though pronounced as م —change of ن into م not properly termed “conversion”—(b) anomalously

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without ب, when ن is (a) quiescent—(b) mobile—converse substitution of ن for م —
 (4) ب in (a) بَذَاتُ مَخْرَجٍ —opinions of IS and
 IJ—sometimes pronounced with undotted ح
 —(b) رَأَيْمٌ —opinions of AASh and IJ—(c)
 كَثْمٌ —(d) نَغْمٌ — م why used as *subst.* for
 these four letters.

- §. 688. صَعَانِيٌ — د (1) substituted for four letters, 1335—1338
 and هِرَانِيٌ — opinion of S—of Mb—of others
 —that of S preferable— ن here why not a
subst. for Hamza of feminization—(2) ل —
 لَعْنٌ orig. لَعْلٌ —or a separate *dial. var.*—
 لَعْنٌ and صَعَانِيٌ characterized by
 IH as anomalous, and لَعْنٌ as weak—(3) م —
 (4) Hamza—alleged substitution of ن in
 فَعْلَانٌ, masc. of فَعْلَى, for Hamza of فَعْلَاءٌ —
 “substitution” here merely alternation—this
 application of “alternation” tropical.
- §. 689. ت substituted for seven letters, (1, 2) د 1338—1356
 and ي, when (a) ا ف—such substitution
 (a) regular in فَعْلَانٌ and its variations—
 meaning of IH's language—this substitution
 how indicated by IM—reason for change of ف
 into ت —theory that substitution here is

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(c) ⁹اَكْيَات and ⁹زَات — (4) ⁹اَصْت in ⁹اَصْت — its
pl.—and derivation—said by Fr to be a *dial.*
var.—vowel of its ⁹ل — (5) ⁹ب in ⁹ذَعَالَتْ and
⁹ذَعَالَتْ — *dial. vars.* or cases of substitution—
meaning of ⁹ذَعَالِب and ⁹ذَعَالِب — *sing.* of
latter — ⁹ذَعَالِب *orig.* ⁹ذَعَالِب — substitution
in ⁹ذَعَالَتْ and ⁹اَصْت weak — (6) ⁹ط in ⁹فُسْطَا —
(7) ⁹ن in ⁹تَرْبُوت — ⁹ت seldom substituted for
⁹—*ex.* — ⁹حَمَتْ , ⁹جَنْت , and ⁹نَعَمَتْ .

§. 690. ⁹ substituted for six letters, (1) Hamza, (a)
aug., in (a) ⁹هَرَقَتْ — ⁹ in ⁹اَهَرَقَتْ — (b) ⁹هَرَحَتْ
— (c) ⁹هَنْرَتْ — (d) ⁹هَرَدَتْ — *aors.*—all four
exs. transmitted by ISk—(b) *rad.*, in (a)
⁹هَيَاك — or ⁹هَيَاك — (b) ⁹لَهَنَك — Hamza here
why altered into ⁹ — (c) ⁹هَمَا — (d) ⁹هِن — (e)
⁹دَا and ⁹هَزِيد — (f) ⁹هَيَا — Hamza in these cases
why changed into ⁹ — substitution of ⁹ for
Hamza confined to hearsay—(2) ⁹ا , in (a)
⁹اَنه — opinions on its ⁹ — (b) ⁹حَيَلَه — opinions
on its last ⁹ — (c) ⁹مِه and ⁹هَنَه — ⁹ i. q. ⁹مَا
or ⁹اَكْف — opinions on its ⁹ in former case—

1356—1366

(d) ^وشَاخ — dispute about its last \mathfrak{z} — opinion of BB — of Z and IH — of AZ, Akh, and KK — of others — substitution of \mathfrak{z} for ʾ anomalous — (3) \mathfrak{z} , in ^وشَاخ — dispute as to whether its last \mathfrak{z} be substituted for \mathfrak{z} or for ʾ converted from \mathfrak{z} — meaning of ʾ here — (4) ي , in (a) ^يذِي for ^يذِي — its last \mathfrak{z} a *subst.* for ي in pause — or in pause and continuity alike — such substitution not regular — subsidiary to introduction of *conj.* ي in continuity — *conj.* ي elided in pause — last \mathfrak{z} of ^يذِي quiescent in pause, rarely in continuity — mostly pronounced with Kasr in continuity, with or without *conj.* ي — proof that \mathfrak{z} is not for feminization — (b) ^يشَاخ — (5) ت , in (a) ^تطَاغُوت, ^تطَاغُوت, etc., in pause — continuity sometimes treated like pause, and pause like continuity — (b) ^تبَنَاء and ^تأَخْرَأ — (c) ^تأَبُو — regarded by many as a *dial. var.* — measure of ^تأَبُو — like that of ^تطَاغُوت — its *o. f.* — measure of ^تأَبُو — (d) ^تاللَّاء — (e) ^تأَلْفَرَاء — (6) ح , in (a) ^حطَهَر — (b) ^حمَتَّه — (c) ^حمَدَّه — ^حمَدَّه distinguished by some from ^حمَدَّح.

§. 691. ج substituted for two letters, (I) ^جا^جل —
— ^جا^جل^ج *dim.* of ^جا^جل —or a *sing. n. peculiar*

1367—1369

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to the <i>dim.</i> --effect of <i>dim.</i> formation on its sense— ^س أَمَلَّ and ^ق أَقَّ diptote when used as names—(2) ^ض الطَّجَع — alternative forms.	
§. 692. ط substituted for two letters, (1) ت , (a) regularly in ^ف فَتَعَلَ after a letter of covering—reason of substitution—(b) anomalously in attached <i>nom. pron.</i> of every <i>pret. v.</i> of 1st or 2nd <i>pers.</i> after a letter of covering—in <i>dial.</i> of Banù Tamīm— ^ل of <i>v.</i> , if ط , then incorporated into ط of <i>pron.</i> —substitution why anomalous—(2) د — ^م مَطَّ and ^ب بَعَطَّ .	1369—1370
§. 693. د substituted for three letters, (1) ت in (a) ^ف فَتَعَلَ , (a) regularly after د , ذ , or ز — د and mostly ذ then incorporated into it—causes of conversion and incorporation—incorporative conversion not relevant here—after ذ conversion necessary, and incorporation usual—(b) anomalously after ج —conversion why anomalous— <i>exs.</i> —confined to hearsay—(b) some anomalous formations, (a) ^ز فَزْد and ^ج جَد —(b) ^د دَوَلَج —reason for supposing its د to be a <i>subst.</i> for ت —this substitution not to be copied—contrasted with cases (a, a) and	1370—1374

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(a, b)—(2) ط — مَرَدِي — meanings of مَرَطِي, etc.—(3) ذ — اَلْدَكْرُ .	
§. 694. ج substituted for و when (1) double, (a) in pause—cause of substitution—and of its employment in pause—(b) in continuity when treated like pause—(2) single, (a) in pause— dialectic peculiarity—object of substitution— (b) not in pause— اَمَسَج and اَمَسَجَت for اَمَسِي and اَمَسَت —vocalization of ج —sub- stitution more anomalous here than in cases (1, a), (1, b), and (2, a)— ج in اَمَسَج possibly a <i>subst.</i> for ا of اَمَسِي — عَجَبَجَة of Kudā'a.	1374—1378
§. 695. ص substituted for س before غ , خ , ق , and ط —substitution how accounted for—similar to Imāla—not allowable after these letters— but not prevented by separation from them— regular, but not necessary — زَقَر — زَرَاط .	1378—1381
§. 696. ز substituted for two letters, س and ص , when quiescent before د —(1) for س — سَدَل and سَدَر of what <i>conjugs.</i> —cause of substitution— simulation not allowable here—(2) for ص — quiescent ص , before د , pronounceable (1) as pure ز — cause of change—(2) as ص simulating	1381—1389

sound of *z*—simulation why not allowable in *س*
 —*exs.*—meaning of IH's words on this subject
 —mobile *ص* before *د* not changed into pure
z—but sometimes made to simulate *z*—
 though more rarely than quiescent *ص*—con-
 version into *z* allowable only when heard—
 simulation similarly restricted in *ص* separated
 from *د* by more than a vowel—mobile *س*
 converted into *z* before *ق* in *dial.* of Kalb—
 simulation by *ج* and *ش*—its cause—its rarity
 disputed—meaning put by Jrb upon “simula-
 tion” in case of *ج* and *ش*—these two letters not
 made into pure *z*—summary of previous discus-
 sion—(3) as pure *ص*—simulation more frequ-
 ent than substitution, and sounding plain than
 both—meaning of “sounding plain”—compara-
 tive frequency of such pronunciations as are
 allowable in quiescent *ص*—and in quiescent *س*
 —end of what Z, IH, and IM mention in this
 chapter.

- §. 696A. Substitution of other letters—of all letters in
 order of outlets—(1) Hamza—(2) *أ*—(3) *ه*—
 (4) *ع* for two letters, *ح* and Hamza—(5) *غ* for
 two letters, *خ* and *ع*—(6) *ح* for *ع*—(7) *خ* for
ع—reciprocity between them—(8) *ق* for *ك*—
 (9) *ك* for two letters, (a) *ق*—reciprocity
 between them—(b) *ت*—(10) *ج*—(11) *ش*
 for three letters, (a) *ك*—(b) *ج*—observa-
 tion by IU—(c) *س*—(12) *ي*—(13) *ض*

1389—1395

for ل — ص wrongly put here, instead of ض ,
 by some MSS— جَصَدٌ , not جَصَدٌ , given by
 lexicologists for جَلَدٌ —(14) ل —(15) , for
 ت —(19) د —(18) ط —(17) ن —(16) ل —
 —(20) ص —(21) ز —(22) س for three letters,
 (a) اِسْتَخَذَ — ت —adduced by Z as evidence
 that س is a letter of substitution—(b) ش —
 (c) ل —(23) ظ —no instance of its unincor-
 porative substitution—(24) ذ for two letters,
 د and ث — س , ذ , and ظ not reckoned by IH
 among letters of substitution—(25) ث for two
 letters, ف and ذ —(26) ف for two letters,
 (a) فُورٌ — ث —(b) ب —(27) ب for two letters,
 د —(29) م —(28) ف and م .

CHAPTER X.—TRANSFORMATION OF THE UN SOUND.

§. 697. Unsoundness—transformation—definition of it
 as a technical term—alleviation of Hamza and
 some cases of substitution excluded—degrees of
 dissimilarity between these two processes and
 transformation—alteration of Hamza not a
 transformation—nor substitution, elision, or
 quiescence, of sound letters other than Hamza
 —nor inflectional alteration of unsound letters
 —three modes of transformation—(1) conver-
 sion—(2) elision—(a) regular—(b) euphonic

1396—1407

—(c) curtailing or arbitrary—(3) transfer of vowel—subsequent treatment of unsound letter—transfer subsidiary to quiescence—letters of transformation—also named “unsound letters”
 —Hamza included by some—|, , and ى why subject to alteration—vowels really parts of them—consonant when termed “mobile” or “quiescent”—vowel of mobile consonant pronounced after, not with, it—impletion of vowel into letter of prolongation—number and description of vowels—|, , and ى found in *ns.*, *vs.*, and *ps.*—| not *rad.* in *decl. ns.* or in *vs.*—*rad.* in *ps.*, *uninfl. ns.*, imitative *ejs.*, and foreign names—formations sound or unsound—*quad. n.* or *v.*—*quin.*—condition of reduplication in *quad.*—definition of unsound formation—its unsound constituent—Hamza not technically termed “unsound”—formations divisible into (1) formed, and not formed, with Hamza—both being sound and unsound—(2) reduplicated and unreduplicated—both being sound and unsound—these two divisions omitted by IH—reduplicated also formed, and not formed, with Hamza—definition of “formed with Hamza”—and of “reduplicated”—such formations as قَلَق not named “reduplicated”—seven divisions of unsound formations—their names.

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§. 698. Positions of unsound letters—ا — و and ی — agreement between <i>unaug.</i> و and ی in (1) occurrence of either as (a) ف — (b) ع — (c) ل — (d) ع and ل — double و or ی as rare here as double guttural—double Hamza not used—double & extraordinary—(2) precedence of either before the other as ف and ع respectively—precedence of و more frequent—only instances of either—difference between them in (1) precedence of و before ی as ف or ع and ل respectively—converse precedence not found—و and ی as ع and ل, respectively, more frequent than double و — و in حَيَوَان and حَيَوَةٌ held by S to be a <i>subst.</i> for second ی — first ی in حَيَّان why not converted into ا — or incorporated into second — و in حَيَوَان held by Mz to be original—opinion of S correct—his remarks on حَيَوَةٌ — و why substituted for its last ی — (2) occurrence of ی as (a) ف and ع — يُون like كَوْن and دَنْ — (b) ف and ل — يَد and يَت — و not so used in either case, except in (a) اَرْل — opinion of R—homogeneity of ف and ع rare—less disagreeable with separation or incorporation—(b) دَرْ — its <i>o. f.</i> —its component letters—reasons for considering its ع a و — its <i>dim.</i> — ع a و more often than a ی	1407—1415

الْوَلَّى — rejected — أَوَيْتَ or وَبَيْتَ —
 — similarity of ف and ل rare in
tril.—(3) occurrence of ي as ف , ع , and
 ل , contrary to و with possible exception of ٥
 —o. f. of يَآ —and of بَآ , تَآ , etc.—their
orig. a ي —but, according to F, a و — | of
 دَال , ذَال , etc.— ع of جِيم , عَيْن , etc.—
 measure of جِيم .

THE , AND ى AS F S .

- §. 699. و (1) retained unaltered — why so treated — 1416—1431
 وَجِبَةٌ
 (2) elided in (a) *aors.*—o. f. of يَعِدُ and يَزِنُ
 —their , why elided—elision desirable for
 alleviation—their ى why not elided—or their
 Kasra— و of يُوعِدُ why not elided—theory of
 KK on reason for elision— , retained if letter
 after it be pronounced with Fath— يَقَعُ —
 يَجِدُ — يَذُرُ — يَطَأُ and يَسْعُ — يَدْعُ and يَضَعُ
 —elision extended to remaining variations of
aor., and to *imp.*—(b) *inf. ns.*—o. f. of عِدَّةٌ
 said to be (a) رَعْدَةٌ — its , why elided—two
 qualifications necessary for elision—one not
 sufficient—no elision in simple substantive—

transfer of vowel the intended mode of transformation in *inf. n.*, and elision merely consequential—or elision intended, and transfer subsidiary—(b) ^{وَعَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} in ^{عَدَ} a compensation for elided ^{وَعَدَ} — in ^{وَعَدَ} and ^{وَعَدَ} why combined with ^{وَعَدَ} — elision of ^{عَدَ} — (c) ^{وَعَدَ} — its ^{عَدَ} why pronounced with Kasr in ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} and ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} and ^{عَدَ} or ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} and ^{عَدَ} — ^{عَدَ} — (3) converted — ^{عَدَ} like ^{وَعَدَ}, except in elision—not elided in *aor.* — *exs.*—why not elided — ^{عَدَ} and ^{عَدَ} — only instances of elision—conversion of ^{عَدَ} — ^{وَعَدَ} converted into Hamza, (1) necessarily, when initial and followed by a mobile ^{وَعَدَ} — or rather by a ^{وَعَدَ} not a letter of prolongation converted from an *aug.*—conversion of first necessary if second be (a) not a letter of prolongation—(b) a letter of prolongation unconverted, or converted from a *rad.*—opinion of KK on ^{وَعَدَ} —dispute as to necessity for conversion when second is alleviated form of Hamza—(c) original—discussion of condition that second be mobile—conclusions based on it—first ^{وَعَدَ} why not converted into ^{عَدَ} — (2) allowably in such as ^{وَعَدَ}

(3) — اَشَاحْ , and, according to Mz, اَوْرِى , and invariably in اَوْلَى (4) irregularly in اِنَاة , اَحَد , etc. — اَخَذَ — اَسْمَاء — rarity of initial ى pronounced with Kasr—initial , sometimes converted into ت — substitution of ت for , not regular, except in اِفْعَل and ى in اِفْعَل regularly converted into ت , when not converted from Hamza—conversion of quiescent , and ى into ى and , respectively.

- §. 700. Fatha of ع original in يُوْحَلْ and يُوْجِعْ , but 1432—1433
adventitious in يَضْعُ and يَسْعُ —antagonism of these two Fathas—latter likened to Kasra in تَجَارٍ —this Kasra adventitious— تَجَارٍ therefore not diptote—former likened to Kasra in تَجَارِبْ .

- §. 701. Conversion of , or ى into | in aor. of اِفْعَل — 1433—1437
اِيقَسِرْ and اِيتَعَد and their variations—this mode of conjugating universal among some Hijāzīs—and practised by Shf— يَاجِلْ , يَفْعَلْ , and يَمَجَلْ —four dial. vars. in اِفْعَل aor. of فَعَلْ whose ف is a , —three anomalous, and one chaste—Kasra in يَمَجَلْ distinguished from Kasra in نَعْلَمْ and نَعْلَمْ — يَمَجَلْ

peculiar to *dial.* of Banù Asad—*imp.* of **وَجَلَّ**
 —indication that conversion of **و** in **يُوجَلُّ** and
يُوحَلُّ into **ا** or **ي** is regular—language of Sf,
 F, and others—of IH— **يَا بَسُ** and **يَا نَسُ** —
 this conversion of **ي** into **ا** found only in *aor.*
 whose **ع** is pronounced with Fath, and said by
 S not to be regular—*aoristic* **ي** not pro-
 nounced with Kasr here.

- §. 702. Substitution of **ي** for **ف** of **اِفْتَعَلَ** when a 1437—1440
 Hamza—this **ي** not converted into **ت** — **اَيَقْزَرُ**
 — **اِتَّكَلَّ** wrong—**اِتَّمَنَ** anomalous or
 rare—**ي** in *act.*, or **و** in *pass.*, not changed
 into **ت** in chaste *dial.*—**اِتَّخَذَ** not from **اَخَذَ**
 —but from **تَخَذَ** —so said by F—existence of
تَخَذَ contested by Zj—F's opinion verified—
 or from **وَحَذَ** —this derivation better—some
 Bdd reported to allow conversion of **ي** into
ت — **اِتَّمَنَ** wrong—**اِتَّزَرَ** and **رَيَا** vulgar.

THE **و** AND **ي** AS **ع** S.

- §. 703. Transformed, elided, or preserved—transfor- 1441—1466
 mation.—three modes of transformation in
ع — (1) conversion—into **ا** —precluded in

^سبَيَضَات and ^سجَوَزَات and ^سشَى and ^سضَو — reasons for conversion into ا — its cause not very substantial—operative only on ل or ع , and easily restrained from action—principally effective in *v.*—this transformation original in *pret. act.* of unaugmented *tril.*—and conformable to original in *aor.*, *act.* or *pass.*, of unaugmented *tril.*, and in *pret. act.*, and *aor. pass.* of two augmented *trils.*, ^اسْتَفْعَل and ^افَعَل — but not found in *aor.* whose ع is *orig.* pronounced with Damm or Kasr—classification of *ns.* subjected to this transformation—conversion into ا found in (a) *tril. n.*—(b) *v.* (a) *tril.*—(b) conformable to *tril.*—^اسْتَكَنَّ — ^ايَهَاب , ^ايُقَال , ^ايُخَاب —(c) *n.* conformable to (b, a) or (b, b)—contrary to (a) ^اقَوْل and ^ايَجَل — ^اطَائِي and ^ايَا جَل anomalous—or ^ايَا جَل regular, but weak—^ايَاتَسَّر and ^ايَاتَعَد — ^اآلَاد — ^ارَضَا and ^ابَقِيَ —conditions of conversion in two last—^ابَدَاة and ^انَاصَاة — ^ابُنْتُ — (b) ^اتَقَرَّو , ^ابَيْن and ^اقَوْم , ^اتَبَايَع and ^اتَقَارَل , ^ابَايَع and ^اتَبَيَّن —these formations disqualified for conversion of ع into ا —contrary to ^اتَاوَل and

بَانِعٌ —and to اَقَامَ and اِسْتَقَامَ —qualification
 needed for such transformation in *deriv.*—
 additional disability in تَقَوْمٌ and يَبِينُ , تَقَوْمٌ and
 تَبِينُ —omission of conversion anomalous—its
 anomalousness disputed in اَنْعَلَ and اِسْتَفْعَلَ
 when they have no *tril. v.*—transformation also
 heard in most of these anomalies—(2) quies-
 cence by transfer of vowel—reason for such
 transformation—this quiescence principally in
v.—in unaugmented *tril.*—and augmented—
 treatment of و and ي after transfer of vowel—
 nature and extent of alteration—يَبِينُ and يَقَوْمُ
 why not transformed in same way as their
pret.—مَفْعِلٌ , مَفْعُلٌ , and مَفْعُولٌ similar—
 classification of *ns.* conformable to *v.* in this
 respect—transfer adopted for observance of
 mode of formation—by mobilization of quies-
 cent ف with vowel of ع —يَطَاعُ —other *exs.*
 —confusion between *cats.* of و and ي not
 heeded here—conditions of transfer—another
 added in Tashīl—(3) elision, (a) necessary,
 (a) where quiescence of final is necessitated,
 by (α) attachment of *pron.*—vowel of initial—
 اَسْتُ —اَيْسَ —(β) apocopation or quasi-
 apocopation—(b) in such as اَقَامَةٌ and اِسْتَقَامَةٌ
 —dispute as to ا elided here—this mention of

سَمَامَةٌ and سَمَامَةٌ not a superfluous repetition—
 (b) allowable in such as (a) سَمَامَةٌ and سَمَامَةٌ —
 (b) سَمَامَةٌ and سَمَامَةٌ—elision necessary in latter
cat.—nature of alteration in it disputed—opi-
 nion of S on both *cats.*—theory that former is
orig. سَمَامَةٌ—refuted by S—or that former is
orig. سَمَامَةٌ—transformation of سَمَامَةٌ into سَمَامَةٌ
 being regular in assimilate *ep.*—and latter *orig.*
 سَمَامَةٌ—and سَمَامَةٌ *orig.* سَمَامَةٌ—opinion of S pre-
 ferable—elision why necessary in latter *cat.*—
 (c) rare in سَمَامَةٌ—preservation of د and ي—
 reasons for it in such as (1) سَمَامَةٌ and سَمَامَةٌ —
 (2) سَمَامَةٌ, سَمَامَةٌ, سَمَامَةٌ, and سَمَامَةٌ—addi-
 tional reason in latter *cat.*—(3) سَمَامَةٌ and
 سَمَامَةٌ.

§. 704. *Tril. vs.* whose سَمَامَةٌ is unsound—سَمَامَةٌ—formations
 of *vs.* in *cats.* of د and ي—no سَمَامَةٌ in *cat.* of
 د, nor سَمَامَةٌ in *cat.* of ي—سَمَامَةٌ and سَمَامَةٌ
 said to be (1) سَمَامَةٌ from (a) سَمَامَةٌ in *cat.* of د
 —their *pret.*—and *o. f.*—(b) سَمَامَةٌ in *cat.* of
 (a) ي—(b) د, anomalously—(2) intermix-
 tures of two *dial. vars.*—refutation of (2)—
 and of (1, b, b,)—سَمَامَةٌ.

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<p>§. 705. Transmutation of فَعَلَ, when its ع is و or ي into فَعِلَ on attachment of mobile <i>nom. pron.</i>—قَامَ and قَالَ not <i>orig. فَعِلَ</i>—but فَعَلَ—dispute on manner of transition from فَعَلْتُ to فَلْتُ—theory (1) of many that فَعَلَ is transmuted into فَعِلَ—this opinion adopted by Z and IM—(2) of IH that Damm and Kasr are for explanation of the <i>v.</i> as a scion of و and ي respectively—meaning of “scion”—his argument—reason given by earlier authorities for suggesting transmutation—his argument in reply—(3) of R—alleged transmutation of بَاعَ and قَامَ into بِيعَ and قُومَ—زِيلَ and كَيْدَ—no transmutation without mobile <i>nom. pron.</i>, except in كَيْدَ and زِيلَ—explanation of these two.</p>	1469—1476
<p>§. 706. Vocalization of letter preceding unsound ع in <i>pass. of pret., tril. or on measure of فَعَّلَ</i> or <i>فَعَّلَ</i>—<i>dial. vars. in cat. of</i> (1) قِيلَ and بِيعَ—(a) pure ي—evolution of بِيعَ—and قِيلَ—opinion of S in §. 710 strengthened—(b) Ishmām—this <i>dial. var.</i> chaste—(c) pure و—evolution of تُوَلَّ—and بُوعَ—opinion of Akh in §. 710 strengthened—this <i>dial. var.</i> of</p>	1476—1484

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no account—fuller explanations—pure *ي* and *و* explained by IH—and by Jz—latter explanation more probable—Ishmām—different from Ishmām in pause—how pronounced—its essence—so understood by Fr and GG—said by some to be like Ishmām in pause—how described by others—really Raum—its object—(2) *بَعَتَ* and *قَلَّتَ*—vocalization of their *ف*—ambiguous forms avoided—and replaced by unambiguous—but not disallowed by Westerns—nor noticed by S—ambiguity disregarded by him—and pardoned by Sf—possible meaning of “avoided”—avoidance preferable—but not necessary with distinctive context—(3) *اِنْقَدَ* and *اِخْتَبَرَ*—vocalization of their *conj.* Hamza.

- §. 707. *اَفْعَلَّ* sounded true in (1) *v.* of wonder—(2) *اَفْعَلَّ* of superiority—two causes assigned by IH—only second by S—no reason for first—(3) *اِخْتَارَ* and *اِرْتَادَ* — *تَفَاعَلَ* i. q. *اِفْتَعَلَ* —(4) *اِفْعَالَ* —no reason for assigning any cause—distinction between *اِفْعَالَ* and *اَفْعَلَّ* —(6) such *vs.* as *صَدَدَ* and *سَوَدَ* — *لَيْسَ* — *كَسَتْ*, etc.—its *ع* orig. pronounced with Kasr —(7) variations of *vs.* whose *ع* is sounded

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true—ع sometimes (1) transformed in فَعَلَ
denoting *defects*—and in its *derivs.*—(2)
anomalously sounded true in أَفْعَلَ and اسْتَفْعَلَ
—to notify o. f. of *conjug.*

- §. 708. Additional cause requisite for conversion of و or ی into ا in penultimate after *aug.* ا —
nature of such cause—no conversion in ante-
penultimate—Hamza in رَدَّ and كَسَا, قَائِلٌ
and كَبَّأْتُ, عَجَّأْتُ, بَوَّأْتُ and أَرَّأَيْتُ, بَائِعٌ
—why substituted for ا —first ا why not
elided—Hamza in سَائِلٌ, — و and ی, in *act.*
part. of unaugmented *tril.*, said to be converted
into Hamza when transformed in *v.*—really
converted into ا, and from ا into Hamza—
elision of ع impossible—cause of its conversion
into ا —and from ا into Hamza—this Hamza
written as undotted ی — ع sounded true in
act. part. when so sounded in *v.*— ع and ل
sometimes transposed in *act. part.* of hollow
v.—and always by Khl when its ل is Hamza
—his argument—similar transposition by him
in مَطَايَا and حَطَايَا, جَوَّاءَ and شَوَّاءَ —answer
to his argument—شَاكٌ and لَاثٌ
anomalous—its derivation—and forms—شَاكٌ,

1490—1498

هَار, etc., said to be (1) فَعَل, (a) abbreviated from فَاعِل — (b) intensive form of فَاعِل
 — (2) فَاعِل by elision of (a) its ع — whether as و or ! or Hamza — their measure in this case
 — (b) its aug. ! — their measure in this case
 — A's procedure — جَاء — ع of فَاعِل sounded true.

- §. 709. *Pass. part. of tril. v. whose ع is unsound* — 1498—1505
 evolution of مَبْعُوع and مَقُول — why not مَبْعُوع
 — dispute between S and Akh on letter elided — each disputant contravening a rule of his own — argument in support of each — effect of dispute on measure of مَصُون — and on alleviation of مَسْرُوع — anomalies in *cat.* of و — and of ي — *cat.* of ي treated as sound by Banū Tamīm — *exs.* in poetry — مَدْيُون and مَعْيُون anomalous according to H — his opinion controverted — مَعْيُون said — and مَزْيُون — complete form allowed by Mb as a poetic license — but regarded by A as a Tamīmī *dial. var.* — opinion of ISh on *pass. part.* in *cat.* of ي — and of و — *pass. part.* in latter *cat.* sometimes treated as sound — such treatment regularly allowed by Mb — but not by A.

- §. 710. Opinion of S on treatment of ^س when a quiescent ^ع preceded by Damma—and of Akh—reason for treatment advocated by S—and by Akh—reply to letter—*exs.*—measure of ^{قِيلَ} and ^{دِيكَ}—and of ^{مَعِيشَةٍ}—Akh's rule (1) contravened by himself in *pass. part.*—measure of ^{مَبِيعَ}—^{تَبِيعَ} or ^{تَبُوعَ}—(2) inconsistent with hearsay—^{مَضْرُوءَ}—its measure and derivation—^{مُضَائِفَ} and ^{مُضَيِّفَ}.
- §. 711. Transformation a property of *vs.*—imparted to *ns.* only by conformity to *vs.*—unaugmented *tril. n.* (1) transformed when modelled on *v.*, i. e. when on measure of ^{فَعَلَ} or ^{فَعِلَ}—conversion of ^ع necessary here—but sometimes omitted—such forms anomalous—no ^{فَعِلَ} in hollow *n.*—(2) treated as sound when not modelled on *v.*—^{قَدِمَ}—transformability of *inf. n.* determined by that of *v.*—treatment of ^{فَعِلَ}.
- § 712. Condition of transformation in augmented *tril. n.* not conformable to *v.*—difference from *v.* not prescribed in unaugmented *tril.*—why prescribed in augmented, and not in unaugmented—meaning of “conformable”—

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1509—1513

1513—1525

applicability of condition to *ns.* hitherto mentioned—nature of prescribed difference—peculiar difference in ^٩قَاتِم and ^٩بَاتِع —*exs.* of augmented *tril.* with, and without, prescribed difference—rule as stated by A—two sorts of *n.* covered by it—(1) ^٩مَقَام — ^٩مَقِيم and ^٩مَدِين from ^٩مَفْعَلَة — ^٩ of femininization no obstacle to agreement with *v.* in measure—*anomalies*—their object—^٩مَرِيم and ^٩مَدِين—(2) ^٩تَقْدِيل and ^٩تَبْيِيع — ^٩تَبْيِيع or ^٩تَبْوَع —this sort of *n.* how distinguishable from *v.*—another condition prescribed by Mb—^٩مَرِيم and ^٩مَدِين, and ^٩تَقْرِيل and ^٩تَبْيِيع —*n.* resembling, or differing from, *aor.* in both measure and augment—first sort like ^٩أَبْيَض and ^٩أَسْوَد — ^٩أَدْوَر — ^٩تَبْيِيع and ^٩أَبْيِيع, ^٩أَبْيِيع and ^٩أَدْوَر — ^٩أَهْوَنَاء — ^٩أَعْيَنَة and ^٩أَخَوْنَة — ^٩أَعْيَن and ^٩أَبْيَنَاء —transfer here anomalous—^٩أَبَان — ^٩بَزِيد —second sort like ^٩مَخْطِط —this the obvious conclusion, according to A—opinion of IM and his son—objection to it—their reasoning applicable only to particular *dial.*—second sort how indicated by IM—opinion of Khl—A's conclusion shared

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by many etymologists— جَدُولٌ , خُرُوعٌ , and عَلِيْبٌ .	
§. 713. Non-final mobile , and ى * generally imper- vious to conversion, by preceding Kasra and Damma, into ى and , respectively— and still stronger when doubled— , some- times so converted for conformity—but not ى—such conversion found in (1) the <i>inf. n.</i> whose ع is transformed in the <i>v.</i> —though not necessarily in this way—عَدَاً con- trasted with طَيَّرَانَ — حَوْلٌ with لَوَاكٌ and قَوَامٌ —and عَوْضٌ with قَيْمٌ —(2) the <i>pl.</i> whose ع is transformed in the <i>sing.</i> — ى of تَيَّرَ — and of دَيْمٌ — طَيَّالٌ — رَوَّاءٌ and نَوَّاءٌ —(3) the <i>pl.</i> whose ع is quiescent in the <i>sing.</i> , and followed by in the <i>pl.</i> —عَوْدَةً and كَوَزَةً — ثَيْرَةً anomalous— needed here—effective as element in cause of conversion—and powerful as auxiliary in (1) and (2)—ثَيْرَةً allowable for conformity—خَوَّانٌ and صَوَّانٌ — ثَيَّرَ said to be contracted from ثَيَّرَ .	1525—1530

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§. 714. Augmented <i>tril. ns.</i> , when not like ^{قَامَةٌ} and ^{سِتْقَامَةٌ} , debarred from transformation by quiescent before, or after, its ^و or ^ي —such <i>ns.</i> of three kinds—reason for absence of transformation in (1) these <i>ns.</i> generally—(2) ^{أَبْيَنَاءُ} and ^{أَبْيَنَاءُ} — ^{أَبْيَنَاءُ} and ^{أَبْيَنَاءُ} — sometimes said— ^{قَامَةٌ} and ^{سِتْقَامَةٌ} why transformed—(3) ^{طَوِيلٌ} , ^{سَيَالٌ} and ^{نَوَالٌ} , ^{غُدُورٌ} and ^{تَقْوَالٌ} , ^{تَقْوَالٌ} and ^{تَسْيَارٌ} —ambiguity alleged as reason in ^{تَقْوَالٌ} and ^{تَسْيَارٌ} —nature of this ambiguity—true reason—(4) ^{مَقْوَالٌ} and ^{مَخْطِطٌ} —(5) ^{مَقْوَالٌ} and ^{مَخْطِطٌ} —cause of transformation present here—excuse for non-transformation—(6) ^{مَبِيعٌ} and ^{مَقْوَمٌ} so far as regards conversion of their ^ع into ^ا —(7) ^{جَوَادٌ} , ^{طَوِيلٌ} , and ^{غُدُورٌ} —true reason.	1530—1537
§. 715. Second of two unsound letters enclosing ^ا of ultimate <i>pl.</i> is converted into ^ا —and this ^ا into Hamza— ^{ضَيَّارُونَ} anomalous, like ^{ضَيَّوْنَ} —such conformity of <i>pl.</i> to <i>sing.</i> not universal—nor ^{ضَيَّارُونَ} to be taken as a precedent—conversion actually heard only	1537—1542

in case of two و s as enclosing letters—but extended by Khl and S to case of two ی s or of و and ی —this extension disallowed by Akh—*pls. of act. part.* from حَيِّ and شَوَى —reason for Akh's doubt—sound opinion that of S—further authority for it—second unsound letter not converted when far from end—عَوَادِرْ and عَيَانِدِلْ—so صَدَم and قَدَم, but صَوَام and قَوَام —صَيَابَةٌ and نَيَامْ anomalous—similar conflict of opinion on conversion of second of two unsound letters enclosing antepenultimate | in *non-pl.*

- §. 716. Treatment of و and ی combined, when their first is quiescent—cause of incorporation— و and ی treated as likes—incorporation encouraged by quiescence of their first— و converted, whether first or second—no incorporation in (1) سَوِيرَ and تَبْوِيْعَ —nor in قَوْلَ and تَقْوَوْلَ —(2) دِيَوَانَ and اَجَلِيَوَانْ — measure of دِيَوَانَ —(3) رِيَا and رِيَّةَ — conversion and incorporation sometimes found in (3)—never allowable in (1)— قَيَّ and حَيَّوَّةَ, حَيَّوَّةَ, and نَبُو —dispute about و of حَيَّوَّةَ —preceding Damma changed into

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<p>Kasra—either vowel allowable in ^كلِي <i>pl.</i> of ^كالْوَي —and in some other forms—conversion (1) in ^كصَدَم and ^كتَدَم anomalous—for want of ^كي in their <i>o. f.</i>—or of finality in their double ^كو —reason of its conversion—(2) in ^كنِيَام more anomalous.</p>	
<p>§. 717. Treatment of ^كو and ^كي after ^ك of ultimate <i>pl.</i> not preceded by ^كو or ^كي — مَعَاثِرٌ — مَصَائِبٌ —opinion of S on last—of Jh—regular form—of Zj—of IH—confirmation of his opinion—Hamza in all three <i>pls.</i> anomalous.</p>	1548—1551
<p>§. 718. ^كي, when ^ك of ^كفَعْلَى (1) converted into ^كو in substantive—^كطَوْبَى —virtually, when not actually, a substantive—^كطَوْبَى and ^ككُوسَى treated as substantives—^كفَعْلَى anarthrous not a <i>qual.</i>—but treated as a substantive—small sense of qualification in ^كأَفْعَل of superiority—(2) not converted in <i>ep.</i>—but ^كḌamma before it converted into Kasra—so in <i>pl.</i> ^كفَعْلٌ —^كبَيْضٌ —its ^كḌamma converted into Kasra—but sometimes left, and ^كي then converted into ^كو.</p>	1552—1554

THE , AND ی AS ل S.

- §. 719. More unsound than as ع s—the nearer to the end, the more subject to transformation—transformation lighter than use of o. f.—predicament of , and ی as finals—modes of transformation—these letters (1) converted into رَمِينَا and غَزُونَا, رَمِيَتْ and غَزُوْتُ — ا and رَمِيْنَا and غَزُوْنَا —measure of last two and تَابِيْن and تَخْشِيْن — رَمِيْ and غَزُوْ — يَهْضَوَانِ, مَيَا and غَزَوَا — رَمِيْ and غَزُوْ — اِخْشِيَا — رَحِيَان and عَصَوَان and يَغْزِيَان — اِخْشِيْن —objection to IH's explanation of non-conversion in last—better opinion on last two—non-conversion of their ل not attributed to accidental character of its vowel — اِخْشَرْن and اِخْشَى — اِخْشَوَا —one condition of conversion that vowel of , or ی be permanent—conformability, or affinity, of n. to v. not a condition of conversion in its ل — غَلِيَان and نَزَوَان — conversion not prevented by ة of femininization after the ل —nor by aug. ا before it—restoration of ا to its o. f., (a) from fear of ambiguity—*exs.* in v.—and n.—ا elided in عَصَا and رَحَى how treated in *rel. n.*—

1555—1568

restored و and ی not reconverted into ا —
 (b) for conformity—restoration of ل to its
 place— ی then not converted into ا in
 اَرْضِیْنَ and تَرْضِیْنَ—elision of ی in *sing.*
masc. after Kasra or Fatha— و and ی in
 اَرْضُوْنَ and تَرْضُوْنَ not converted—but ی
 sometimes elided—in absence of ambiguity,
 ا not restored [to its o. f.] for avoidance of
 elision on account of two quiescents—(2)
 made quiescent— یَغْزُوْ and یَرْمِیْ — اَلرَّامِیْ
 (*nom.*)—similarly اَلْغَاذِیْ — اَلرَّامِیْ (*gen.*)
 and اِرْمِیْ —(3) elided—sometimes arbitra-
 rily—from frequency of usage— ل not
 elided in اُخْتُ —(4) preserved.

- §. 720. Capacity of و and ی for bearing inflectional vowels after (1) a quiescent—(2) a mobile—meaning of “mobile”—kind of vowel found before each— و and ی sometimes quiescent in *subj.* and *acc.*—explanations of اَنْ تَدُوْ—such quiescence found in prose— و and ی quiescent in *ind.* and *nom.*— ی sometimes mobile—catalogue of anomalies in treatment of unsound letter as seat of
- 1568—1577

inflection — , not found in *gen.*—predicament of *ي* —sometimes mobile—this pronunciation said to be a poetic license—opinion of R— , and *ي* elided in *apoc.*—sometimes retained— *ي* retained, except in *apoc.*—and sometimes even there.

- §. 721. No *decl. n.* ending in , preceded by a vowel 1577—1583
 —cause of that—treatment of , when a *ج*, final or virtually final, after original *Ḍamma*, in *decl. n.*—*exs.*— , converted into *ي*, and then *Ḍamma* into *Kasra*— , not so converted when (1) not a *ج* — *قِيلَ* —(2) followed by inseparable termination—exception when preceding *Ḍamma* is upon another , —(3) after accidental *Ḍamma*—(4) in a *v.*—(5) in a *n.*, but invariably pronounced with *Fath*— *و* sole instance—reasons for retention of , here—corresponding predicament of *ي* after *Ḍamma* as respects conversion of *Ḍamma* into *Kasra*—*Fr* and *Sf* on *سَيَرَأَى*—instances of non-finality as preventive of conversion—analogous instances in other *cats.*—*Khl* on differentiation of *عَبَّ* and *عَبَّ* from *عَبَّ* and *عَبَّ*.

- §. 722. Similar treatment of final و after Damma, in spite of intervening letter of prolongation, in فَعُولٌ —this و converted into ی —and then preceding و —and Damma of ع into Kasra—this process invariable in *pl.*, but not in *sing.*—*exs.* of conversion and non-conversion in *sing.*—S on proper letter in *sing.* and *pl.*—final و strong when doubled—conversion then necessary, proper, or improper— و not converted if not final—extraordinary cases of conversion—مَعْدِي or مَعْدُو —cause of transformation in former—similar transformation in *pass. part.* whose ل is Hamza—فَعُولٌ —vowel of ف in فَعُولٌ after conversion of و and Damma—مَعْدِم and مَعْدِي —conversion why allowable here—its regularity disputed—نِيَامٌ anomalous.
- §. 723. Final و and ی after *aug.* ا converted into ا, and afterwards into Hamza—رَأَى and ثَأَى —cause of conversion into ا —and then into Hamza—preceding ا to be *aug.*—reasons for this—and also, says Mz, third—زَايَةٌ —ثَأَى —رَأَى and غَايَةٌ —ثَأَى — و — and ی not converted before inseparable ة

1583—1587

1588—1593

of feminization—inseparable termination
 a preventive of conversion into ا —*exs.*—
 عَظَا or عَظَايَة , عَبا or عَبَايَة , and صَلا or
 صَلايَة — و in قُلُوسَة and عَرَقَة allowable for
 same reason as ي here—شَقَا and شَقَايَة not
 like عَظَايَة and عَظَا—inseparable termination
 not a preventive of conversion of ز , when
 a ل , after Kasra into ي — دُنْيَا — عَلْبَا
 and حَرْبَا .

- §. 724. Conversion of final و after Kasra into ي —its
 cause—conditions requisite for conversion
 of mobile و after Kasra into ي — treat-
 ment of mobile ي after Damma — قَنِيَّة and
 دُنْيَا —reason of conversion in them—deriva-
 tion of قَنِيَّة —of صَبِيَّة and دُنْيَا —conversion
 of ي in *cat.* of رَضِيَ , دُعِيَ , and بَقِيَ into ا
 —whether this ي be *orig.* و or not—such
 conversion peculiar to *vs.*

1593—1598.

- §. 725. ل of فَعَلَى , (1) when و , preserved—no dis-
 tinction here between substantive and *ep.*—
 cause of non-conversion—(2) if ي , pre-
 served in *ep.*, and converted into و in sub-
 stantive—substantive why selected for

1598—1604.

transformation—moderation intended—this change made in most cases—alleged exceptions—change of **ي** into **و** in substantive said by IM here and in CK, agreeably with opinion of most GG, to be regular—but in Tashīl to be anomalous—as also in another of his compositions—his admission there as to opinion of most GG—his proof that this change is anomalous—criticism on his proof— **ل** of **فَعَلَى**, (1) if **ي**, preserved—no distinction here between substantive and *ep.*—cause of non-conversion—(2) if **و**, preserved in substantive, and converted into **ي** in *ep.*—**الْحُلُوفِ** — **الْقَصِيَا** or **الْقَصَوَى** —IM's opinion contrary to that of most Etymologists—opinion expressed by R—**الْعُلَيَا**, **الْدُنْيَا**, and **الْقَصِيَا** regarded by S as substantives—inconsistency of IH in treating **الْقَصَوَى** as a substantive, and **الْقَضِيَا** and **الْغَزَوَى** as *eps.* —S on **الْقَصَوَى** —conversion the rule, according to him, in every **فَعَلَى** *fem.* of **أَفْعَلٌ** whose **ل** is **و** —unless it be [actually used as] an *ep.*—Sf's explanation of his meaning in latter case— **ل** of **فَعَلَى**, from

defective, not converted in substantive or
ep.—*exs.* of it scarce.

- §. 726. *Sings.* of ultimate *pl.* ending in ی preceded by Hamza—general rule to alleviate these two letters in ultimate *pl.*—mode of alleviation— ی why converted into ا —and Hamza into ی —Hamza mostly converted into و in *du.* of حَمْرًا —but not in ultimate *pl.*—هَدَارِيْ anomalous—general rule contravened in (1) شَوَاءٌ (2) اَدَارِيْ and علاوِيْ —but observed in (1) شَوَايَا (2) هَدَاوِيْ —بَلَايَا and خَطَايَا (3) سَقَايَا and دَرَايَا exceptional—observations on (1) ا third in all these *pls.*—(2) Hamza after ا in شَوَاءٌ —(3) ا second in *sings.* شَائِدَةً and شَاوِيَةً —(4) ا and و in اَدَارَةً —(5) ا in شَارِيَةً after و —(6) ا and ی in سَقَايَةً —(7) ی and Hamza in خَطِيئَةً —Khl on خَطَايَا —remark by IH—conversion necessary in Hamza and its Kasra, after ا of ultimate *pl.*, when that Hamza is adventitious in *pl.*, and ا of *pl.* is Hamza, ی, or و —no conversion (1) when Hamza is found in *sing.* as ع —condition for conversion prescribed by IH—and by

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S, Z, and IHsh—meaning of “adventitious in *pl.*”—^{اَلْمَرَايَا} or ^{اَلْمَرَايَا}—(2) when ^ل is sound—Hamza here included among unsound letters.—conflicting opinions on its soundness or unsoundness—formation of (1) ^{خَطَايَا}—opinion of S and majority of BB—and of Khl—objection to latter—(2) ^{تَضَايَا}—(3) ^{مَطَايَا}—(4) ^{هَرَايَا}—Jj and ISd on ^{غَدَايَا} *pl.* of ^{غَدَايَا}—right view—true explanation of ^ي in it—their language not justifiable by assuming its *sing.* to be ^{غَدَايَا}—assertion of IAmb—anomalies in this *cat.*—Akh on ^{هَدَايَا}—opinion of KK on measure of all four formations mentioned above—and of BB—latter correct—difference between statement attributed to Khl, and opinion of KK, on measure of ^{خَطَايَا}.

- §. 727. Final ^ي fourth or upwards converted into ^ي 1620—1624
 when letter before it is not pronounced with Damm—conditions of conversion when letter before it is pronounced with Fath—two reasons assigned for conversion—^{تَغَايَا} and ^{تَغَايَا}—Akh on ^{يَشَايَا}—weakness of second reason—object of proviso “when letter before it is not pronounced

with Damm"—additional proviso requisite
—original proviso properly restricted to *vs.*
—amendment of it suggested by R.

- §. 728. ع in *cat.* of قَوًى and هَوًى treated as sound—1624—1638
reason for not transforming it—and so in
cat. of طَوًى and حَيًى —another reason in
case of قَوًى, طَوًى, and حَيًى —and in that
of هَوًى —and another in that of طَوًى and
حَيًى — غَايَةً ع treated as sound in *n.* also—
etc., anomalous—why so called—آيَةً how
explained by Fr—and by Ks—anomalous
according to all three accounts—last two
explanations applicable to غَايَةً, etc.—incor-
poration in *cat.* of حَيًى —more frequent
than display—حَيًى and عَيًى —incorporation
why more frequent—stipulation that vowel
of second unsound letter be inseparable—
exs.—not imported on account of adven-
titious and separable letter, nor inflectional
—incorporation or display allowable if
vowel be either inseparable, or imported on
account of adventitious, but inseparable,
letter—incorporation more proper in either
case—inseparability why stipulated—vowel
of first حَيًى how pronounced in display—

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حَيُّوا —Kasr of ف in حَيَّ —reason for Fath
or Kasr—better explanation—assertion
about Kasr in *act.* voice apparently a
blunder—incorporation in *pass. pret.*—not
so frequent as in *act.*—construction of حَيَّ
—Damm or Kasr of its ح —reason for each
vowel—similar vocalization of ف in فَعَلَ —
Sf on لِي for لِي, and حَيَّ for حَيَّ —*du.* and
pl. of أَحَيَّ and اسْتَحْيَ and of أَحْيَى —
diel. vars. of اسْتَحْيَى —and of اسْتَحْيَا —
exs. of اسْتَحْيَى, *aor.* اسْتَحْيَى —*orig.* اسْتَحْيَا,
aor. اسْتَحْيَى — *pass.* of حَيَّ or حَيَّ —
— *not* said as *aor.* of حَيَّ or أَحَيَّ —
incorporation eschewed in *aor. pass.* of أَحْيَا
and اسْتَحْيَا —and in *aor. act.*—even in *subj.*—
no incorporation in *ext.* of قَوَّى —trans-
formation preferred to incorporation—يَحْيَا
and يَقْوَى .

- §. 729. Double , peculiar to فَعَلَ —objection to form-
ing فَعَلَ or فَعَلَ from *cat.* of قَوَّى —especially
قَوَّيْتُ —this objection obviated in فَعَلَ —

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—double , avoided when ع is orig. mobile— but tolerated with incorporation—in n., not in v.	
§. 730. <i>Pret.</i> and <i>aor.</i> of (1) اِفْعَالٌ whose ع and ل are , s —(2) اِفْعَلٌ whose ل is , —reasons for not incorporating— <i>inf. n.</i> of اِحْوَايَ — اِحْوَايَ , <i>aor.</i> يَحْوِي , — <i>inf. n.</i> اِحْوَايَ — <i>pret.</i> of اِفْعَلٌ and اِفْعَالٌ whose ع and ل are ي s , or whose ل is ي —their <i>aor., act. part., and inf. n.</i> — <i>aor.</i> يَحْيِي , <i>inf. n.</i> اِحْيَا .	1640—1645
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CHAPTER XI.—INCORPORATION.	
§. 731. Definition—اِدْغَامٌ —or اِدْغَامٌ —incorporation as defined (1) by IH—why so named—two letters requisite for it—quiescent and mobile —first quiescent, and second mobile—both proceeding from one outlet—without separa- tion—modes of separation—(2) by R—his	1663--1702

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objections to IH's conditions "quiescent and mobile"—and "without separation"—incorporation necessary, disallowed, and allowable—intended to lighten concurrence of homogeneous letters—such concurrence of three kinds—(1) first homogeneous letter quiescent, and second mobile—here incorporation necessary—whether in one word or two—(2) first mobile, and second quiescent—here incorporation disallowed—^ود, and ^ولَمْ يَزِدْ—(3) both mobile—here incorporation (a) necessary—(b) allowable where homogeneous letters are (a) separate, and preceded by mobile, or by letter of prolongation or softness—first homogeneous made quiescent for incorporation—incorporation when good, and when best—why omissible—display of reduplication better after letter of prolongation than after mobile, and after letter of softness than after letter of prolongation—incorporation why allowable after letter of softness—(b) virtually separate—(c) disallowed, (a) where one homogeneous letter is coordinative, whether in *v.* or *n.*—(b) where incorporation would lead to confusion of paradigms—no such confusion in *vs.*—(c) where homogeneous letters are separate, and first

is preceded by quiescent other than a letter of prolongation or softness—^{نَحْنُ نَقْصُ} —^{دَلَّى يَزِيدَ} and ^{عَدُوٌّ وَلِيدٌ} —incorporation not disallowed if preceding quiescent be a letter of prolongation or softness—incorporation of approximates—incorporation of two kinds—of likes and of approximates, in one word and in two—meaning of “approximates”—incorporation proper to etymology and to Readers, but latter kind ignored here by IM—incorporation of likes, whose first is quiescent and second mobile, necessary on three conditions, that first be not (1) a ؤ of silence—^{مَالِيَهُ هَلَكَ} —(2) a Hamza separated from the ف —treatment of two consecutive Hamzas in one word—and in two—(3) a letter of prolongation, (a) at end of word—^{إِخْشَى يَأْسِرًا} and ^{إِخْشَوْا وَاقْدَا} —(b) substituted, not permanently, for another letter—^{أَدَبٌ} for ^{أَدَبٌ} —IM’s mention of these conditions—incorporation of likes, both of which are mobile, necessary on eleven conditions, (1) that both be in one word—reduplication extremely heavy—no concurrence of likes in *rads.* of *quad.* or *quin.*—nor in ف and ع

of *tril.*, except extraordinarily—nor in beginning or middle of augmented *tril. n.* not commensurable with *v.*—concurrence of mobile likes in beginning or middle of augmented *vs.*, and of augmented *ns.* commensurable with *vs.*—whether *trils.*—or *quads.*—treatment of likes in augmented *quad.*—and in augmented *tril.*, (*a*) in beginning (α) of *pret.*—similar treatment of approximates when ف of تَفَعَّل or تَفَاعَلَ is approximate to its ت —incorporation in *pret.* extended to *aor.*, *imp.*, *inf. n.*, and *act.* and *pass. parts.*—(β) of *aor.*—(*b*) in middle—incorporation why allowable in *inf. ns.* of *conjugs.* mentioned—this the predicament of mobile likes combined in beginning or middle of word—their predicament at end, (*a*) if first have another letter incorporated into it—(*b*) if reduplication be co-ordinative—elision of ا in أَطَى —(*c*) if first be unsound—or sound, (*aa*) in *v.*—(*bb*) in *tril. n.*, unaugmented or augmented—(α) فَعَّل —(β) فَعَل —(γ) فَعَل —(δ) عَم — رَدَد and قَدَد , سَرَر and سَرَر —(ϵ) فَعْلَان , فَعْلَان , فَعْلَان , and فَعْلَان —(ζ) أَدَق — رَاد , مَدَق , مَرَد , مُسْتَعَد and أَظْلَل — أَظْلَل — these the predicaments

of mobile likes combined in one word—
 elision or transfer of vowel from their first
 when incorporation is intended—conditions
 of incorporation if likes be in two words—
 question whether “incorporation” attribut-
 ed to IAl in certain texts be mere stifling—
 or pure incorporation—Readers safer guides
 than GG on this question—incorporation by
 transfer of vowel from first of two likes not
 allowable when likes are in two words—(2)
 that they be not initial—aristic تَاتَابِعْ —
 for تَاتَابِعْ — condition of non-initiality not
 mentioned here by IM—(3-6) that they be
 not on measure of (a) فُعْلٌ, (b) فُعْلٌ, (c)
 فُعْلٌ, (d) فُعْلٌ —incorporation disallowed in
 all these measures—reason of its disallow-
 ance—and in *n.* commensurable, in its fore
 part, with any of them—as also in فُعْلٌ —
 combination of two mobile likes possible in
 four more measures of *tril.*—فُعْلٌ not used
 — فُعْلٌ, فُعْلٌ, and فُعْلٌ used—incorporation
 generally prescribed in فُعْلٌ and فُعْلٌ —and
 dissolution in فُعْلٌ —(7) that no letter be
 incorporated into the first of the two likes
 —(8) that mobilization of their second be

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not adventitious—(9) that word containing them be not co-ordinated with another—such co-ordinates of three sorts—words cut out from composite expressions—incorporation disallowed in all three sorts—(10) that word containing them be not one of those expressions wherein dissolution is anomalously chosen by the Arabs—whether *vs.*—or *ns.*—dissolution or incorporation allowable in (a) حَيِّى and عَيِّى —reasons for these alternatives—نَعِى —dissolution preferable —(b) تَتَجَلَّى and اِسْتَرْ —(a) and (b) exceptions to rule as to necessity for incorporating first of two mobile likes in one word —(11) that quiescence do not supervene upon their second either through its conjunction with a *nom. pron.*, or through apocopation or quasi-apocopation—such formations of two kinds—meaning of “*nom. pron.*” —no incorporation with it, according to majority of Arabs—dialectic variations—choice allowed, in *apoc.* and *imp.*, between dissolution and incorporation—reason for the latter—meaning of “choice allowed”—effect of incorporation upon *conj.* Hamza in *imp.*—incorporation retained with , of *pl.*, ى of 2nd *pers. sing. fem.*, or *corrob.* ن —

connection of this question with condition (8)—proposed amendment of A's language—vowel of letter that has its like incorporated into it, (a) before ^ل of 3rd pers. sing. fem. and ^س of 3rd pers. sing. masc.—^{هـ} and ^د, allowed by KK, and ^د by Th—the latter censured for allowing Fath—Kasra dial. var.—(b) before a quiescent—Damm rare—(c) not conjoined with any of the foregoing, from “^و of pl.” to “quiescent”—dissolution obligatory in ^{أَفْعَل} of wonder, and incorporation in ^{هَام}—this proviso a correction of preceding rule as to “choice allowed in . . . imp.”—^{أَفْعَل} of wonder regarded, by majority of BB, as a pret. v.—and ^{هَام}, by Hijāzīs, as a verbal n.—vowel of its final—prominent nom. prons. attached to it—pause upon double letter—outlets of letters.

- §. 732. Outlet defined—how recognizable—ex.—IY's definition—outlets of letters sixteen—(1) of Hamza, ^ء, and ^ا—(2) of ^ع and ^ح—(3) of ^غ and ^خ—outlets in the throat—relative positions of (a) Hamza, ^ء, and ^ا—opinion

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of S—of Akh—disproof of latter—continuation of argument on his opinion—(b) ع and ح, and (c) غ and خ—Hamza, ا, , and ي said by Lth to be hollow—and by Khl to be airy—his opinion on relative positions of ع, ح, ه, غ, and خ—these seven letters, from outlets (1-3), guttural—(4) of ق—(5) of ك—difference in their outlets how recognizable—both these letters uvular—ق how articulated by Arabs of the desert—this articulation hereditary—way to account for it—(6) of ج, ش, and ي—their relative positions—their outlet where placed by S—(7) of ض—its position on the side of the tongue—right or left—description of the teeth—central incisors—lateral incisors—canines—bicuspid or premolars—molars—postmolars—position of ض in relation to tongue and teeth—from which side uttered—called “long”—(8) of ل—no letter more extensive in outlet—its outlet where placed by S—(9, 10) of , and ن—ن farther out than ل— , a little farther in than ن—difference in positions of , and ن demonstrated by language of IH—criticism of some of his commentators thus rebutted—

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(11) of ط , د , and ت — (12) of ز , ص , and س —tip of tongue not in contact with central incisors— س prior in outlet to ز — (13) of ظ , ذ , and ث —these eighteen letters, from outlets (4-13), lingual—(14) of ف —(15) of ب , م , and و — م and و nasal—these four letters, from outlets (14-15), labial—fifteen preceding outlets allotted to twenty-nine primary letters— relative positions of these outlets—(16) of single ن —Fr's differences from S—latter's opinion best—outlet of secondary letters other than single ن .	
§. 733. Number of letters 43—primaries 29—Hamza —their number not complete in other lang- uages—no Hamza in foreign speech, except in inception—nor any ض — ُ not an in- dependent letter—but reckoned as a single letter in H's "Speckled Epistle"—Hamza omitted by Mb—but rightly first letter of alphabet—under form of ِ — proof of this —soft ِ —distinct from Hamza—secondaries 6—all chaste—why called "secondary"—(1) quiescent ن —named "single" and "stifled" —its outlet—(2) ِ of Imāla—named ^E الف	1712—1724

—meaning of تَرْخِيمٌ —(3) broad | —
 broad | mentioned by IH—not broad | —
 latter how pronounced—found in what *dial.*
 —how written in Codex and elsewhere—(4)
 ش like ج —same as ج like ش —approved
 by S—(5) ص like ز —mentioned in §. 696—
 read in Kur. I. 5—(6) Hamza of betwixt-
 and-between—of three kinds, making chaste
 secondaries 8—hybrids 8—these also second-
 ary—(1) ك like ج —(2) ج like ك —
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 it do not—(b) if first be quiescent, incor-
 poration, (a) if it produce confusion, dis-
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 اِسْتِطَاعَ, aor. يَسْتِطِيعُ —then اِسْطَاعَ, aor.
 اِسْتِطَاعَ, aor. يَسْتِطِيعُ —اِسْطَاعَ, aor. يَسْطِيعُ
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§ 624. This augment is like the augment of disapprobation [620] in conforming to [the vowel of] what precedes it, if this be mobile [623]; and, when this is [a sound] quiescent, it is mobilized with Kasr, as it is mobilized there, and afterwards the augment conforms to it: S says “ We have heard them say إِنَّهُ قَدِي [497, 623] and إِلَى for قَدْ فَعَلَ and the ا and ل when trying to remember الْحَارِثُ and the like;” and he says, “ We have heard a trustworthy person say هَذَا سَيْفُنِي, meaning *This is a sword of such and such a quality*, [when trying to remembers its *ep.*] (M). This augment is not followed by the ة of silence, contrary to the augment of disapproval [622], because this is added only when pause is not intended (R).

PART THE FOURTH.

THE PROCESSES COMMON TO TWO OR THREE PARTS OF SPEECH.

CHAPTER I.

THE COMMON PROCESSES IN GENERAL.

§. 625. This Fourth Part is the last part of the book. And Z names it "Common" because it is common to the three kinds [of word], i. e., the *n.*, the *v.*, and the *p.*; or to two of them (IY). The common [processes] are such as Imāla, pause, alleviation of the Hamza, concurrence of two quiescents, and the like, in which the three kinds [of word], or two of them, appear together (M). For Imāla is found in the *n.* and *v.* [626], and sometimes in the *p.* also [639]; and similarly pause is found in the *n.*, *v.*, and *p.* [640]; and so are alleviation of the Hamza and concurrence of two quiescents, as will be related in its place [658, 663] (IY). Etymology is one of the elements of grammar, without dispute. The moderns hold that etymology is the science of the formations of words; and of the properties of their letters, such as radicalness or augmentativeness, elision, soundness or unsoundness, incorporation and Imāla; and of the accidents, not being inflection or uninflectedness

[below], of their finals, such as pause, etc (R). Etymology is conventionally applied to two things, (1) the transmutation of words into different formations on account of various kinds of meanings, as in the *dim.* [274], broken *pl* [234], *act. part.* [343], and *pass. part.* [347]; and this sort is usually mentioned by authors before etymology, as is done by IM, though it is really a part of etymology : (2) the alteration of the word, not because of a meaning supervening upon it, but for another object, [like co-ordination, or freedom from concurrence of two quiescents (Sn),] which [alteration (Sn)] is comprised in augmentation [671], elision, substitution [682], conversion, transfer, and incorporation [731]; and this sort is what is intended here by “ etymology ” (A). The clause “ not being inflection [or uninflectedness] ” excludes the science of syntax in [all] its parts, i. e., the investigation of the *infl.* and *uninfl.* (Jrb). For the predicaments of the final are not regarded in the “ formation ” of the word ; while inflection is [an accident] supervening upon the last letter of the word, so that it is not included in the changes of the formations ; and similarly uninflectedness (R).

CHAPTER II.

IMĀLA.

§. 626. It is common to the *n.* and *v.* [625, 639] (M). It is the *inf. n.* of أَفَالَ الشَّيْءَ deflected the thing, *inf. n.* إِمَالَةً deflection, when you make it deviate to another direction (Jrb, Tsr). And [in conventional language (Tsr)] it is your taking the Fathā towards Kasra (Aud), so that the Fathā imbibes something of the sound of Kasra, becoming intermediate between Fathā and Kasra (Tsr). Then, if the Fathā be followed by an ا, the latter is taken towards ي, [becoming intermediate between ا and ي (Tsr),] as in أَلْفَتَى [below] (Aud), with Imāla of the Fathā and ا (Tsr); and if [the Fathā be (Tsr)] not [followed by an ا (Tsr)], what is pronounced with Imāla is the Fathā alone, [whether the Fathā be before the ة of femininization, or not (Tsr),] as in ذَعَبَةٌ [638] and بَسَجَر LIV. 34. [64] (Aud). Imāla is of three sorts, deflection of the Fathā towards Kasra before (1) the ا, which is then deflected towards ي [626—637]; (2) the ة, as in حَمَةٌ [638]; (3) the ي, as in كَبَر [638]: so that “deflection of the Fathā towards Kasra” includes the three sorts; while the deflection of

the | towards *ي* is necessitated by the deflection of the Fatha towards Kasra, because the pure | is found only after the pure Fatha, and the | is necessarily deflected towards *ي* in proportion to the deflection of the Fatha towards Kasra. Imāla is not the *dial.* of all the Arabs (R). The people of AlḤijāz [below] do not practise Imāla (R, Tsr), except in a few cases. Those who practise it are Tamīm, Kais, Asad, and the generality of Najd (Tsr); while the tribe most addicted to it are the Banū Tamīm (R). It is also named كَسْرٌ *pronouncing with Kasr*, بَطْمٌ *flattening*, and اِضْجَاعٌ *lowering, depressing* (A). The utility of it is consonance of sounds (Tsr). But everything pronounced with Imāla may be sounded full, because this is the *o. f.*, since the original pronunciation of a letter is that its sound should not be blended with the sound of any other (Jrb, Tsr): so says Jrb (Tsr). Imāla has causes [below] that exact it, preventives [632] that counteract those causes, and a preventive of these preventives [634], that intervenes between it and prevention (Aud). Its causes are of two kinds, (1) *lit.*, vid. the *ي* and Kasra; (2) *id.*, vid. indication of a *ي* or Kasra (A). The causes are eight, (1) the |'s being substituted for a final *ي*, as in اَلْفَتَى [629] and اَلْهَدَى among *ns.*, and هَدَى and اِشْتَرَى among *vs.*; while such as نَاب [630], though its | is [substituted (Tsr)] for a *ي*, as

is proved by [its broken *pl.* (Tsr)] **أَنْيَابُ** [242], is not pronounced with Imāla, for lack of finality : whereas such as **فَتَاةٌ** [*fem.* of **فَتَى** (Tsr)] is pronounced with Imāla, because the ة of femininization is constructively separate [266] (Aud) ; so that the ا, if not literally, is constructively final (Tsr) : (2) the ا's being replaced by ي in some variations [of the word], like the ا of **مَنْهَى**, [where the ا is a *subst.* for a, (Tsr)]; of **أَرْطَى**, [where it is an *aug.* added for co-ordination (Tsr)]; of **حُبْلَى**, [where it is an *aug.* added for femininization (Tsr)]; and of **غَزَا**, [where it is a *subst.* for a, in *vs.* (Tsr)] : so that these [*exs.* (Tsr)] and the like are pronounced with Imāla, [because the ا in them is replaced by ي in some variations, like the *du.* and *pl.* among *ns.*, and the *pass.* among *vs.* (Tsr),] as in the *du.* **مَنْهَيَانِ** [629], **أَرْطَيَانِ**, and **حُبْلَيَانِ** [229] ; the *pl.* [**مَنْهَيَاتُ**, **أَرْطَيَاتُ**, and (Tsr)] and **حُبْلَيَاتُ** [234] ; and the *pass.* **غُرِيَ** [629, 719] : (a) according to this [last (Tsr)], the saying of IM [in the Alfiya and elsewhere (Tsr)] that the Imāla in the ا of **تَلَا** in **وَالْقَمَرِ إِذَا تَلَاهَا** XCI. 2. [538] is for correspondence with the Imāla in the ا of **جَلَاهَا** XCI. 3. [538], and his saying [in the CK (Tsr)] and the saying of his son [in the C (Tsr)] that the Imāla in the ا of **سَجَى** XCIII. 2. is for

correspondence with the Imāla in the ا of قَلَى XCIII. 3. [63] are dubious ; may, the Imāla in both cases is because of [the *pass.* (Tsr)] ثَلَى and سَجَى : (b) those [words] in which the conversion of the ا into ي is (a) peculiar to an anomalous *dial.*, like the conversion of the ا of عَصَا and قَفَا [629] into ي in the saying of Hudhail, when they prefix these *ns.* to the ي of the 1st *pers.*, عَصَى and قَفَى [129], or (b) caused by amalgamation of the ا with an *aug.* letter, like the conversion of the ا of عَصَا and قَفَا into ي in the *dim.*, as عَصِيَّةٌ and قَفِيَّةٌ [280], or in the *pl.* on the measure of فُعُولٌ , as عِصِيٌّ and قِفِيٌّ [243], are excepted from [the operation of] that [cause] (Aud) mentioned, vid. “ the ا ’ s being replaced by ي in some variations ” ; so that none of those [words] is pronounced with Imāla (Tsr) : (3) the ا ’ s being substituted for the ع of that فَعَلَ which, on being attributed to the ت [of the *pron.* (Tsr)], is reduced to فَعِلْتُ with Kasr of the ف [and elision of the ع (Tsr)], whether that ا be converted from (a) a ي [pronounced with Fath or Kasr, the first (Tsr)] as in بَاعَ and كَالَ , and [the second as in (Tsr)] هَابَ ; or (b) a و , pronounced with Kasr, as in خَافَ [630] and كَادَ [in the *dial.* of all (Tsr),] and مَاتَ in the *dial.* of those who say مِتْتُ with Kasr [482] : contrary to [the ا converted

from a , pronounced with Fath or Damm, as in (Tsr)] such as قَال and طَال [in the *dial.* of all (Tsr),] and مَات in the *dial.* of Damm (Aud); so that these are not pronounced with Imāla, because you say قُلْتُ and طُلْتُ and مُت , with Damm of the ف , by transfer in قُلْتُ , and according to the *o. f.* in طُلْتُ and مُت [403, 482, 484] (Tsr): (4) the ا 's occurring [immediately (Tsr)] before a ي [pronounced with Fath (Tsr)], as in بَايَعْتُهُ and سَايَرْتُهُ: (a) this [cause] is neglected by IM [in the *Alfiya* (Tsr)], and by [S and (Tsr)] most (Aud); but is mentioned by IM in the *Tashīl*, where he says "or immediately preceding a ي" (Tsr): (5) the ا 's occurring after a ي , (a) adjoining [it, with no barrier between them (Tsr)], as in بَيَان [with a single ي , and بَيَاع with a double ي , except that the Imāla with the double ي is stronger, because of the repetition of the cause (Tsr)]: (b) separated [from it (Tsr)] by (a) one letter , as in شَيْبَان [628] and جَادَتْ يَدَاْ *His two hands were bountiful*, [the Imāla in the first being stronger, because the lowness of the sound is more apparent in the quiescent ي than in the mobile, on account of the nearness of the former to the letter of prolongation (Tsr)]: (b) two letters, one, [or, in the language of the *Tashīl*, the second (Tsr),] of which is a س , as in دَخَلَتْ بَيْتَهَا *She entered her house* (Aud), provided that the ي and س be

not separated by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in *إِتَّسَعَ بَيْتُهَا* *Her house was wide* : so says the author of the Aud in the Glosses (Tsr) : separation by the *z* is pardoned because the *z*, by reason of its faintness, is not reckoned a barrier : but IM here, and likewise in the Kāfiya, does not impose the restriction that the *z* should be second ; and apparently Imāla is allowable in *هَاتَانِ شُوبِهَتَانِ* *These are thy two little sheep*, because separation by the *z* is like no separation, and, when the *z* is dropped out of consideration, *شُوبِهَتَانِ* is equal to *شَيْبَانِ* (A) : (6) the *ā*'s occurring [immediately (Tsr)] before a [letter pronounced with] Kasra as in *عَالِمٌ* [628] and *كَادِبٌ* : (7) the *ā*'s occurring after a Kasra [627] : (8) desire for correspondence, [when no other cause exists (Tsr),] as in (a) *رَأَيْتُ عِبَادًا* [631] (Aud), where the first *ā* is pronounced with Imāla because it occurs after a Kasra separated from it by one letter, vid. the *m* ; and the second *ā*, converted from the Tanwīn, is pronounced with Imāla for correspondence with the first (Tsr) : and (b) the reading *وَالضُّحَى* XCIII. 1. *By the forenoon*, where the *ā*, though [converted (Tsr)] from the *u*, of *ضُحْوَةٌ*, is pronounced with Imāla for correspondence with *سَجَى* XCIII. 2., *قَلَى* XCIII. 3. [above], and what follows them (Aud'), because observance of correspondence

in the terminations of the versicles is an important object, according to them (Tsr): (a) such Imāla is named “Imāla on account of Imāla”, and “Imāla on account of the vicinity of the [ا (Sn)] pronounced with Imāla”; and is mentioned last because of its weakness in comparison with the preceding causes: (b) the Imāla of the ا on account of correspondence has two phases, (a) that it should be on account of the vicinity of an ا so pronounced, like the Imāla of the second ا in رَأَيْتُ عِبَادًا [above], which is for correspondence with the first ا; (b) that it should be on account of the ا's being the final of a phrase adjacent to a phrase whose final is pronounced with Imāla, like the Imāla of the ا of نَدَا in XCI. 2. [above], which is for correspondence with what follows it, i. e., جَلَّاهَا XCI. 3. [538] and يَغْشَاهَا XCI. 4. [637], according to the opinion of others than S, vid. Mb and a party (A); (c) the ا that has no cause [of Imāla] in it, (a) if preceded by the ا pronounced with Imāla on account of one of the causes aforesaid, is pronounced with Imāla, as in عِبَادًا [above]: (b) if followed by it, then, if they occur in the terminations of the versicles, is pronounced with Imāla, for correspondence of the terminations, as in وَالضُّحَى [above]; but, if they do not occur in the terminations, is not pronounced with Imāla (Tsr). These causes are all reducible to the ي and Kasra. Opinions differ as to which of the two is

stronger, the majority holding that Kasra is stronger, and more conducive to Imāla, than the **ى** [628, 632], which appears to be the language of S ; while IS holds that the **ى** is stronger than Kasra. The first is more obvious for two reasons, (1) that the tongue sinks lower with the Kasra than it does with the **ى** : (2) that, as S mentions, the people of AlHijāz [above] pronounce the **ا** with Imāla on account of Kasra, while they and many of the Arabs do not pronounce [the **ا**] with Imāla on account of the **ى** ; [so that those who pronounce the **ا** with Imālā on account of Kasra are more numerous than those who pronounce it with Imāla on account of the **ى** (Sn),] which shows Kasra to be stronger (A).

§. 627. The Kasra before the **ا** [626] takes effect only when it precedes the **ا** by (1) one letter, as in **عِبَادٌ** *tent-pole* : (2) two letters, the first of which is quiescent, as in **شِبْلَالٌ** [385] (M), because the quiescent is not minded, and is not a strong barrier, so that **شِبْلَالٌ** becomes like **شِبَالٌ** ; and similarly in **إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ** II. 151. *Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him are we returning*, where Imāla is excellent (IY). But, when the Kasra precedes [the **ا**] by two mobile letters, as in **أَكَلْتُ عِنَبًا** *I ate grapes*, or by three letters, as in **فَتَلْتُ قَنَبًا** *I twisted hemp*, it does not take effect (M) ; so that Imāla is not permissible, because of the distance

of the Kasra from the † (IY). And, as for their saying *هُوَ عِنْدَهَا*, *يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَضْرِبَهَا* *He means to strike her* [633], *هُوَ عِنْدَهَا* *He is with her* and *لَهُ دِرْهَمَانِ* *He has two dirhams* [or *دِرْهَمَانِ* *thy two dirhams*], it is anomalous (M), rare (IY). What makes it permissible is that the *ﺺ*, being faint, is not taken into account (M); so that, the *ﺺ* being like the non-existent, *يَضْرِبَهَا* becomes like *يَضْرِبُهَا* (IY). For, when the *ﺺ* drops out of consideration, *يَضْرِبَهَا* is equal to such as *كِتَابٌ* and *عِبَادٌ*, and *عِنْدَهَا* and *دِرْهَمَانِ* or *دِرْهَمَانِ* to such as *شِبَالٌ* [above] (A). But the exemplification by such as *دِرْهَمَانِ* requires consideration, because its Imāla may be on account of the *و* pronounced with Kasr, in which case it is not anomalous, nor relevant to what we are discussing (Jrb). And, for that reason, the author of the Aud following IM, exemplifies by it *pre.* to the *و*. IH and others mention that the Imāla of such as *دِرْهَمَانِ* is anomalous: but F, in the *Īdāh*, does not mention that the Imāla of *دِرْهَمَانِ* is anomalous, notwithstanding his explicit attribution of the Imāla to the preceding Kasra, not to the Kasra of the *و* of the *du.* (Tsr). When the letter before the *ﺺ* that is immediately followed by the † is pronounced with Damm, as in *يَضْرِبُهَا*, Imāla is allowed by no one, because, with the Damma, the *ﺺ* cannot be like the non-

existent, since the letter before the **l** is never pronounced with **Damīm** (R).

§. 628. The condition of efficiency in the cause of **Imāla** is that it should be part of the word containing the **l**. But from that is excepted the **l** of the *fem. pron.* **هَآ** [639], as in **كَمْ يَضْرِبُهَا** and **أَدْرَجِيْبَهَا**, which is pronounced with **Imāla**, though its cause is detached, i. e. part of another word. And others than **IM** mention that the **l** is sometimes pronounced with **Imāla** on account of the **Kasra**, when detached from the **l**, although this **Kasra** is weaker [in exacting **Imāla** (Sn)] than the **Kasra** that is in the same word with the **l** : **S** says “ We have heard them say **لَزَيْدٍ مَّالٌ** *Zaid has camels* [633], pronouncing with **Imāla** on account of the **Kasra**, by assimilating this phrase to one word”. It is plain, therefore, that the language of **IM** “ Do not pronounce with **Imāla** on account of a cause that is not attached ” is not universally correct ; and he ought properly to say “ Do not pronounce any thing but **هَآ** with **Imāla** on account of a detached **ي**”, the **Kasra** being excluded because it is stronger, as before mentioned, than the **ي** [626] (A). They treat the detached **l**, [which is converted from **Tanwīn** (IY),] like the attached, [which is part of the word itself (IY),] as **دَرَسْتُ عَلَيْهَا** *I studied science* and **رَأَيْتُ زَيْدًا** *I saw Zaid* (M), with **Imāla**, like **عِبَادٌ** [627]

and شَيْبَانُ [626] respectively (IY); and the accidental Kasra [of inflection after the ا (IY)] like the original [Kasra of the ع of فَاعِلٌ (IY)], as مَرَرْتُ بِبَابِهِ *I passed by his door* and أَخَذْتُ مِنْ مَالِهِ *I took of his goods or camels* (M): except that the Imāla in such as [عَالِمٌ or] سَالِمٌ [626] and عِبَادٌ [627] is stronger than the Imāla here, because the Kasra there is inseparable; while in مَالِهِ and بَابِهِ it is accidental, disappearing in the *nom.* and *acc.*, where there is no Imāla, as there is none in آجُرُ *brick* and تَابِلٌ [247] (IY).

§. 629. The final ا is either in a *v.*, or in a *n.*, and is either third or upwards. That which is in the *v.* is pronounced with Imāla, however it be (M), its Imāla being good, if it be converted from a ي, as in رَمَى and قَضَى: and allowable, though inelegant, if it be converted from a و, as in غَرَا and دَعَا, because, when this formation is transported by the Hamza to أَفْعَلٌ [488], its و becomes a ي, as أَغْرَيْتُ and أَدْعَيْتُ [685, 719, 727], so that you say أَغْرَى and أَدْعَى with Imāla; and also because, when it is turned into a *pass.*, its و becomes a ي, as غُرِيَ and دُعِيَ [626, 719]; so that they imagine what is virtually present to be literally present (IY). And that which is in the *n.* (M), if converted from a ي, is pronounced

with Imāla, which is good, as in فَتَى [626] and رَجَى : but (IY), if not recognized as converted from a ى, is not pronounced with Imāla when third (M), as in عَصَا and قَفَا [626] (IY) ; but is [preferably (IY)] pronounced with Imāla when fourth (M), whether it be (1) a ل, as in مَلْهَى from لَهَوْتُ, where the ى appears in the *du.* مَلْهَيَانِ [626, 727] ; or (2) an *aug.*, added (a) for feminization, as in حُبْلَى, where the ا is converted into ى in the *du.* حُبْلَيَانِ and sound *pl.* حُبْلَيَاتٌ [626] ; or (b) for co-ordination, as in أَرْطَى, where you say in the *du.* أَرْطَيَانِ [626] (IY). But الْعَلَى, [which is a *n.* of three letters, from the و, (IY),] is pronounced with Imāla only because of their saying [in the *sing.*] الْعَلِيَا [725] (M) : for the ا in الْعَلَى is that very ى which is in الْعَلِيَا, but is converted into ا in the *pl.* on the measure of الْفَعْلُ ; so that it is like [the ر in] الْكُبْرَى from الْكُبْرَى [248] (IY).

§. 630. The intermediate [ا (IY)], if it be [an ع (IY)] in a *v.* wherein فَعِلْتُ is said, like طَابَ and خَافَ [and مَاتَ in the *dial.* of those who say مَاتَ, *aor.* يَمَاتُ (IY)], is pronounced with Imāla [626] (M), as in the reading لِمَنْ خَافَ مَقَامِي XIV. 17. *For him that feareth My judgment-seat*, because the letter before the ا [in طَابَ and خَافَ and مَاتَ] is pronounced with Kasr in

[and طِبْتُ] and خِفْتُ (IY) : and what the ا is converted from is not regarded (M), except that Imāla is better in that [v.] which belongs to the *cat.* of the ي , [like طَابَ and هَابَ and بَاعَ ,] because it contains two causes, its being of the *cat.* of the ي , and its [ف's] being pronounced with Kasr in [and طِبْتُ] and هِبْتُ and بِعْتُ ; whereas those [vs.] which belong to the *cat.* of the , contain only one cause, the Kasr alone (IY). Opinions differ as to the cause of the Imāla in such as خَافَ and طَابَ : Sf and others say that it is because of the accidental Kasra of the ف [in some variations (Sn)] of the word ; and this is apparently the language of F, who says “They pronounce خَافَ and طَابَ with Imāla, notwithstanding the elevated [letter, i e. the خ and the ط (632) (Sn)], from desire for [indication of (Sn)] the Kasra in خِفْتُ [and طِبْتُ (Sn)]” : but IHKh says “The better opinion is that the Imāla in طَابَ is because the ا in it is converted from a ي , and in خَافَ because the ع is pronounced with Kasr : they wish for indication of the ي and Kasra, respectively” (A). But, if the intermediate ا be in a n., what it is converted from is regarded : so that نَابَ [626] is said, [and عَابَ i. q. عَيْبَ , because they belong to the *cat.* of the ي (IY)] ; but not بَابَ

[635] (M), nor ^ادَا, since the ع is a , (IY). The language of IM implies that the ا substituted for the ع of the n. is not pronounced with Imāla, unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether it be converted from a ي or a , (Sn)]: but the author of the M distinguishes between what is converted from a ي, as in ^ابَاب and ^اعَاب i. q. عَيْب, where he allows Imāla; and what is converted from a , as in ^ابَاب and ^ادَا, where he does not allow it: while some distinctly declare that Imāla of the ا converted from a ي, when an ع in a *tril.* n., is anomalous; and this is apparently the language of S (A).

§. 631. They sometimes pronounce the ا with Imāla on account of a preceding ا so pronounced, saying ^ارَأَيْتُ *I saw a tent-pole* [626] and ^امِعْرَانَا *our goats* (M), the object of that being consonance of the sounds, and approximation of their tones (IY).

§. 632. The letter of elevation [734], as likewise the , [not pronounced with Kasr (IA)], restrains [the cause of (A) Imāla (IA, A) from taking effect (A), when the cause is (IA, A)] an expressed Kasra or [an existing (IA)] ي [below] (IM). For the letters of elevation are elevated towards the palate; so that, with them, the ا is not pronounced with Imāla, from desire for homogeneity [of sound (Tsr)]: while the , [though there is no elevation in it (Tsr),] is assimilated to the elevated [on account of

the reiteration in it (Tsr)], because it is reiterated [734] (A, Tsr), when doubled or quiescent ; so that it is, as it were, more than one letter ; and therefore has strength (Sn) : nay, it is said to be stronger as a preventive [than the letters of elevation] (Tsr). The preventives [of Imāla (A, Tsr)] are eight (Aud, A) also (Aud), like the causes [626] (Tsr), (1-7) the seven letters of elevation [734] (Aud, A), vid. the خ , the غ , the ص , the ض , the ط , the ظ , and the ق (Aud), which are the initials of these [mnemonic] words قَدْ صَادَ ضِرَارُ غُلَامٍ خَالِي طَلْحَةَ ظَلِيًّا *Dirār, the manservant of my maternal uncle Talḥa, has caught a male ostrich* (A) : (8) the , [634] (Aud, A), not pronounced with Kasr (A, Tsr). These eight prevent Imāla of the ا , and restrain its cause from taking effect, when it is an expressed Kasra (A). IM's saying " or ي " [above] is a distinct declaration that the letter of elevation and the , not pronounced with Kasr prevent Imāla, when its cause is an expressed ي : and in the Tashīl and the Kāfiya he distinctly declares that ; though in the Tashīl he says " the existing Kasra and ي ", and in the Kāfiya " the expressed Kasra and the existing ي ". He gives no ex., however, of that [ي (Sn)] : and what he says of the ي is not recognized in their speech :—nay, Imāla appears to be allowed in such as طُغْيَانٌ and عُزْبَانٌ , [where the letter of elevation and the

precede the [] (A); and similarly in هَذِهِ and بَيَاضٌ, where the letter of elevation and the , follow the [] (Sn): and AH says "We have not found that", meaning, restraint of the [] by the letter of elevation or the ,; "but it prevents with the Kasra alone" (A). This necessarily implies that the [] is stronger than the Kasra; whereas the preferable opinion, as before stated [626], is the converse; and possibly it is this that induces IM to add the [] (Sn). The condition of the Imāla restrained by the preventive is that its cause should not be a supplied Kasra, [as in خَافَ, the [] of which is converted from a , pronounced with Kasr (Tsr)]; or a supplied [] , [as in طَابَ, the [] of which is converted from a [] (Tsr)]: for here the supplied cause, being present in the [] itself, is stronger than the expressed [cause (Tsr)], which either precedes the [], [as in كِتَابٌ and يَبَانٌ (Tsr)]; or follows it, [as in بَايَعَ and عَالِمٌ (Tsr)]: and for this reason such as خَافَ and طَابَ and زَاغَ are pronounced with Imāla (Aud), notwithstanding that the letter of elevation precedes [the [] in خَافَ and طَابَ, and follows [it] in زَاغَ and حَاقَ (Tsr). The elevated [letter] restrains the Imāla of only the *n.*, exclusively: Jz says "The elevated [letter] prevents Imāla of the [] in the *n.*; but not in the *v.*, as طَابَ and

بَعِي ; because Imāla in the *v.* possesses a strength that it does not possess in the *n.*, for which reason the circumstance that the **ا** of the *v.* is [converted] from the **ي** or from the **و**, is not regarded ; but it is pronounced with Imāla unrestrictedly" [629, 630] (A). The cause [of Imāla], however, in طَاب and بَعِي is supplied ; and the preventive does not prevent the Imāla produced by a supplied cause, either in the *n.* or in the *v.*; so that what Jz mentions is not contrary to what IM says (Sn). These letters [of elevation] do not prevent Imāla when they are a **ف** pronounced with Fath, forming part of a *v.* unsound in the **ع**, as in طَاب and خَاف ; or in the **ل**, whether a **ي**, as in قَلِي and طَغِي ; or a **و**, as in غَزَا and عَدَا, where this **ل** becomes a **ي**, as we mentioned, in غَزِي and أُغْزِيَتْ [629] : for these *vs.* contain two inducements to Imāla, vid. conversion from the **ي**, and strength of plasticity in the *v.*; so that the elevated [letter] is overpowered (IY). [But, in the case of خَاف, Kasr of the **ف** in خَفْتُ (630) takes the place of conversion from the **ي** as the first of the two inducements.] The condition of [prevention by (Tsr)] the [letter of (Tsr)] elevation preceding the **ا** is that it should be (1) contiguous to the **ا**, as in صَالِح : (2) separated [from it] by one letter, [because separation by one letter is like no separation

(Tsr),] as in غَنَائِمُ ; unless the letter of elevation be (a) pronounced with Kasr, as in طَلَابٌ and حِيَامٌ , which they pronounce with Imāla (Aud), because the Kasra is constructively after the letter [of elevation], so that consonance of the sound of the **ا** with the Kasra is more appropriate, [since it avoids a rise in pitch after a fall] (Tsr) ; (b) quiescent after a Kasra, as in مِصْبَاحٌ , [because the Kasra, being in its vicinity, while it is quiescent, is assumed to be conjoined with it, so that it is equivalent to the one pronounced with Kasr (Tsr) ; though some of the Arabs do not consider this [quiescent (Tsr) letter of elevation] to be equivalent to the one pronounced with Kasr (Aud), but treat it as a preventive of Imāla (Tsr). The condition of [prevention by] the [letter of elevation (Tsr)] following the **ا** is that it should be (1) contiguous to the **ا** , as in [فَاصِلٌ and سَاحِرٌ] [633] : (2) separated [from it (Tsr)] by (a) one letter, as in نَاعِقٌ [633] ; (b) two letters, as in مَنَاشِيطٌ [633] ; though some pronounce this with Imāla, on account of the remoteness of the [letter of] elevation (Aud). Prevention by the [letter of elevation] following the **ا** is stronger than prevention by the [letter of elevation] preceding [the **ا**] : and, for that reason, the [letter of elevation] preceding [the **ا**] is subject to the [foregoing] restrictions, that it should not be pronounced with Kasr, nor quiescent after a letter pronounced with Kasr, nor separated [from the

!] by two letters ; while the [letter of elevation] following [the !] is unrestricted [in these respects]. That is because a rise [in pitch] after a fall is more difficult, in their estimation, than a fall after a rise (Tsr).

§. 633. They treat the [preventive] detached [from the !], i. e., belonging to another word, like the attached, which belongs to the same word (IY). This detached [preventive] is (1) contiguous to the ! , without any barrier, as in *مَرَرْتُ بِقَاصِمٍ* *Kāsim* is one of us, like *مَرَرْتُ بِفَاضِلٍ* *I passed by a learned man* [632] : (2) separated from it by (a) one letter, as in *بِمَالِ قَاسِمٍ* *by the camels of Kāsim* [below], like *بِنَاعِقٍ* *by a croaker* [632] ; (b) two letters, as in *بِيَدِهَا سَوْطٌ* *In her hand is a whip*, like *مَنَاشِيطٌ* [632] (Tsr). S says (M), We have heard them say *أَرَادَ أَنْ يَضْرِبَهَا زَيْدٌ* *Zaid meant to strike her* [627], pronouncing [the ! in *يَضْرِبَهَا*] with Imāla [because of the Kasra before it (IY)]; but *أَرَادَ أَنْ يَضْرِبَهَا قَبْلُ* *He desired to strike her before*, pronouncing with Fath, [notwithstanding the Kasra of the *ز* (IY),] because of [the preventive, vid. (IY)] the *ق* (S, M) in *قَبْلُ* (IY) ; and [similarly (M)] *مَرَرْتُ بِمَالِ قَاسِمٍ* [above] and *بِمَالِ مَلِكٍ* *by the camels of Malik* (S, M) and *بِمَالِ يَنْكُلٍ* *by the camels of Yankul*, all with Fath, because of the *ق*, being assimilated to *نَاعِقٌ* and *مَنَاشِيطٌ* [632] (S). But some distinguish

between the attached and detached, saying بِمَالٍ قَاسِمٍ with Imāla (S, IY), as though they did not mind the elevated [letter], since it belongs to another word (IY). The preventive of Imāla takes effect [even (Tsr)] if it be detached; but the cause of Imāla does not take effect except when attached (Aud), the distinction being that the preventive is stronger than the cause (Tsr). Therefore such as أَتَى قَاسِمٌ *Kāsim came* is not pronounced with Imāla, because of the presence of the ق, [even though it is in another word (Tsr)]; nor لَزِيدٌ مَالٌ *Zaid has camels*, because of the detachment of the cause (Aud), since the ل is in one word, and the Kasra in another (Tsr). This is a summary of the language of IM [in the CK (Tsr)], and of his son (Aud) in the C (Tsr). But they are subject to objection in two respects, (1) that they exemplify [the first rule] by أَتَى قَاسِمٌ [above], notwithstanding their acknowledgment that the preventive does not take effect on the supplied ي [632], on which sort [of cause] the [letter of] elevation, if attached, would have no effect, [and à fortiori when detached (Tsr)]; while the good, [irreproachable (Tsr),] *ex.* is كِتَابُ قَاسِمٍ *the book of Kāsim*, [since the cause of Imāla is the expressed Kasra, which is restrained by the preventive, even though it is detached (Tsr)]: (2) that the precepts of the GG are opposed to both the rules

mentioned by these two [authors]:—IU says in his Muḵarrab [fi-nNaḥw (HKh)], after mentioning the causes of Imāla, what is to this effect “whether the Kasra be attached or detached, as in لَرِيدٍ مَالٌ [628], except that the Imāla of the attached, be what it may, is stronger”; and he says also “And, when the letter of elevation is detached from the word [containing the ا], it does not prevent Imāla, except in what is pronounced with Imāla on account of an accidental Kasra, as in بِمَالٍ قَاسِمٍ [above]; or in such of the اs appended to the prons. as are pronounced with Imāla [639], as in أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْرِفَهَا قَبْلُ *He meant to know her before*” (Aud), where Imāla of the ا [in هَا] is prevented by the ق after it, though the ق is detached [from يَعْرِفَهَا] (Tsr).

§. 634. The condition of prevention by the , [632] consists of two matters, (1) its not being pronounced with Kasr [below]: (2) its being contiguous to the ا, either before the ا, [being then pronounced only with Fath (Tsr),] as in فِرَاشٌ and رَاشِدٌ (Aud), where the , prevents [the operation of] the cause preceding [the ا] in the first [ex.], and following [it] in the second (Tsr); or after it, [being then pronounced with Damm or Fath (Tsr),] as in هَذَا حِمَارٌ *This is a he-ass* and رَأَيْتُ حِمَارًا *I saw a he-ass*. But some treat the , posterior [to the

ا, when] separated [from it] by one letter, as in هَذَا كَافِرٌ
This is an unbeliever, like the contiguous (Aud) in
 prevention of Imāla (Tsr). The preventive of the
 preventive [626] is the , pronounced with Kasr [above],
 in the immediate vicinity of the ا : for this prevents the
 elevated [letter (Tsr)] and the , from preventing (Aud)
 Imāla, because one characteristic of the , is reiteration
 [734], so that this letter is virtually two letters, and the
 Kasra in it is virtually two Kasras, one of which is in
 opposition to the preventive, while the other is the
 cause of Imāla (Tsr); and for this reason وَعَلَى أَبْصَارِهِمْ

II. 6. *And upon their eyes* and IX. 40. اِنْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ
 [204, 599] are pronounced with Imāla, notwithstanding
 the presence of the ص [in the first (Tsr)] and the غ [in
 the second (Tsr)]; and LXXXIII. 18. اِنَّ كِتَابَ الْاَنْبَارِ
 [236, 598], notwithstanding the presence of the , pro-
 nounced with Fath [before the ا (Tsr)]; and دَارَ الْقَرَارِ
 XL. 42. *The abode of stability*, notwithstanding the
 presence of both (Aud) preventives, the elevated ق and
 the , pronounced with Fath. In all of that, the ,
 pronounced with Kasr is contiguous [to the ا] (Tsr).
 But some treat the [, when] separated [from the ا (Tsr)]
 by one letter, like the contiguous [in prevention of the
 preventive (Tsr)] : S heard Imāla [of قَادِر (Tsr)] in the
 saying [of Hudba Ibn Khashram (S)]

عَسَى اللَّهُ يَغْنِي عَنِ بِلَادِ ابْنِ قَادِرٍ * بِمَنْهَرِ جَوْنِ الرَّبَابِ سَكُوبِ

May-be God will compensate me for the lands of Ibn Kādir with pouring rain, black in clouds, running over the surface of the ground (Aud), notwithstanding

that the , pronounced with Kasr is separated from the t by the ى (Tsr). But those who say مَرَرْتُ بِكَافِرٍ are more

numerous than those who say مَرَرْتُ بِقَادِرٍ , because the ق is a letter of elevation [632] (S). It is understood

from the language of IM [and IHsh] that Imāla is [a fortiori (A)] allowable in such as حَبَارِكْ ; for , since the t

is pronounced with Imāla, on account of the , pronounced with Kasr, notwithstanding that the requirer of abandonment of Imāla, vid. the letter of elevation or the , not pronounced with Kasr, is present, with more reason should it be pronounced with Imāla when the requirer of such abandonment is absent (IA, A).

§. 635. Some mention two causes, other than the foregoing [626], for Imāla of the t, (1) difference between the *n.* and the *p.* [639]; and that is in the , and similar letters in the initial monograms of the chapters [of the K̤ur]: S says “And they say تَا and يَا and اِا”, i. e., with Imāla, “because they are names of what is uttered”, [i. e., the letters (Sn)]; so that they are not like اِلَى and لَ and لَ and other *ps. uninfl.* upon quiescence: (a) the

letters of the alphabet, that are at the beginnings of the chapters [of the *Ḳur*], if an *l* be at their end, are pronounced by some with *Fath*, [i. e., not with *Imāla* (*Sn*),] and by others with *Imāla*; but, if an *l* be in their middle, as in *كَانَ* and *صَادَ*, are pronounced with *Fath*, without dispute: (2) frequency of usage; and that is in (a) *الْحَجَّاجُ* *AlḤajjāj* [below], when a proper name, in the *nom.* and *acc.*, [not in the *gen.*, where *Imāla* is regular, on account of the presence of its cause, *vid.* the *Kasra* (*Sn*)]; and similarly *الْعَجَّاجُ* *Alʿajjāj*, in the *nom.* and *acc.*: so some of the GG mention: (b) *النَّاسُ*, in the *nom.* and *acc.*: IB says “‘Abd Allāh Ibn Dāʿūd transmits from IAl the *Imāla* of *النَّاسِ* in the whole of the *Ḳur*, in the *nom.*, *acc.*, and *gen.*”: so says IM in the CK; “and this”, says he, “is transmitted by Aḥmad Ibn Yazīd alḤulwānī, through Abū ‘Umar adDūrī, from Ks.” *Imāla* on account of these two causes is anomalous; not regular, but confined to hearsay (A). That *الْحَجَّاجُ* *AlḤajjāj* is pronounced with *Imāla* on account of frequency of usage is the saying of S: but Mb says that they pronounce it with *Imāla*, when it is a proper name, on account of the difference between the *det.* and the *indet.*, and the substantive and the *ep.* (IY). And *هَذَا مَالٌ* *This is property* and *بَابٌ* *a door* are transmitted

from some of the Arabs (M), whose Arabic, says S, is to be trusted ; as though they assimilated the ا in مَالٌ and بَابٌ to the ا of غَزَا and دَنَا , treating the ع [630] like the ل [629] : but such pronunciation of مَالٌ and بَابٌ in the *nom.* and *acc.* is rare (IY). And they say أَلْعَشَا [blindness by night (IY)], أَلْبَا [hole of the fox or hare (IY)], and أَلْبَا [sweepings of the house (IY)], though these are from the و (M) : the Imāla being introduced into them by assimilation to what is from the ي , because the ا is a ل ; for alteration gains access to the ل , since you pronounce غَزَا with Imāla [629], but not قَالَ [626] (IY). But, as for their saying رَبَّيَا *gain* [in selling, though it is from the و , since they say in the *du.* رَبَّوَانِ (IY)], it is on account of [their saying رَبَّيَانِ , treating it as from the ي , together with the Kasra of (IY)] the و (M).

§. 636. Properly فَاعِلٌ from the reduplicated, such as جَانٌّ *serious* and مَارٌّ *passer, pl.* جَوَادٌ and مَوَارٌ , should not be pronounced with Imāla, because the Kasra that was in it, necessitating Imāla, has been elided on account of the incorporation [731] (IY). But some pronounce [that (IY)] with Imāla, saying جَانٌّ and جَوَادٌ , [because the Kasra is supplied (IY),] from regard to the *o. f.* جَادٌ and جَوَادٌ , as they pronounce خَانٌ with Imāla

because it is constructively **خَوَفَ**, or because it is reducible to **خَفْتُ**, though there is no Kasra in the actual expression; and similarly (IY)] as they pronounce **هَذَا مَاشٌ** *This is a walker* with Imāla in pause [643] (M), though there is no Kasra in it, because, when the speech is continued, it is pronounced with Kasr (IY).

§. 637. And **وَالشَّيْسِ وَضَحَاهَا** XCI. 1. [538], where [analogy forbids Imāla, because (IY)] the **ا** [in **الضَّحَى** (IY)] is [converted] from the **و**, is pronounced with Imāla for conformity with **جَلَاهَا** XCI. 3. [538] and **يَغْشَاهَا** XCI. 4. *It covereth it* [626] (M), both of which are so pronounced because the **ا** in them is [converted] from the **ي**, since you say **جَلَيْتُهُ** *I displayed it* and, in the *du.*, **يَغْشَيَانِ** *They two cover* (IY).

§. 638. The Fathā is pronounced with Imāla before one of three letters, (1) the **ا**, which has been already discussed [626-637]: (2) the **و**, on condition that it be pronounced with Kasr, that the Fathā be on a letter other than **ي**, and that they, [i. e., the Fathā and the **و** (Tsr),] be (a) contiguous, [with no barrier between the letter pronounced with Fathā and the **و** (Tsr),] as in **مِنْ الْكِبَرِ** XIX. 9. *Of old age* (Aud): (a) there is no difference between the Fathā's being on a letter of

elevation, as in *وَمِنَ الْبَقَرِ* VI. 145. *And of kine* ; or on a , as in *بِشَرٍّ* LXXVII. 32. *With sparks* ; or on any other letter, as in XIX. 9. [above] (A, Tsr) : (b) separated by a quiescent other than *ي* , as in *مِنْ عَمْرٍ* from 'Amr ; [or, adds IUK, by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in *أَشِرٍّ* insolent (Tsr)] : contrary to such as *أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ* *أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ* I take refuge with God from the vicissitudes of fortune, and from the badness of ways of acting, [because the Fatha in both is on the *ي* (Tsr)] ; and to [such as] *مِنْ غَيْرِكَ* from others than thee (And), because the separation is by the quiescent *ي* (Tsr) : (a) it is understood from IM's saying " [Pronounce the Fatha with Imāla (IM)] before the Kasra of a [final (IM)] , " that the Fatha is not pronounced with Imāla on account of the Kasra of a , before it, as in *رَمَمَ* decayed bones ; and that is positively stated by others than IM (A) : (b) it is stipulated that the , should not be followed by a letter of elevation, as in *مِنَ الْمَشْرِقِ* II. 260. *From the east* ; for it prevents Imāla : that is positively stated by S (A, Tsr) : (c) it is not stipulated that the Fatha should not be preceded by a letter of elevation (Tsr) ; [for,] if the letter of elevation precede the , it does not prevent [Imāla] (A), because the , pronounced with Kasr overpowers the elevated [letter],

when that letter occurs before it; so that such as *فِرَارٌ مِنَ الْخُرُوجِ* *from loss* is pronounced with Imāla (A, Tsr) : IUK says "Accuracy requires one to say that every Fathā on a letter other than *ي* is pronounced with Imāla before a *ج*, pronounced with Kasr contiguous to it, or separated [from it] by a letter pronounced with Kasr, or by a quiescent other than *ي*, when the *ج* is not followed by a letter of elevation" (Tsr): (d) IM's stipulation of finality in the *ج* is refuted by the positive statement of S that they pronounce the Fathā of the *ل* in *رَأَيْتُ خَبَطَ رِيَّاحٍ* *I saw leaves blown off by winds* with Imāla (Aud); while others mention that the Fathā of the *ع* in *عَرِدَ* *hard* may be pronounced with Imāla, though the *ج* in that is not (A, Tsr) a *ج* (A), [i. e.,] a final; and perhaps IM particularises the "final" because that is frequent in such cases (Tsr); so that the stipulation of the *ج*'s being "final" is from regard to the prevalent [usage], and is not invariable (A): (e) it is deducible from the Imāla in the *ex.* [mentioned by S] that it is not stipulated, as a condition of Imāla of the Fathā on account of the Kasra of a *ج* after it, that they should be in one word (Sn): (f) IM makes no restriction in his saying "Pronounce with Imāla" [above]; and therefore it is known that the Imāla here is [used] in continuity and pause, contrary to the Imāla mentioned

below, which is peculiar to pause ; and that is distinctly declared by him in the CK : (g) this Imāla is regular, as IM mentions in the CK : (h) S mentions that Imāla of the | in such as *مِنَ الْمَخَافَةِ* *from the feared* is forbidden when the Fathā of the ذ is pronounced with Imāla : he says “ But it is not strong enough to cause Imāla of the | ”, meaning that the Imāla of the Fathā is not strong enough to cause Imāla of the | on account of its Imāla [i. e., of the Imāla of the Fathā (Sn)] : but IKh asserts that those who pronounce the [second] | of *عِبَادًا* with Imāla on account of the Imāla of the | before it [631] pronounce the | of *الْمَخَافَةِ* here with Imāla on account of the Imāla of the Fathā of the ذ ; which [assertion] is invalidated by the fact that Imāla on account of Imāla is one of the weak causes, so that none of it ought to be copied, except in the case of what has been heard, vid. Imāla of the | on account of Imāla of the | before or after it [631, 637] (A) : (3) the ʾ of feminization : but this [Imāla (Tsr)] is only in pause [646], exclusively, as in *رَحْمَةٍ* *mercy* and *نِعْمَةٍ* *favor*, because they assimilate the ʾ to the [abbreviated (Tsr)] | of feminization, on account of their agreement in outlet [181, 732], sense, [vid. *indication of feminization* (Tsr),] augmentativeness, finality, and peculiarity to *ns.* [263] (Aud) : (a) it is good in such as *رَحْمَةٍ*, [where the Fathā is neither on a

, nor on an elevated letter (Jrb)] : and bad [when the Fathā is] on a , , as in ^{وُ}دِنْغِيْن *dinginess*, [because the Imāla of its Fathā is like Imāla of two Fathas, on account of the reiteration of the , , so that the labour in pronouncing it with Imāla is more (R)] : and middling [when the Fathā is (MASH)] on a [letter of (MASH)] elevation, as in ^{وُ}حَقَّة *casket* (SH), because, though the *ṣ* is treated like the *ṭ*, it is not unrestrictedly like what it is assimilated to ; so that the elevated letter does not prevent Imāla altogether here, as it does there ; but, with it, Imāla is middling in goodness and badness (R) :

(b) the *ṣ* of feminization here includes the *ṣ* of intensiveness (A), because it is *orig.* the *ṣ* of feminization [265] (Sn), as in ^{وُ}عَلَامَةٌ [294, 312], which may be pronounced with Imāla ; but excludes the *ṣ* of silence [615], as in LXIX. 19. [below], the Fathā before which is not pronounced with Imāla, according to the correct [opinion] :

(c) when there is an *ṭ* before the *ṣ*, it is not pronounced with Imāla, as in ^{وُ}صَلَاة *prayer* and ^{وُ}حَيَاة *life* : what is pronounced with Imāla, however, is the Fathā, not the consonant, that is immediately followed by the *ṣ* of feminization ; and, that being so, there is no reason for IM's excepting the *ṭ*, since the *ṭ* is not included in the Fathā ; but he does it here in order to dispel the notion that the *ṣ* of feminization makes Imāla of the *ṭ* permissible, as it makes Imāla of the Fathā : (d) " the *ṣ* ", and not " the *ṣ̣* ", " of

feminization " is said, in order that the ت which is not converted into ؤ may be excluded, because the Fathā is not pronounced with Imāla before it (A): this comprises the ؤ of such as فَاطِمَةُ *Fāṭima* and رَحْمَةً [263], according to those who pause with the ت [646], in which case the Fathā is not pronounced with Imāla, as is distinctly declared by others than IM; and the [quiescent] ت of feminization attached to the *v.* [607], as in بَاعَتْ *she sold* (Sn): (e) Imāla of [the Fathā before (Tsr)] the ؤ of silence also, as in كِتَابِيَّةٌ LXIX. 19. [22, 647, 648, 679], is transmitted from Ks, [because of its resemblance to the ؤ of feminization in pause and writing (Tsr)]; but correctly should be disallowed, contrary to the opinion of Th and Iamb (Aud), who declare Imāla to be allowable in what precedes it (Tsr).

§. 639. Imāla is one of the peculiarities of *vs.* and *decl. us.*: and therefore Imāla of the *indecl. [n.]*, as إِذَا [204] and مَا [180], is not regular; except in the case of هَا and نَا [628, 633], as in مَرَّ بِهَا *He passed by her* and نَظَرَ إِلَيْهَا *He looked towards her*, مَرَّ بِنَا *He passed by us* and نَظَرَ إِلَيْنَا *He looked towards us*; for their Imāla is regular, on account of the frequency of their usage. But Imāla of the *indecl. n.* [197] has been heard in the case of the *dem.* ذَا [171, 293], and of [the *advs.*] مَتَى

[206] and اَنَّى [207]. And some *ps.* are pronounced with Imāla, vid. بَلَى [556], the *voc.* يَا [554], and [the *neg.*] لَا in their saying اِمَّا لَا [1, 565], because these *ps.* act as substitutes for *props.*, and therefore acquire a superiority over others. And Ktb transmits Imāla of [the *repl.* (Sn)] لَا [547], because of its being independent (A) in the reply, as [is stated] in [the commentary of] IUK (Sn); while Imāla of حَتَّى [501] is reported by S and those who agree with him, and is transmitted from Hamza and Ks. Imāla is not forbidden in what is accidentally *uninfl.*, as in يَا فَتَى *O youth* and يَا حُبْلَى *O pregnant woman* [48], because it is *orig. infl.* [16, 18]. There is no doubt as to the allowability of Imāla in the *pret. v.*, though it is *uninfl.* [402, 403] (A): Mb says “And Imāla of عَسَى [403, 459] is excellent” (M, A) because it is a *v.*, and its | is converted from a عى [629], as is shown by عَسَيْنَا and عَسَيْتُ [462] (IY). The reason why the *ps.* are not pronounced with Imāla is only that their | is not [converted] from a عى; nor is in the vicinity of a Kasra (A), in most cases, since the | of اَلَى [500] is in the vicinity of the Kasra of the Hamza (Sn). Analogy

forbids Imāla in the case of the *ps.*, because the *ps.* are *prim.* aplastic instruments; while Imāla is a kind of plasticity, because it is an alteration (IY). If, however, they are used as [proper] names, they are pronounced with Imāla (A), when the cause of Imāla exists, as in حَتَّى used as a name, because the fourth in the *n.* is converted into ی in the *du.* [229]; contrary to إِلَى used as a name, because you say in the *du.* إِلَوَان (Sn). And, according to this, the ر of آلَمَر and آلر, and the هَا and طَا and حَا [of طَه and حَم (Sn)], in the initial monograms of the chapters [of the K̲ur] are pronounced with Imāla [635], because they are names for the disconnected sounds uttered in the outlets of the letters [732]; and, since they are names for these sounds, and are not like مَا [546] and لَا [in being *ps.* (Sn)], the Imāla in them is intended to notify that they have become annexed to the *ns.*, in which Imāla is not forbidden. Zj and the KK say that [the letters of] the initial monograms are pronounced with Imāla because they are abbreviated, Imāla being prevalent in the abbreviated; but this is refuted by the fact that Imāla is not allowable in much of the abbreviated: while Fr says that they are pronounced with Imāla because in the *du.* they are restored to ی, as طَيَّان two Tā's and حَيَّان two Hā's. And, similar is the Imāla of the letters of the alphabet,

[which are not in the initial monograms of the chapters (Sn),] as ل and ل and ل (A), according to the *dial.* of those who abbreviate these *ns.* [234, 321] (Sn).

CHAPTER III.

PAUSE.

§. 640. Pause is [defined by IH as] severance of the word from what is after it [below] (SH). IH's saying "from what is after it" suggests the notion that pause upon a word occurs only when there is something after it; and, if he said "[Pause is] becoming silent upon the final of the word, from choosing to make that word the end of the speech", it would be more general (R). Pause is [defined by some as] stoppage of the speech upon [the utterance of (Fk)] the final of the word (A, Tsr, Fk, MKh). This is better than the saying of IH "severance of the word from what is after it" [above], because sometimes there is nothing after it (Sn). Pause is (1) optional, when it is intended for its own sake: (2) compulsory, when [it is not intended at all; but (Sn)] at it the breath is stopped: (3) tentative, when it is intended [not for its own sake, but in order (Sn)] to test [the condition of (Sn)] the person, whether he pauses properly, [or not (Sn),] upon such as عَمَّ [181] (Sn, MKh), فِيمَ , and يِمَ (Sn), and اِقْتِضَاءَ مَ , in the mode hereafter mentioned [648]; and upon such as XXVII. 25. [2,59,574] and أَمَّا أَشْتَمَلْتُ عَلَيْهِ أَرْحَامُ الْأُنْثَيَيْنِ VI. 144, 145. *Or what the wombs of the two females have*

enclosed ?, where an expression is supposed to be one word, but is virtually more. For ^كأَمَّا in the last [*ex.*] is not the *cond.* ^كأَمَّا [593]; but is [compounded of] the copulative ^كأَمْ [541] and the conjunct مَّا [180], so that one pauses upon ^كأَمْ disjoined from مَّا. And, as for ^كأَلَا in XXVII. 25., according to the reading of Ks, with a single ج, it is an inceptive and premonitory *p.* [551]; while يَا is premonitory, or is a *voc. p.* whose *voc.* is suppressed [59]; and ^كأَسْجُدُوا is an *imp. v.*; so that one pauses upon يَا disjoined from ^كأَسْجُدُوا: and it ought to be disjoined in writing also; but they are conjoined in the Codex of 'Uthmān, so that they resemble the *aor.* in pronunciation and writing, though virtually not one. But, according to the reading of the rest, with a double ج, it is the subjunctival ^كأَنْ [571] incorporated into the *red.* لَا [566], for which reason the ن of the *aor.* is dropped [405]; while the resultant *inf. n.* [497, 551] is the *obj.* of يَهْتَدُونَ, by suppression of the *prep.* [514], the sense being ^كأَلَا يَهْتَدُونَ إِلَى السُّجُودِ they are not guided aright (to this,) that they should bow down, i.e., (to) bowing down: so that, upon stoppage of the breath, one pauses upon ^كأَنْ, or upon لَا; not upon the ي, because it is part of a word [404]: and [in explanation of this reading] other things are said [574] (MKh). The [pause] meant here is the optional (A, Tsr, YS, MKh); not

[the compulsory, nor (Sn)] the tentative (Tsr, YS, Sn) : and not the optional unrestrictedly (Sn) ; but other than that which occurs in (1) trying to remember (A Tsr, YS), as in قَالَا [623], تَقُولُو, and فِي الدَّارِ (Sn) ; (2) quavering (A, Tsr, YS) as in أَقَلِّي اللَّوْمَ الْحَ [608] (YS, Sn) ; (3) demanding precise information (A, YS), and asking for specification of a vague [*indet.*] (Sn), as in أَيُّونَ [185] (YS, Sn), quiescent in the ن (Jh), and أَيَّيْنِ ; and in مَنْو [183, 497], مَنْأ, and مَنِ (Sn) ; (4) disapprobation (A, Tsr), as in أَزِيدُ نِيَّةً (Sn). The pausal letter differs in predicament from the initial, the pausal being quiescent, while the initial is only mobile : except that beginning with the mobile is quasi-compulsory, since it is impossible to begin with a quiescent [667] ; while pause upon the quiescent is artistic and approvable, when the mind is wearied by the succession of words, consonants and vowels (IY). And from the [primary] object of *resting*, in pause, three [secondary] objects are derived ; for it serves to denote *completion of the purport* of the speech, *completion of the metre* in poetry, and *completion of the rhythm* in prose (Tsr). It is common to the three kinds [625] (M), the n., as هَذَا زَيْدٌ *This is Zaid* ; the v., as زَيْدٌ يَضْرِبُ *Zaid strikes* or ضَرَبَ *struck* ; and the p., as جَیْرٌ *Yes* [556] (IY). It has [eleven (Jrb, Tsr, Fk), or rather thirteen,] modes, [i.e., sorts of predicaments

(Tsr). Pause is mostly attended by alterations, which are reducible to seven things, quiescence [No. 1], Ishmām [No. 3], Raum [No. 2], substitution [No. 4, and possibly Nos. 5, 9, 12, and 13], addition [No. 6 and possibly Nos. 7 and 10], elision [No. 8], and transfer [No. 11] (A). Reduplication [No. 10] is not [explicitly] mentioned, because it is an addition of a letter, together with quiescence ; so that it is not excluded from the seven, as is indicated by A's expression "reducible" (Sn). Pause is [said by MKh to be] mostly reducible to six sorts of alteration, collected in the saying

زِيَادَةٌ حَذْفُ أَسْكَانٍ وَنَقْلٌ كَذَا * أَلْتَضْعِيفُ وَالرَّوْمُ وَالْإِشْمَامُ وَالْبَدَلُ

Addition [No. 6, and possibly No. 7], *elision* [No. 8], *quiescence* [No. 1], and *transfer* [No. 11], and *similarly reduplication* [No. 10], and *Raum* [No. 2], and *Ishmām* [No. 3], and *substitution* [No. 4, and possibly Nos. 5, 9, 12, and 13]. But sometimes it makes no alteration at all (MKh): [for] the saying of A [and MKh] "mostly" is intended to except the abbreviated not pronounced with Tanwīn (Sn), as الْفَتَى *the youth* and حَبْلَى *pregnant*; and [the defective not pronounced with Tanwīn (Sn),] as الْقَاضِي *the judge* (Sn, MKh); since there is no alteration in them [643] (Sn). These modes vary in goodness [of effect], and in place [of application] (SH, A). For some of them are better than

others, conversion of the **l** into **g**, or **ج** or Hamza being weak, as will be seen [643]; and similarly transfer of the vowel and reduplication [below]. But sometimes two or more modes agree in goodness [of effect], like quiescence [below] and conversion of the **z** of feminization into **s** [646]. And each mode has a place, in which it is authorized; but sometimes two or more modes share in one place, as quiescence and Raum [below] share in the mobile (R). The modes will [now] be discussed in detail (A). The [word] paused upon is a *n.*, *v.*, or *p.*; and the *n.*, when its final is a sound letter, and it is triptote, is in the *nom.*, *acc.*, or *gen.* (IY). Moreover the [*n.*] paused upon is sometimes pronounced, and sometimes not pronounced, with Tanwīn (Tsr). If the final of the word be quiescent [below], as in كَمَ [217] and مَنَ [182], you are relieved from the task of providing quiescence; and, with it, none of the modes of pause is employed; but you pause with the [existing] quiescence only; though, if the quiescence of pause were said to be different from the quiescence of continuity, it would not be improbable, as [the vowels and *aug.* consonant in the *pl.* are said to be different from those] in [the *sing.*] هَجَانٌ [234, 246] and نَلَكٌ [234] (R). When you pause upon a [*n.*] pronounced with Tanwīn [below] (Aud) and not made *fem.* with the **z** [646], the Arabs have three *dials.*, (1) elision of the Tanwīn unrestrictedly, [i.e., in all three

cases,] which is the *dial.* of Rabi'a [below] (Tsr); though apparently, says IA, this is not necessary in the *dial.* of Rabi'a, since, in their poems, pause upon the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn is often with ِ (Sn): (2) change of the Tanwīn unrestrictedly, into ِ after Fatha, ُ after Damma, and ى after Kasra, which is the *dial.* of AlAzd [below]: (3) making a distinction between the [final] pronounced with] Fath and [the final pronounced with] any other [vowel] (Tsr). The most preponderant and frequent of the [three (Tsr)] *dials.* is that its Tanwīn should be (1) elided after Damma and Kasra, [the letter before the Tanwīn being made quiescent (Tsr),] as هَذَا زَيْدٌ *This is Zaid* and مَرَرْتُ بِزَيْدٍ *I passed by Zaid*, [with quiescence of the ى in the two *exs.* (Tsr)]: and (2) changed into ِ after Fatha, whether the Fatha be (a) inflectional, as in رَأَيْتُ زَيْدًا *I saw Zaid*; or (b) uninflectional, as in اِنْكُفْ اِيَّهَا [i.q. *Desist* (Tsr),] and وَيَّهَا [187, 198] (Aud), i.q. اَعْجَبْ *I marvel* (Tsr). And they assimilate اِذْنٌ [594], with the ى, to the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, changing its ى into ِ in pause. This is the saying of the majority: while some assert that pause upon it is with the ى, and this is preferred by IU [in the Commentary on the Jumal (Tsr)]; but the common consent of the Seven Readers is against it (Aud), since they agree in pausing upon such as وَلَنْ تَقْلِحُوا

إِذَا أَبَدًا XVIII. 19. *And ye shall not ever prosper then* with the **!** (Tsr). When mobile, the final of the *n.* paused upon is either a **š** of femininization [646], or not (IA). In pause upon the mobile [final], that is not the **š** of femininization [646], you are allowed [a choice between] five modes, vid., that you should pause with (1) quiescence (Aud), stripped of Raum and Ishmām [below] (Tsr): (a) “mobile” [here] means “mobilized with a vowel not accidental”, as IM restricts it in the U, because the [letter] possessed of an accidental vowel is in the predicament of the quiescent [above]; so that it is paused upon with mere quiescence, like the **ت** of femininization in the *v.* in **اِتْرَبَتِ السَّاعَةُ** LIV. 1. *The hour hath drawn nigh* [607], and the **ذ** of **يَوْمَئِذٍ** *on that day* [201, 204, 608], as [IM says] in the CU: (b) what is meant is the “mobile” other than [the final of] the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, according to those who change its Tanwīn into **!** [above], since in it not one of the five [modes] is practicable; though this is disputed in the case of transfer, as will be mentioned [641]: so in the Ham’ and elsewhere (Sn): (c) quiescence is absence of the vowel (Jrb, A) altogether, without any indication thereof (Jrb): (d) it is equally applicable to the [*n.*] pronounced, and the [*n.*] not pronounced, with Tanwīn; and to the *infl.* and the *uninfl.* (Jrb, Tsr): (e) it is the original (IY, Jrb, Aud), and most frequent and prevalent [mode], because

[it is (IY)] deprivation of the vowel, [which (IY)] is most effective in realizing the object of *rest* (IY, Jrb, Tsr): (f) its sign [in writing (M, R)] is [said by AH to be (Tsr)] a خ (S, M, R, A, Tsr) above the letter (IY,

R, A, Tsr) paused upon (R), as هَذَا حَكَمٌ *This is Hakam* (M), and is made by S like this, ح (Tsr), meaning خَفِيفٌ *light* (IY, R, A, Tsr), or خَفَّ *It has become light* (A, Tsr), or خَفَاءٌ *imperceptibility*, because the quiescent [letter] is lighter [and less perceptible] than any other (IY); but the author of the Aud finds fault with him, saying that it is only the head of a ح or م, either of which is abbreviated from أَجْزَمٌ *Cut off* [the vowel], or *Make quiescent*; and apparently it is the head of a ح abbreviated from اسْتَرْحَ *Rest*, because pause is rest (Tsr): (g) some of the scribes make it a circle, [which, in my opinion, is (IY)] because the circle, [in the conventional language of the arithmeticians (IY),] is a cipher, which is what has no number in it (IY, Tsr); so that they make it a sign of the quiescent, because the latter is devoid of vowel (IY): and some of them make it a [pure (IY)] د, as though, when they saw it without any explanation, they thought it to be a د (IY, Tsr): (h) quiescence is allowable in every mobile, except [the final of] the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwin, where the common *dial.* is conversion of the Tanwin into !; though Rabi'a

[above] treat the *acc.* like the *nom.* and *gen.*, as

إِلَى الْبَرِّ قَيْسٌ أُطِيلُ السَّرَى * وَآخِذٌ مِنْ كُلِّ حَيٍّ عَصْمٌ

[by AlA'sha Maimūn, praising ʔais Ibn Ma'dikarib, *Unto the perfect man, ʔais, I prolong the nightly journeys; and I take from every tribe ties*, i.e., *safe-conducts* to another tribe, because in every tribe the poet had enemies whom he had satirized, or who hated the subject of his eulogy, properly عَصْمًا (AKB)]: and it is necessary in pause upon the ʔ of femininization [646] (Aud), where the remaining modes are not practicable (Tsr): (i) when the final of the word is Tanwīn [above], its quiescence is not taken into account, nor do you content yourself with it in pause; but you elide [it] in the *nom.* and *gen.* [609]; so that the letter before it becomes the final of the word, and therefore its vowel is elided: (j) the reason why you elide the Tanwīn in the *nom.* and *gen.* is that you intend the word to be lighter in pause than it is in continuity, because pause is for rest; and, since the word is lightened by elision of a *p.* [608] like a part of it, its lightening by elision of what is more strongly united with it than the Tanwīn i.e., the Damma and Kasra, is more appropriate: and, as for the *acc.*, in it the extreme of lightness is realized for the word without elision of the Tanwīn, vid., by its conversion into ʔ, since the ʔ is the lightest of the consonants: (k) similarly in the *du.* and sound *pl. masc.* the

lightness is realized by elision of the vowel of the ُ alone (R) : (2) Raum, which is *stifling the sound of the vowel* (Aud) : (a) it is a feeble sound, as though you were *desiring* [to sound] the vowel (IY, Jrb) ; not completely achieving it, but slurring it over (IY, Jrb, Tsr) ; for a notification of the vowel in the *o. f.* (Jrb, Tsr), together with a realization of part of the object of the pause (Jrb) : so says Jrb (Tsr) ; (b) it [is not confined to any particular vowel ; but (Tsr)] is allowable in all the vowels, contrary to the opinion of Fr, who disallows it in the case of Fathā, and whose opinion is adopted by most of the [Seven (Tsr)] Readers (Aud), while AHm agrees with them in the disallowance (Tsr) : (c) when the [final] pronounced with Fath has Tanwīn, as in زَيْدًا and رَجُلًا, there is no dispute that Raum is not allowable in it, except according to the rare *dial.* of Rabra, i.e., elision of the Tanwīn, as in وَآخِذٌ مِنَ الْحِجْرِ [above] : but, when it has no Tanwīn, as in الرَّجُلُ and أَحْمَدُ, the opinion of the Readers, and of Fr among the GG, is that Raum of the Fathā in it is not allowable, because Fath is impartible, on account of its lightness, its part being its whole ; while, according to S and other GG, Raum is allowable in it, as in the *nom.* and *gen.* (R) : (d) the sign of Raum is a line in front of [below] the letter (S, M, R, A, Tsr), like this, — (Tsr), as هَذَا خَالِدٌ

This is Khālid (M) : (3) Ishmām: (a) this is peculiar to the [final] pronounced with Damm (Aud), and does not occur in the [final] pronounced with Fath or Kasr ; while the Ishmām in the *gen.*, which is transmitted from some of the Readers, is explicable as Raum [above], according to the technical nomenclature mentioned below as adopted by some of the KK (Tsr) : (b) it is really the *indication of the vowel by the lips*, after quiescence, without emission of any [audible (Tsr)] sound (Aud) : this means that you compress your lips after quiescence, leaving between them some gap, in order that the breath may pass out from it; so that the person addressed, seeing them compressed, may know that, by their compression, you mean the vowel [Damma] : thus it is a thing perceptible by the eye exclusively, not by the ear, because it is not a sound to be heard, but a motion of an organ (Tsr) ; and is therefore perceptible only by the seeing, not by the blind (Aud) : (c) some of the KK apply the name Ishmām to Raum [above] : but this is really a misnomer, because in Raum, with the motion of the lips, there is a small sound, whereby the consonant almost becomes mobile ; so that it is perceptible by the blind and the seeing, contrary to Ishmām (Tsr) : (d) some attribute to the KK the allowance of Ishmām in the *gen.*, and also in the [final] pronounced with Kasr ; but apparently they are mistaken, since not one of the

GG allows it, except in the *nom.*, and in the [final] pronounced with Damm: for the instrument of Damm is the lip; while by Ishmām you intend to represent the outlet of the vowel to the beholder in the shape that it assumes upon utterance of that vowel; so that you may thereby indicate that this, and no other, is the vowel dropped; and, the lips being exposed to his eye, their compression [to represent the utterance of Damm] is perceptible by his vision: whereas the Kasra is part of the *ي*, the outlet of which is the middle of the tongue [732]; and the Fatha is part of the *ا*, the outlet of which is the throat [732]; and both these [outlets] are hidden by the lips and the teeth, so that it is not possible for the person address to perceive the preparation of the two outlets for [the utterance of] these vowels (R); (e) the sign of Ishmām is a dot (S, M, R, A, Tsr) in front of [below] the letter (IY, A, R, A, Tsr), like this, • (A, Tsr), as *هَذَا جَعْفَرٌ* This is *Ja'far* (M), because Ishmām is weaker than Raum, since in it no part of the vowel is uttered, contrary to Raum; while the dot is smaller than the line (R): A's saying "in front of the letter" [above] means "after it", not "above it", like the preceding [sign of quiescence, i.e., the *خ*], to dispel the notion that it is a *جَزْمَةٌ* sign of quiescence; as the sign of Raum [above] is not above it, to dispel the notion that it is a *نَصْبَةٌ* sign of the acc. (Sn): (f) the derivation of Ishmām is from

شَمَّ *smell*, as though you *made* the consonant *smell* a whiff of the vowel, by preparing the organ to pronounce it (Tsr) : (g) the object of it is to distinguish what [is mobile in continuity, but (Tsr)] is made quiescent in pause, from what is quiescent (A, Tsr) in every state (Tsr) ; (h) according to IH (R), the majority hold that there is no Raum or Ishmām in [three forms (Jrb),] the *ʾ* of femininization [646], the *م* of the *pl.*, and the accidental vowel (SH) : but I have not seen one of the Readers or GG mention that Raum or Ishmām is allowable in any of the three [forms] mentioned : on the contrary, all of them disallow both [modes] in these [forms], unrestrictedly : and I believe that what makes IH fancy that Raum and Ishmām are allowed in them is that Sht, after saying

وَفِي هَآءٍ تَأْنِيْثٌ وَمِيْمٍ اَلْحَجِيْعُ قَدْ * وَعَارِضٍ شَكْلٍ لَمْ يَكُوْنَا لِيَدْخُلَا
وَفِي اَلْهَآءِ لِلاِضْمَارِ قَوْمٌ اَبُوْهُمَا * وَمِنْ قَبْلِهِ ضَمٌّ اَوْ اَلْكَسْرُ مَثِلًا
اَوْ اَمَّا هُمَا رَاَوْ وَيَاْءُ

[And, in a *ʾ* of femininization, and the *م* of the *pl.*, and an accidental vowel, say, they (the pron. referring to Raum and Ishmām) are not to be applied. And, i the *ʾ* of the (attached sing. masc.) pron., a set of Readers, like Mkk and Ibn Shuraih, have disapproved of them, when before it (the pron. referring to اَلْهَآءِ ,

while, if قَبْلَهَا were said, it would be plainer) *is Damm*
or Kasr formed, or their bases, a , and a ي , as in عَقْلُوهُ
 II.70. *They have understood it, وَ شَرُّهُ XII.20. And*
they sold him, and اسْمُهُ II.108. His Name, and in
فِيهِ II.1. About it, إِلَيْهِ II.26. Unto Him, and مِنْ رَبِّهِ
 II.35. *From his Lord (AAK)], adds*

وَبَعْضُهُمْ * يَرَىٰ لَهُمَا فِي كُلِّ حَالٍ مُّكَدِّلًا

[While some of them, like AdDāni and Ns, are seen to be allowing them in every case (AAK)]; so that IH supposes that, by his saying “in every case”, he means “in the case of the ة of femininization, and the م of the pl., and the accidental vowel, and the ة of the [attached sing.] masc. [pron.]”; as some of the Commentators also have misunderstood his language, [fancying that its meaning is “in every case of the letter paused upon” (AAK)]; whereas Sht only means “in every case of the ة of the [attached sing.] masc. [pron.] alone”, as will be seen [648]: (i) the reason why Raum and Ishmām are not allowable in the ة of femininization [642] is that on the ة there is no vowel to be notified by Raum or Ishmām, the vowel being only on the ة for which the ة is a subst.; and, on that account, they are allowable according to those who pause upon the ت without conversion, as in بَدَلْ جَوَزٍ تَيْهَاءَ الْح [183, 646]: (j) as for the م of the

pl., the majority hold that it should be made quiescent in continuity [161], as عَلَيْهِمْ and عَلَيْهِمْ; while Raum and Ishmām do not occur in the quiescent [above]: and, as for those who mobilize it in continuity, conjoining it with a , or ي , the reason why they do not employ Raum or Ishmām, after elision of the , or ي [in pause], as Raum of the Kasra in الْقَاضِي is employed after elision of its ي [643], is that this Kasra does sometimes occur at the end of the word in continuity, as in يَوْمَ يَدْعُ الدَّاعِ LIV.6. *On the day when the summoner* [Isrāfil (K, B), or Gabriel (K),] *shall summon*, [which is read (K) with elision of the ي (K, B), for the sake of lightness (B)]; whereas عَلَيْهِمْ and إِلَيْهِمْ, when you conjoin them with a mobile after them, do not occur with Damm [and Kasr, respectively,] of the م , [i.e.,] with the م mobile, and the conj. elided; while Raum or Ishmām of a vowel, that is never a final in continuity, cannot be employed [in pause]: and, as for such as إِلَيْكُمْ الْكِتَابَ VI. 114. [77] and إِلَيْهِمُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ VI.111. [585], the final of the word in their case is the , and ي respectively, which is elided on account of the two quiescents; and what is elided on account of two quiescents is in the predicament of the expressed: this is if we say that, before their conjunction with the quiescent, they were إِلَيْكُمْ and إِلَيْهِمْ, according to the reading of Ibn Kathir [161]:

while, if we say that, before that, they were إِلَيْكُمْ and إِلَيْهِمْ, with quiescence of the م in both, then the Kasr and Damm are accidental, on account of the two quiescents; and there is no Raum or Ishmām in the accidental vowel [below], as مَنْ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ يُضْلِلْهُ VI. 39. *Whomsoever God willeth [to lead astray (B)], him doth He lead astray*, and وَلَقَدْ أَتَّهَرَّيْ بِرُسُلٍ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ VI. 10. *And assuredly Apostles before thee have been mocked at*, because Raum and Ishmām belong only to the vowel understood in pause; while the vowel supervening on account of the two quiescents occurs only in continuity; so that, not being understood in pause, it cannot be notified [by Raum or Ishmām] (R): (k) the accidental vowel is the vowel of the concurrence of two quiescents [664], as in وَعَصُوا الرَّسُولَ IV. 45. *And disobeyed the Apostle*, and فَلْيَنْظُرِ الْإِنْسَانُ LXXX. 24. *Then let man look*; and in يَوْمَئِذٍ [above] (MAR): and the reason why there is no Raum or Ishmām in it is that the consonant [on which it appears] has [orig.] no vowel in continuity; but the vowel supervenes only because of a quiescent, that encounters it; and disappears upon pause, because of the departure of the necessitating cause; so that it is not taken into account (MASH): (4) reduplication of the letter paused upon, [in a n. or v. (Tsr),] as هَذَا خَالِدٌ *This is*

Khālid and هُوَ يَجْعَلُ *He makes* (Aud), with reduplication of the و in خَالِدٌ, and of the ل in يَجْعَلُ (Tsr) : (a) reduplication is the *strengthening* of the letter paused upon : (b) the object of it is to make known that this letter is *orig. mobile* : (c) the letter added for pause is the quiescent that precedes, and is incorporated into, the letter paused upon (A) : (d) the sign of reduplication is

ش (S, M, R, A) above the letter (IY, R, A), as هَذَا فَرْجٌ *This is Faraj* (M) ; this being the initial of شَدِيدٌ *strong* (IY, R, A), or شَدَّ *It has become strong* (IY), or شَدَّدَ *It has been strengthened* (Sn) : but, in the language of the Tsr (Sn), its sign is (Tsr) the head of a ش (Tsr, Sn) above the letter, like this, ش (Tsr) : (e) it is rare (SH, Tsr), because of the occurrence of the doubling in place of the lightening (Jrb, Tsr) ; and for this reason it is not transmitted from any of the Readers except 'Āṣim in مُسْتَطَرَّ LIV. 53. *Recorded* [in the Tablet (K, B)], in the Chapter of the Moon (Tsr) : (f) it is a Sa'dī *dial.* ; (g) its conditions are five matters, vid. that the [letter (Tsr)] paused upon should not be (a) a Hamza [642], as in خَطَأٌ *fault* and رَشَأٌ *young gazelle* (Aud), because the Hamza in the position of the ل is not incorporated, nor incorporated into [737] (Tsr) ; (b-d) ا , as in الْقَاضِي *the judge*, ا , as in يَدْعُو *calls*, or an ا ,

as in يَخْشَى *dreads* (Aud), because of the heaviness of the unsound letter [642] (Tsr); (e) immediately after quiescence, as in زَيْدٌ *Zaid* and عَمْرٌ *Amr* (Aud), lest three quiescents be combined, the penultimate, the incorporated, and the [letter] paused upon (Tsr): (h) reduplication occurs in the *nom.* and *gen.*, unrestrictedly: and, as for the *acc.*, if it be pronounced with Tanwīn, the only [mode] allowable in it is conversion of the Tanwīn into ʾ [above], except according to the *dial.* of Rabrʾa [above], who allow elision of the Tanwīn, in which case there is no disallowance of reduplication; but, if it be not pronounced with Tanwīn, as رَأَيْتُ الرَّجُلَ *I saw the man*, لَنْ يَجْعَلَ *He shall not make*, and رَأَيْتُ أَحْمَدَ *I saw Ahmad*, there is no question about the allowability of reduplication, as in the *nom.* and *gen.*: (i) reduplication is applicable to the *nom.* and the [final] pronounced with Damm, the *gen.* and the [final] pronounced with Kasr, and the *acc.* not pronounced with Tanwīn and the [final] pronounced with Fath (R): (j) such as الْقَصَبَا [in the saying of the poet: أَوْ كَأَنكَرِيْقِي آخِ (Jrb)] is an anomalous poetic license [below] (SH), because he imports the predicament of pause, vid. reduplication, into the state of continuity [647]; and we say that it is “the state of continuity”, because the rhymes are mobilized only when meant to be understood as continuous [with what follows]

them] (Jrb) : (k) the doubled letter ought to be quiescent, because you double it only to explain the [existence of a] vowel in continuity ; whereas, when it becomes mobile, you are independent of indication of the vowel, since it is perceived [by the ear] : but they allow, in rhymes exclusively, the doubled letter to be mobilized, for the purpose of putting the letter of unbinding, because poetry is the position of quavering, trilling, and reiteration of sound, and especially at the ends of verses ; while the letters of unbinding, i. e., the ا , و , and ي , are particularly appropriated out of [all] the letters, to repetition and reiteration [of sound] ; for which reason they are affixed in poetry, for the purpose of unbinding, to words that they are not affixed to in prose, as in

فَقَا نَبِكَ مِنْ ذِكْرِي حَبِيبٍ وَ مَنْزِلِي

[115], whereas you do not say مَرَرْتُ بِعَمْرِي *I passed by 'Amr*, except according to the *dial.* of the Azd [above] of As Sarāt ; and as in

آذَنْتَنَا بَيْنِنَهَا أَسْمَاءُ * رَبِّ تَارِ يَمَلُّ مِنْهُ التَّوَّاءُ

(R), by [AlHārith (EM)] Ibn Ḥilliza [alYashkuri (EM), The beloved (N)] *Asmā has announced to us her intention of departing. Many a sojourner there is, of whose sojourning one is wearied!* (EM, N), whereas you do not say جَاءَتْنِي أَسْمَاءُ *Asmā has come to*

me [642]; and you say in poetry الرَّجُلِي and الرَّجُلُو , whereas in prose that is not allowable in any of the *dials.*; and similarly the poet [Imra al Kais (Jh, MAR)] says

وَمُسْتَلِّمٍ كَشَفْتُ بِالرَّمْحِ ذَيْلَهُ * أَتَمْتُ بِعُضْبٍ ذِي السَّفَاسِقِ مَيْلَهُ
[And many a mail-clad warrior there was, whose skirt I uncovered with the spear, whose inclination towards flight I righted with a trenchant blade, having wavy lines! (MAR)], with the *ﺀ* of the *conj.* after the *ﺀ* of the *pron.*, whereas in prose that is not allowable when the *ﺀ* of the *pron.* is paused upon, as جَاءَنِي غُلَامٌ His young man came to me [648]: so that, as, for the sake of putting the [letter of] unbinding, it is allowable for them to mobilize that [letter] which in prose ought to be quiescent, so, for the sake of the letter of unbinding, they allow the doubled *ل* to be mobilized in such as

بَبَازِلٍ وَجَنَاءٌ أَوْ عِيَهْلٍ

[by a man of the Banù Asad (S),] With a nine-year-old she-camel, robust or swift [647], although it ought to be quiescent; and similarly the doubled *ب* in such as أَوْ كَالْحَرِيقِ أَلْحِ [below] is *orig.* quiescent, but is mobilized for the sake of the letter of unbinding, as the *ن* of اَلْأَنْدَرِينَ in the saying [of 'Amr Ibn Kulthūm at Taghlabī (EM)]

أَلَا هَيْتِي بِصَحْنِكَ فَأَصْبَحِينَا * وَلَا تَبْقَى خُمُورَ الْأَنْدَرِينَا

[*Now wake up, O female cup-bearer, and give us a morning-draught with thy bowl, and keep not back for others the wines of the inhabitants of AlAndar, a city in Syria, i. e. خُمُورَ الْأَنْدَرِيِّينَ*, where three *ى* s are combined, so that they are lightened by poetic license, or *the wines of the Andarūn*, said to be cities in Syria abounding in wines (EM),] ought to be quiescent, as in *مَرَرْتُ بِالْمُسْلِمِينَ* *I passed by the Muslims*, all rhymes being paused upon, even though the sentence be not complete without the following verses : and, for this reason, we do not [often] find, in ancient poetry, such as *الشَّجَرَتِي* *the tree*, with the *ت* followed by the *conj.* ; but *الشَّجَرَةُ* occurs, with the quiescent ة [646] ; while *الشَّجَرَتِي* is frequent only in the poems of post-classical [poets] : and, according to this theory, the saying *الْقَصَبَا* [below] is not “ an anomalous poetic license ” [above] ; as the mobilization of the *ن* in *الْأَنْدَرِينَ* [above] and the mobilization of the *ر* in the saying

لَعِبَ الرِّيحُ بِهَا وَغَيْرَهَا * بَعْدَى سَوَائِي الْمُرِّ وَالْقَطْرِ

[*The winds have sported with it (the abode) ; and, in mine absence, the whirlwinds of dust and the showers have altered it (MAR)*], for the sake of the letter of unbinding, are, by common consent, not anomalous,

notwithstanding that the two letters would have to be quiescent if they were not in poetry : and, because of its not being anomalous, you will see mobilization of the doubled [letter], for the sake of the [letter of] unbinding, to be frequent in their language : Ru'ba [Ibn Al 'Ajjāj at Tamīmī (Jsh)] says

لَقَدْ خَشِيتُ أَنْ أَرَى جَدْبًا * فِي عَامِنَا ذَا بَعْدَمَا أَخْصَبَا

إِنَّ الدَّبَّ فَوْقَ أَلْتُنُونِ دَبًّا * وَهَبَّتِ الرِّيحُ بِمُورٍ هَبًّا

تَتَرَكُ مَا أَبْقَى الدَّبَّ سَبَسَبًا * كَأَنَّهُ أَلْسَيْلٌ إِذَا أَسْلَحَبَا

أَوْ كَأَلْكَرِيْقٍ وَافَقَ أَلْقَصْبَا * وَالتَّبَنِّ وَالْخُلْفَاءُ فَالْتَهَبَا

[647] (R) *Assuredly I have dreaded that I may see a drought in this our year, after it has been fertile in herbage. Verily the young locusts have crawled over the ridges of the ground, and the wind has blown up dust continually, leaving what the locusts have spared a desert, as though it were the flood where it spreads abroad, or like the flame when it has met the reeds and the straw and the long coarse grass, and has then blazed up (MN) : nor is there anything in the language of S to indicate that the like [mobilization] is anomalous or a poetic license ; nay, the only reason why the like [mobilization] is not extremely frequent is that reduplication [itself] is rare in pause, because the property of pause is to lighten, not to make heavy ; so that*

the rarity of such as الْقَصَبَا and عَيْهَلْ is like the rarity of جَاءَنِي جَعْفَرٌ *Ja'far came to me*, and of يَجْعَلُ [above] : (R) : but [J1b contends that] even those who say that the rhymes are mobilized because a letter of prolongation, that is paused upon, has been added to them, which is what is named [letter of unbinding], not because they are meant to be understood as continuous [with what follows them], do not take it out of the *cat.* of the anomalous : except that the anomaly, according to the first [theory], consists in continuity's being treated like pause [647] ; while, according to the second, it consists in the vowel's being combined with reduplication, whereas the condition of the one is the non-existence of the other (Jrb) : (1) reduplication should properly not be applied to the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn in such as

تَتْرُكُ مَا أَبْقَى الدَّبَا سَبَسَبَا

[above], because the letter of its inflection ought to be mobile in pause, its Tanwīn being converted into |, and nothing else ; while the letter of inflection, when mobile in pause, not for the sake of putting the letter of unbinding, is not doubled : but the poet makes the *acc.* accord with, and follow the analogy of, the *nom.* and *gen.*, as in the *dial.* of Rabr'a [above] (R) : (5) transfer of the vowel of the letter [paused upon] to that which is before it, as in the reading [of IAl (Tsr)] بِالصَّبْرِ وَتَوَاصَرُوا CIII. 3.

And enjoined, one upon another, patience, [with transfer of the Kasra to the ب (Tsr)]; and the saying *أَنَا أَبْنُ مَأْوِيَةَ الْح* [498, 641] (Aud), with transfer of the Damm of the , to the ق before it (Tsr): (a) this also is rare (SH), like reduplication, except in the Hamza [641], because of the apparent alteration in the formation of the word, by the mobilization of the quiescent ع with Damm, Fath, or Kasr, although the vowels are accidental; and also because the transfer of the inflection, which ought to be on the final, to the medial [of the word] is disliked (R): (b) its object is either to make the vowel [of the inflection (A)] plain, or to escape from the [concurrence of (A)] two quiescents (A, MKh); and the reason why it is not necessary is only that concurrence of two quiescents is allowable in pause (MKh): (c) its sign is the absence of sign (A).

§. 641. Its conditions are five [or rather six (Tsr)] matters, (1) that the penultimate should be quiescent, [in order that it may receive the vowel transferred, because the mobile does not receive another vowel (Tsr)]: (2-3) that mobilization of that quiescent should not be impracticable, [as in the case of the † and the incorporated letter, which do not receive a vowel (Tsr)]; and should not sound heavy, [as in the case of the , and ع, to which the vowel is not transferred, on account of the heaviness (Tsr)]: (4) that the vowel [intended to be transferred

(Tsr)] should not be Fathā [642] (Aud), according to the soundest opinion, as held by the majority of the BB, because, if the [final] pronounced with Fath was [*orig.*] accompanied by Tanwīn, the transfer [of its Fathā] would entail elision of the **ا** of, [i. e., substituted for (Sn),] the Tanwīn [640] ; while the [final] unaccompanied by Tanwīn is made to accord with the accompanied : so says IUK (Tsr) : (5) that the transfer should not lead to an unprecedented formation (Aud), because that is not allowable : (6) that the [final which the vowel is] transferred from should be sound [642] (Tsr). Transfer is therefore not allowable in such as (1) هَذَا جَعْفَرٌ *This is Ja'far*, because of the mobility of the penultimate [642] : (2) إِنْسَانٌ *human being* and يَشَدُّ *is hard*, because the **ا** [in إِنْسَانٌ (Tsr)] and the incorporated letter [in يَشَدُّ (Tsr)] do not receive a vowel, [since they are necessarily quiescent, except that the quiescence of the **ا** is constitutional, while the quiescence of the incorporated is accidental (Tsr)] : (3) يَقُولُ *says* and يَبِيعُ *sells*, because a vowel would sound heavy upon the **و**, preceded by a [letter] pronounced with Damm [in يَقُولُ (Tsr)], and upon the **ي** preceded by a [letter] pronounced with Kasr [in يَبِيعُ (Tsr)] : (4) سَبَعْتُ أَلْعِلْمَ *I learnt knowledge*, because the vowel is Fathā (Aud) : for they transfer Damma and Kasra, because they dislike to elide them,

on account of their strength; while, Fathā being light, they pardon its elision: so says Jrb (Tsr): but that [transfer of Fathā (Tsr)] is allowed by the KK [below] (Aud, A), and, [according to the author of the Aud (Sn),] by Akh [below] (Aud, Sn), unrestrictedly (Sn), for the sake of uniformity in the *cat.* (Tsr); and it is reported of Jr that he allows it, [unrestrictedly; like the KK (Sn)]; and of Akh [above] that he allows it in the [n.] pronounced with Tanwīn, according to the *dial.* of those who say رَأَيْتُ بَكْرَ, *I saw Bakr* (A), vid. Rabi'a [640], because the preceding objection [as to its entailing elision of the | substituted for the Tanwīn] is absent, according to the *dial.* of these (Sn): (5) هَذَا عِلْمٌ *This is knowledge*, because in Arabic there is no فَعَلٌ [368], with Kasr of its first [letter], and Damm of its second (Aud): (6) غَزَوْا and طَبَّيْ [643], because the [final which the vowel is] transferred from is not sound (Tsr). The last two conditions [mentioned by IHsh, vid. that the vowel should not be Fathā, and that the transfer should not lead to an unprecedented formation (Tsr),] are peculiar to [the n. whose final is] other than Hamza: so that transfer is allowable in such as (1) الَّذِي يُخْرِجُ الْخَبَّ (1) XXVII. 25. *Who bringeth forth the hidden*, [where you say الْخَبَّ (Tsr),] though the vowel is Fathā, [because, if you said الْخَبَّ with quiescence, without transfer, you

would find it sound manifestly heavy (Tsr)] : (2) هَذَا رَدٌّ
This is a buttress, [where you say رَدٌّ with Kasr of the
 , and Damm of the د (Tsr),] although the transfer leads
 to the formation فَعْلٌ [above] (Aud), because the Hamza
 is heavy ; and, when the preceding [letter] is quiescent,
 the utterance of the [quiescent (A)] Hamza is difficult
 ('Tsr). The opinion of the KK [above] is that pause
 with transfer is allowable, whether the vowel be Fatha,
 Damma, or Kasra, and whether the final be Hamza or
 any other letter ; so that, according to them, you say
 رَأَيْتُ الْضَرْبَ *I saw the striking* and رَأَيْتُ الْبُتْرَةَ *I saw the*
buttress ; while the opinion of the BB is that transfer is
 not allowable when the vowel is Fatha, except when the
 final is Hamza ; so that, according to them, رَأَيْتُ الْبُتْرَةَ
 is allowable, while [رَأَيْتُ] الْضَرْبَ is disallowed : but the
 opinion of the KK is better, because they have trans-
 mitted it from the Arabs (IA). Those who do not
 authorize فَعْلٌ [368], with Damma [on its first (Tsr)], and
 then Kasra [on its second (Tsr)], but assert that دُكِّلَ
weasel is transferred from the v., do not allow transfer
 [of the vowel] in such as بِقْفَلٍ *by a lock*, because, after
 the transfer, it becomes بِقِفْلٍ with Damm of the ق , and
 Kasr of the ف : but allow it in such as بَبْطٌ *with*
slowness, because the final is Hamza (Aud) ; while

unprecedentedness [of formation] in transfer from the Hamza is pardonable, because of the heaviness of the Hamza (Tsr). This is the *dial.* of many of the Arabs, among them Asad and [most of] Tamīm (IY, A), who, in the case of [the *n.* whose final is] Hamza, make no distinction between Fatha, and Damm or Kasr, of the initial; but say هَذَا الْبُطْرُ *This is slowness* and مِّنَ الْبُطْيِ *from slowness* [642], هَذَا الرَّدْوُ *This is the buttress* [642] and مَرَرْتُ بِالرَّدْيِ *I passed by the buttress*, as they say مَرَرْتُ بِالْخَبْوِ *This is the hidden* [and مَرَرْتُ بِالْخَبْيِ *I passed by the hidden* (M)]: and do not avoid reduction to the formation فَعُل, which has no precedent in the language, or فُعِل, which has no precedent among *ns.*; because such a formation [here] is accidental, not the [original] formation of the word (IY). But some [of Tamīm (M, A, Tsr), in the case of the *n.* whose final is Hamza (R),] flee [from the unprecedentedness (A, Tsr) effected by this transfer (A)] to [mobilization of the quiescent with the vowel of the ف, by (Tsr)] alliteration (M, SH, A, Tsr) of [the vowel of] the ع to [that of] the ف (A), [i. e.,] of the transferred Damma to the Kasra of the ف, and of the transferred Kasra to the Damma of the ف (MASH), making Kasra follow Kasra, and Damma follow Damma (IY, Jrb), as هَذَا الرَّدْيِ with two Kasras,

and *مِنْ الْبُطْرِ* with two Dammas [642] (M, Jr̄b, MASH): while some of them alliterate; but, after alliteration, change the Hamza [into a letter homogeneous with the alliterative vowel before it (Sn)], saying *هَذَا رِدِي مَعَ كُفُو* *This is a buttress with another to match it* (A). And similarly [they alliterate] in the case of the *n.* whose final is not Hamza (IY, R), though [Z or] IH does not mention it, the difference being that, in the case of the *n.* whose final is Hamza, the leading to a discarded formation is pardoned; so that this is allowable, as alliteration is allowable. The pause of the people of AlHijāz [642] is not mentioned by [Z or] IH in this section (R). When the vowel of the Hamza is transferred, the Hījāzīs elide the Hamza, pausing upon the bearer of its vowel, [i. e., potentially “the bearer”, because actually it bears only quiescence (Sn)]; as it is paused upon, when independently entitled to possession of that vowel, [by reason of the vowel’s *orig.* belonging to it (Sn)]: so that they say *هَذَا الْخَبُّ* *This is the hidden*, [with transfer and elision (Tsr),] pronouncing [the ب (Tsr)] with quiescence, Raum, or Ishmām [658] (A, Tsr); or with any other [mode], subject to its conditions (A); or [rather (Sn)] with reduplication [642] (Tsr, Sn), but not transfer, according to the well-known *dial.*; though in the *dial.* of Lakhm [below], respecting transfer to a mobile, its allowability is not improbable (Sn). But others than the Hījāzīs,

[when they transfer (Tsr),] do not elide the Hamza (A, Tsr), because they are eager to keep the inflection from disappearing (Tsr). Transfer is authorized in the *nom.* and *gen.*, by common consent (R). The Rājiz says
 أَنَا آبُنُ مَاوِيَّةَ الْحَمْرِ [498, 640], meaning النَّقَرُ (Mb); [and] the poet says

أَرْتَنِي حَبْلًا عَلَى سَاقِهَا * فَهَشَّ الْفَرَادُ لِذَاكَ الْخِجَلِ
 فَقُلْتُ وَلَمْ أَخْفِ عَنْ صَاحِبِي * إِلَّا بِأَبِي أَصْلَ تِلْكَ الرَّجْلِ

She showed me an anklet upon her leg, and the heart became soft because of that anklet. Then said I, and hid not mine emotion from my companion, Now, by my father be the root of that leg (ransomed)!, meaning الْخِجَلِ and الرَّجْلِ [368]; and, similarly (IY), the poet says

تَحْفِرُهَا الْأَوْتَارُ وَالْأَيْدَى الشَّعْرُ * وَالنَّبْلُ سِتُونَ كَأَنَّهَا الْجَمْرُ

The strings of the bows and the hairy hands drove them, the arrows being sixty, as though they were live coals, meaning الشَّعْرُ and الْجَمْرُ (M). As for the *acc.*, (1) if the *n.* be pronounced with Tanwīn, transfer is not authorized in it, except in the *dial.* of Rabr'a [above], because of their eliding the Fatha also: (2) if it be not pronounced with Tanwīn, transfer is (a) disallowed by S, who says "رَأَيْتُ الْبَكْرَ", ["because it is in the position of Tanwīn" (S), which is

understood by R to mean] “on the ground that the *art.* is accidental, the *o. f.* being Tanwīn, so that the [n.] made *det.* by the *art.* is in the predicament of the [n.] pronounced with Tanwīn”; [and by IUK and others to mean that the *acc.* not pronounced with Tanwīn is made to accord with the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, for the sake of uniformity]; (b) allowed by others than S, because the *acc.* not pronounced with Tanwīn is exactly like the *nom.* and *gen.* in the necessity for quiescence of the J. If, however, the final of the *acc.* not pronounced with Tanwīn be Hamza, transfer is authorized in it, by common consent, because the Hamza [below], when quiescent, is imperceptible after the quiescent (R): and the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn is like the *acc.* not pronounced with Tanwīn in allowability of transferring the vowel of its Hamza, although it is not exemplified by [R and] A (Sn). The majority hold that transfer is peculiar to the vowel of inflection; so that مَضَى أَمْسٌ [206] is not said, nor مِنْ بَعْدُ or مِنْ قَبْلُ [201], because their eagerness for knowledge of the vowel of uninflectedness is not like their eagerness for knowledge of the vowel of inflection, [on account of the pre-eminence of the latter (Sn)]: but some of the moderns say that, on the contrary, the eagerness for [knowledge of] the vowel of uninflectedness is more strongly felt, because the vowel of inflection has something that indicates it, vid. the *op.* [1] (A). The *s* of the *pron.* is like

the Hamza [above] in imperceptibility ; so that, when the letter before it is quiescent and sound, transfer of its Damma to that quiescent is allowable, [as] in مِنْهُ and عَنْهُ , for the sake of making the Damma plain (R). The poet [Ziyād alA'jam (S, IY)] says

عَجِبْتُ وَالْدَّهْرُ كَثِيرٌ عَجِبُهُ * مِنْ عَنَرِي سَبَنِي لَمْ أَضْرِبْهُ

(S, Mb, M, K on IV: 101, R, A) *I marvelled (and fortune, much is its marvelling!) at an 'Anazī that reviled me, while I smote him not* (N), meaning لَمْ أَضْرِبْهُ (Mb, A, N), with quiescence of the ب , and Damm of the ة (N); and Abu -nNajm says

فَقَرَّبْنِ هَذَا وَهَذَا زَحَلَهُ

Then bring this near, and remove this far (S, Mb, M), meaning زَحَلَهُ (Mb, IY); and Tarafa says

حَابِسِي رُبْعٌ وَقَفْتُ بِهِ * لَوْ أَطِيعَ النَّفْسَ لَمْ أَرْمَهُ

What detains me is a dwelling that I have stopped at, such that if I were to obey the prompting of my soul, I should not quit it, where he is not obliged to restore the ي [elided in أَرْمَ], when the م becomes mobile, because its vowel does not really belong to it, but is only the vowel of the ة (Mb). And some of the Banū 'Adī, of Tamīm, mobilize the letter before the ة with Kasr, on account of the two quiescents, saying ضَرَبْتَهُ *She struck*

him and *قَالَتْ* *She said it*; but the first [mode, *vid.* transfer of the Damma from the *ʾ* to the quiescent before it, as *ضَرَبَتْ* and *قَالَتْ*,] is more frequent (R). Pause with transfer of the vowel to a mobile is [allowable in (A)] the *dial.* of Lakhm [above] (A, Tsr), as in

*مَنْ يَأْتِرَ لِلْخَيْرِ فِيمَا قَصَدَهُ * تَحْمَدَ مَسَاعِيهِ وَيَعْلَمَ رَشْدَهُ*
(A) *Whose conforms to good in what he has purposed, his efforts are praised, and his rectitude is known* (MN), where the poet transfers the vowel of the *ʾ* to the *د*, which was mobile (MN, Sn) before (Sn), *orig.* *قَصَدَهُ* (MN): and, as an instance of this *dial.*, Jh cites the saying of some Rājiz

*مَا زَالَ شَيْبَانُ شَدِيدًا وَهَضَّ * حَتَّى أَتَاهُ قِرْنُهُ فَوَقَصَهُ*

Shaibān ceased not to be strong in his throwing down, until his match came to him, and broke his neck, saying “He means *فَوَقَصَهُ*; but, when he pauses upon the *ʾ*, he transfers its [vowel, *vid.* the (Jh)] Damma to the preceding *ص*, which he then mobilizes (Tsr) with the vowel of the *ʾ*” (Jh). And another peculiarity of this *dial.* is pause upon the *ʾ* of the 3rd *pers. fem.* by elision of the *ا*, and transfer of the Fatha of the *ʾ* to the mobile before it, as in the saying

فَوَآئِبَ كُنْتُ فِي لَحْمٍ أَخَافُهُ

Misfortunes that I was fearing for, or on account of,

Lakhm, meaning أَخَافُهَا (A). And it is said in the *Nihāya* “For ضَرَبَهُ *He struck him* you say ضَرَبَهُ in poetry; and the vulgar use it in prose” (Tsr). It is allowable to pause upon a single letter, like [the ف and (MAR)] the aoristic letter, which is then conjoined with a Hamza followed immediately by an ا; but sometimes is restricted to the ا: the poet says

بِالْخَيْرِ خَيْرَاتٍ وَإِنْ شَرًّا فَا * وَلَا أُرِيدُ الشَّرَّ إِلَّا أَنْ تَا

[*In return for good shall be good things (from me); and, if (what is done to me be) evil, then (its return shall be evil); and I mean not evil (for thee), unless thou wilt evil (for me) (MAR)*], i. e., اِنْ شَرًّا فَشَرٌّ and اِنْ شَرًّا فَشَرٌّ : and it is sometimes related اِذَا and اِذَا, as though another ا were added to the ا, like the impletion of Fatha; and then the first, being mobilized because of the two quiescents, were converted into Hamza, as in دَابَّةٌ [665] (R).

§. 642. The Hamza is the remotest and faintest of the letters, because it proceeds from the farthest part of the throat [732]; while pause causes the letter paused upon to become fainter than it is in continuity, because pause involves elision of the vowel that immediately follows the letter, making its sound plain; so that, when Hamza is paused upon, it needs to be made plain. The Hamza paused upon is either lightened by conversion or

elision, which is the method of those who alleviate, [vid. the people of AlḤijāz (MAR)]; or sounded true, which is the method of others [641, 658]. The Hamza sounded true needs something to make it plain, because it remains, and is therefore faint, contrary to the lightened. The [Hamza] sounded true is preceded either by a quiescent [letter], or by a mobile. If the preceding [letter] be quiescent, you pause upon the Hamza with elision of its vowel in the *nom.* and *gen.*, as you pause upon [the, in] عَمْرٍو 'Amr and بَكْرٍ Bakr: and here, besides quiescence, Raum or Ishmām occurs; but not reduplication [640]. Many of the Arabs, however, throw its vowel, oftener than the vowel of any other [letter], upon the preceding quiescent, because the Hamza, when it follows a quiescent, is fainter, since, the quiescent being faint, it is a faint [letter] after a faint; whereas, when you mobilize the preceding [letter], that makes the Hamza plainer. Since, then, the Hamza is more in need of mobilization of the preceding [letter] than are the rest of the letters, because of its excessive faintness, they (1) throw its vowels upon the preceding [letter], whether the vowel be Faṭḥa, Damma or Kasra; whereas they do not transfer the Faṭḥa [641] of any other letter to what precedes it: (2) throw upon the preceding [letter] the Damma of the Hamza in the case of the *tril.* pronounced with Kasr of the ف, as هَذَا آلِ بَدْرٍ, as

[641]; and its Kasra in the case of the *tril.* pronounced with Damm of the ف, as *مِنْ أَلْبُطَى* [641]; although, by this transfer, the two expressions are transformed into a discarded measure; nor do they mind that, because this measure is a temporary accident, not the original constitution of the word: whereas that is not done by them in the case of any [final] other than Hamza; so that they do not say *هَذَا عِدْلٌ* *This is a counterpoise*, nor *مِنْ أَلْبِسَرٍ* *from the full-grown unripe dates*. All of that [transfer of vowels] is because of their dislike that the Hamza should be quiescent when preceded by a quiescent. And, where the inflection is thus transferred to what precedes the Hamza, Raum and Ishmām do not occur, because they serve to make the vowel plain, while that is already realized by the transfer. But, even in the case of the Hamza, some of the Banū Tamīm avoid the two discarded measures, notwithstanding their being accidental; and therefore abandon transfer of the vowel in what leads to them, i. e., the *tril.* pronounced with Kasr or Damm of the ف; but, in both [formations], make [the vowel of] the ع imitate [that of] the ف, in the three cases, [nom., acc., and gen.,] saying *مَرَرْتُ بِأَلْبُطَرٍ*, *هَذَا أَلْبُطَرٌ*, and *رَأَيْتُ أَلْبُطَرٍ*; and *مَرَرْتُ بِأَلْرِدَى*, *هَذَا أَلْرِدَى*, and *رَأَيْتُ أَلْرِدَى* [641]. For, since they see that, in the *gen.* of *بُطْء*, and the *nom.* of *رْدَء*, transfer leads

to the two discarded measures, they make [the vowel of] the ع imitate [that of] the ف in the *gen.* of بَطْءٌ, and in the *nom.* of رِدْءٌ ; so that the *nom.* and *gen.* in both [formations] are the same ; and then, disliking that the *acc.* should be different from the *nom.* and *gen.*, they make [the vowel of] the ع imitate [that of] the ف in the three cases. And, besides quiescence, in these two [formations], where [the vowel of] the ع is made to imitate [that of] the ف, Raum and Ishmām occur, because they serve to make the vowel of the final plain ; and it, though transferred to the penultimate, is annulled by the alliteration of [the vowel of] the ع to [that of] the ف ; so that it needs to be made plain. Some of the Arabs are not content with making the Hamza plain, by means of what we have mentioned ; but seek more than that. They are of two kinds :—(1) some elide, and do not transfer, the vowel of the Hamza ; and afterwards convert the Hamza into an unsound letter homogeneous with its vowel, saying هَذَا آلَثْوُ *This is the bruise* and مَرَرْتُ بِآلَثْوِي *slowness* and بِالرِدْوِ *the buttress*, and مَرَرْتُ بِآلَثْوِي and بِالرِدْوِي, with quiescence of the ع in the whole [of them] : while, in the *acc.*, quiescence of the letter before the | not being possible, since the | occurs only after Fatha, they say رَأَيْتُ آلَثْوَا and الرِدَا and الرِدَا [below], with transfer and conversion ; so that here the

Hamza is made plain by its conversion into **ا**, as some make the **ا** in حُبَلَى plain by its conversion into Hamza [643], because [here] the **ا** preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath is plainer than the Hamza preceded by a quiescent, as there the [Hamza] preceded by a mobile is plainer than the **ا**: (2) some transfer the vowels to the **ع** in the whole [of these formations]; and afterwards regulate the Hamza, in respect of conversion, by the vowel of what precedes it, saying هَذَا الْبَطْوُ and الْوَثُو and رَأَيْتُ and بِالرِّدَى and بِالْوَثَى and مَرَرْتُ بِالْبَطْيِ and الرِّدْوُ and الْوَثَا and الْبَطَا [above]. This conversion, however, is not an alleviation of the Hamza, as in بَيْرٌ *well*, رَأْسٌ *head*, and مُؤْمِنٌ *believer*, because these Arabs are not among those who alleviate [658]; but this conversion is because of their eagerness that the vowel of the letter paused upon should be made plain. Then those transferors of the vowel, who avoid the discarded measure with [retention of] the Hamza [641], avoid that with conversion of the Hamza also; and say رَأَيْتُ الْبَطْوُ and هَذَا الْبَطْوُ and رَأَيْتُ الرِّدَى and هَذَا الرِّدَى and مَرَرْتُ بِالْبَطْوُ, making the و inseparable from the first [formation], and the ي from the second. And, in the case of these [formations], whose **ل** is converted into a soft letter, Raum and Ishmām do not occur, because the vowel was upon the Hamza, not upon

the soft letter, as was mentioned in the case of the s of feminization [640]. All of this is when the letter preceding the Hamza is quiescent. But, if it be mobile, as in *شَا* *young gazelle*, *أَكْبُرُ* *mushrooms*, and *أَعْنَى* [below], you pause upon such a formation as you pause upon *جَمَلٌ* *he-camel*, *رَجُلٌ* *man*, and *كَبِدٌ* *liver*, without conversion of the Hamza, because it is made plain by the vowel of the letter before it: so that here all the modes of pause [upon the mobile] occur, except reduplication [640]; and except transfer, because of the mobility of the penultimate [641]. When the letter before the Hamza is pronounced with Fath, some of the Arabs, I mean, of those who sound [the Hamza] true, regulate it [in respect of conversion] by its own vowel, from eagerness to make [the Hamza] plain, because they account the Fatha [on the penultimate], by reason of its lightness, to be like the non-existent, so that it does not serve to make [the Hamza] properly plain; and therefore they say *هَذَا أَكْلًا* *This is fresh herbage*, *رَأَيْتُ أَكْلًا* *I saw fresh herbage*, *مَرَرْتُ بِأَكْلَى* *I passed by fresh herbage*, [with Fath of the ل, and quiescence of the , and ى (Sn),] converting the Hamza pronounced with Damm into , , the Hamza pronounced with Fath into !, and the Hamza pronounced with Kasr into ى , because, after Fatha, the unsound letters are not considered heavy, when quiescent.

But, when the letter before the Hamza is pronounced with Damm, as in أَكْبَرُ, or Kasr, as in أَهْنَى [below], it is not possible to regulate the Hamza [in respect of conversion] by its own vowel, because the ا does not occur after Damma or Kasra, nor the quiescent ي after Damma, nor the quiescent , after Kasra; and moreover the Damma and Kasra [on the penultimate] manage to make [the Hamza] properly plain : so that they retain the two Hamzas in their [original] state, [saying أَكْبَرُ and أَهْنَى]; and do not convert them, as they convert the Hamza when the letter before it is pronounced with Fath. All of this is according to the method of those who sound the Hamza true. But, as for those who alleviate [it, vid. the Hijāzīs], they lighten it in the proper way [658]: so that, (1) if the preceding letter be quiescent, they transfer the vowel of the Hamza to the preceding [quiescent] and elide the Hamza; and afterwards elide the [transferred] vowel, on account of the pause, as الْخَبُّ and الْبُطُّ and الرَّدُّ; and here quiescence, Raum, Ishmām, and reduplication [641] occur : while, in the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, the Tanwīn is converted into ا as رَأَيْتُ بَطًّا and رَدًّا and خَبًّا : (2) if the preceding letter be mobile, the Hamza is regulated [in respect of conversion] by the vowel of the preceding [mobile], being [converted into] an ا in الْخَطَّا, in the three cases; a , in

أَكْبُرُ ; and اُ in أَهْنِي : and here only quiescence occurs ; not Raum or Ishmām, as we said in the case of the ة of feminization [640] ; while reduplication is impossible, because it occurs only in the sound [640] (R). The people of AlHijāz say أَلَكَلَا the *fresh herbage* [and أَلْخَطَا the *fault* (IY)] in [all (A)] the [three (M)] cases (M, A), because the Hamza is made quiescent by the pause, while the letter before it is pronounced with Fath ; so that it is [converted into ا (IY),] like [the Hamza in] رَأْسُ head [658] (M) and فَأَسْ axe (IY), because they do not change the Hamza after a vowel, except into the [letter] homogeneous with it (A), i. e., with this vowel (Sn) : and [for that cause (A), by parity of reasoning (M), when the letter before it is pronounced with Damm or Kasr, it is converted into و or ي , respectively ; so that (IY)] they say أَكْبُرُ for أَكْبُرُ [above] (M, A) ; and أَهْنِي for أَهْنِي I give (M), from هَنَّا الرَّجُلَ gave to the man, aor. يَهْنُهُ , i. q. أَعْطَاهُ (IY) ; and مُتَلِي for مُتَلِي full (A) ; أَكْبُرُ being (IY) like جُونَةُ pounce-box, and [أَهْنِي like (IY)] ذَيْبٌ wolf [658] (M).

§. 643. The unsound *n.* is that which has for its final an unsound letter, vid. a و or ي or ا [697] ; and what precedes these letters is either quiescent or mobile (IY). When the final is unsound, and the penultimate is quiescent,

[which occurs, only with the , or ي (IY),] like the final of ظَبْيٌ gazelle [and صَبِيٌّ boy (IY) , and of دَلْوٌ bucket [and عَدُوٌّ enemy, not with the ا , because what precedes the ا is always pronounced with Fath (IY)], it is [treated (IY)] like the sound (M) in pause, as it is treated in assumption of the vowels of inflection [16, 720] : so that its predicament is like the predicament of the sound ; that being allowable in it which is allowable in the sound, and that being disallowed in it which is disallowed in the sound [640, 641]. But some of the Banu Sa'd substitute a ج for the double ي in pause, because the ي is faint : while it proceeds from the same outlet as the ج [732] ; so that the ج , but for its hardness, would be a ي ; and the ي , but for its softness, would be a ج : and therefore they say تَمِيمٌ for فُقَيْمٌ *Fukaim* [311], تَمِيمِي for فُقَيْمِي *Tamimi*, and عَلِيٌّ for عَلِيٌّ *Ali* : the poet says خَالِي عَوَيْفٌ عَلَى الْعِشِيِّ (IY). [When the penultimate of the unsound *n.* is mobile, the *n.* is defective or abbreviated.] When the defective [16] is paused upon, its ي must be expressed in three cases, (1) when it is curtailed of the ف , as when you use the *aor.* of وَفَى *fulfilled* or وَعَى *stored up* as a [proper] name, in which case you say [in the *nom.* (Tsr)] هَذَا يَفِيٌّ *This is Yafi* and هَذَا يَعِيٌّ *This is Ya'i*, [and in the *gen.* مَرَرْتُ بِيَفِيٍّ *I passed by*

Yafī and *يَبْعِي* by *Ya'ī* (Tsr'),] with expression [of the *ي* in the *nom.* and *gen.* of both (Tsr)], because their *o. f.* is *يُوبِي* and *يُوعِي* [482, 644, 699]; and then their *ف* is elided, [on account of its occurrence between a *ي* pronounced with *Fath* and a *Kasra* (Tsr)]; so that, if their *ل* were elided [in pause (Tsr)], such elision would be a mutilation [of them, since none of their *rad.*s. would remain, except a single quiescent letter (Tsr)]: (2) when it is curtailed of the *ع*, as in *مُرٍ* *act. part.* of *أَرَى* *shewed*: for its *o. f.* is *مُرْعِي*, on the measure of *مُرْعِي*; and then the vowel of its *ع*, vid. the *Hamza*, is transferred to the *ر*, [before it, which is quiescent, sound (Tsr)]; and afterwards the *Hamza* is dropped (Aud), for the sake of alleviation [658]; and the *n.* then subjected to the same alteration as *قَاضٍ* (Tsr), its *ي* being elided, because of its concurrence, when quiescent, with *Tanwīn* (Sn): and the *ي*, [which is its *ل* (Tsr),] may not be elided in pause, because of what we have mentioned (Aud), vid. the mutilation of the word from the elision of its *ع* and its *ل*, and [from] its being left with a single quiescent *rad.* (Tsr); so that you say *هَذَا مُرٍ* *This is a shewer* (IA, A): (3) when it is an *acc.*, whether it be pronounced with *Tanwīn*, as in *رَبَّنَا إِنَّا سَمِعْنَا مُنَادِيًا* III. 190. *Our Lord, verily, we have heard a summoner*; or not, as in *كَلَّا إِذَا بَلَغَتِ*

التَّرَانِي LXXV. 26. *Not so, when it, [i. e., the soul (K, B),] reaches the highest parts of the breast (Aud); so that, in pause, the ي must be expressed in both [exs., as مُنَادِيًا and التَّرَانِي], because it is fortified [against elision] in the first by the ة of the Tanwīn, and in the second by أَلْ (Tsr). As for the acc., in it the defective is like the sound [640], because the vowel [of inflection] is affixed to it in the acc. : so that, if it be not pronounced with Tanwīn, its ي is made quiescent, as رَأَيْتُ الْقَاضِي I saw the judge; and, if it be pronounced with Tanwīn, an ة is substituted for its Tanwīn, as رَأَيْتُ قَاضِيًا I saw a judge (Jrb). If, however, the defective be a nom. or gen., its ي may be expressed [in pause because it is expressed in continuity, and nothing has arisen to necessitate its elision (Tsr)]; or elided (Aud), to distinguish between continuity and pause (Tsr). But, in the [defective] pronounced with Tanwīn, [there is a dispute as to which of the two modes is preferable : and, according to S (Tsr),] the preferable [mode] is elision, as هَذَا قَاضٍ This is a judge and مَرَرْتُ بِقَاضٍ I passed by a judge (Aud) : This is the opinion of S and the moderns, because the ي is not expressed in continuity ; so that, when pause upon the defective is intended, its vowel and its Tanwīn are elided, by analogy to the sound : and because, pause being the place of rest, it is not fitting that what is not*

found in continuity should be put in it : so says YS (Sn): [or] because the Tanwīn, which is the necessitating cause of elision [16], is constructively remaining (Jrb, Fk). But [هَذَا قَاضِيٌ and مَرَرْتُ بِقَاضِي] are allowable, with expression of the ي, which is preferred by Y ; and, in accordance therewith (Tsr),] Ibn Kathīr reads وَامَّا كُلُّ قَوْمٍ هَادِيٌ XIII. 8. *And every people hath a guide,* وَمَا لَهُمْ مِنْ XIII. 12. *Nor have they, beside Him, any protector* (Aud), and وَمَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ بَاقِيٌ XVI. 98. [2], with expression of the ي in [all of] them (Tsr); [for] some do not elide it, from regard to the fact that Tanwīn is not in the word (Jrb). And in the [defective] not pronounced with Tanwīn, [vid. the synarthrous (Tsr),] the preferable [mode] is expression [of the ي (Tsr)], as هَذَا الْقَاضِيُ *This is the judge* and مَرَرْتُ بِالْقَاضِيِ *I passed by the judge* (Aud). But pause with elision is allowable, as هَذَا الْقَاضُ and مَرَرْتُ بِالْقَاضُ ; and, in accordance therewith is the pause of the majority [of the Readers] upon الْمُتَعَالُ and التَّلَاقُ in الْكَبِيرُ الْمُتَعَالُ XIII. 10. *The Great, the High* [645] and لِيُنْذِرَ يَوْمَ التَّلَاقِ XL. 15. *That He, [or it, or he (K, B),] may give warning of the day of meeting, [i. e., of resurrection (K, B),] where Ibn Kathīr pauses with [expression of] the ي, according to the preferable mode. The argument of*

those who, in the state of pause, express the **ی** in the [defective] pronounced with Tanwīn is that its elision is allowable only on account of the Tanwīn [16]; while in pause there is no Tanwīn, so that the **ی** must return. And the argument of those who elide it in the [defective] not pronounced with Tanwīn is that the pause is assumed to be upon the *indet.*, with elision of the **ی** and Tanwīn; and the *art.* to be then prefixed to it, after elision of the **ی**. But the argument of the first is stronger (Tsr). The [defective (Tsr)] not pronounced with Tanwīn is of four sorts (A, Tsr), (1) that whose Tanwīn falls off because of the prefixion of **أَلْ** [609] (Tsr), [i. e.] the synarthrous (A), which has been mentioned above (Tsr): (2) that whose Tanwīn falls off because of its being put into the *voc.* [48], as in **يَا قَاضِي** *O judge*, in which case expression [of the **ی**] is adopted by Khl, [whose opinion is preferred by others than S (A),] because elision is allowed [by the GG (Sn)], but is not frequent (A, Tsr), so that it is outweighed by the frequency [of the alternative mode, i. e., expression] (A); while elision is adopted by Y, [whose opinion is preferred by S (A),] because the *voc.* is the place of elision (A, Tsr) and alteration (Fk), for which reason curtailment is introduced into it [58] (A), while there is no mutilation of the word here (Fk): (3) that whose Tanwīn falls off because of diptote declension [17], in which case, if it be an *acc.*, as **رَأَيْتُ جَوَارِي** *I saw maidens* [18], it is paused upon with expression of the

يَ , [necessarily (Sn),] as above mentioned, in [the discussion of pause upon] the [defective when it is an] *acc.* (A, Tsr); while, if it be a *nom.* or *gen.*, it is said in the Ham' that expression and elision are allowable, but that the chaster [mode] is expression (Sn) : (4) that whose Tanwīn falls off because of prothesis [110, 609], as in قَاضِي مَكَّةَ *the judge of Makka*, in which case, [when it is paused upon (A),] the two modes allowable in the case of the [defective] pronounced with Tanwīn are allowable, because, say they, when the prothesis ceases by reason of the pause upon the defective, then what went away [from it] because of the prothesis, vid. the Tanwīn, returns to it; so that what is allowable in the case of the [defective] pronounced with Tanwīn is allowable in its case (A, Tsr). As for the abbreviated [16, 326], which is that [*infl. n.*] whose final is an ا, it is of two kinds, triptote and diptote. The ا of the triptote [pronounced with Tanwīn] falls off in continuity, because of its quiescence and the quiescence of the Tanwīn after it, as هَذِهِ عَصَا وَرَحَى يَا فَتَى *This is a staff and a mill-stone, O youth*: but, when you pause, the ا returns; and the pause is upon it, contrary to the ي of قَاضِي [above], as رَأَيْتُ عَصَا هَذِهِ عَصَا *This is a staff*, I saw a staff, and مَرَرْتُ بِعَصَا *I passed by a staff*, because of the lightness of the ا (IY). The abbreviated pronounced with Tanwīn is paused upon with the ا (Jrb, MN, A,

Tsr), which must be expressed, in the three cases (Tsr),
as رَأَيْتُ فَتًى *I saw a youth* [below] (MN, A). The GG
dispute about this † (IY, R). As to this † there are
three opinions, (1) that it is a *subst.* for the Tanwīn,
in the three cases (MN, A, Tsr), the elision of the
converted † [326, 684, 719] in continuity being adopted
as a concomitant of pause (A, Tsr) : this is the opinion of
Akh, Fr, and Mz [below] (MN, A, Tsr); and is under-
stood from the language of IM here, [“ Make Tanwīn
after Fath into an † ” (IM),] because the Tanwīn is after
a Fatha (A) : (2) that it is the converted †, in the three
cases; that the Tanwīn is elided; and that, when it is
elided, the † returns: this is transmitted from IAl, Ks,
and [the KK; and is adopted by (MN, A)] IK and Sf
[below] (MN, A, Tsr), and reported by IBsh to be held
by S [below] and Khl (A, Tsr); and is adopted by IM
in the Kāfiya: “ and”, says he in the CK, “ this opinion
is confirmed by the existence of readings with Imāla of
the † in pause, [as in سُدًى LXXV. 36. *neglected*, with
Imāla, in the reading of Hamza and Ks (Sn]; and by
the † 's being accounted a rhyme-letter” (MN, A);
whereas the *subst.* for the Tanwīn is not suitable for
that (A), i. e., for Imāla and the rhyme-letter (Sn) : and
[IUK says that (MN)] the *ex.* of its being accounted a
rhyme-letter is the saying of the Rājiz [Ash Shammākh
(MN)]

إِنَّكَ يَا ابْنَ جَعْفَرٍ نِعَمَ الْفَتَى * وَخَيْرُهُمْ لِطَارِقٍ إِذَا أَتَى
وَرَبَّ ضَيْفٍ طَرَقَ الْكَى سُرَى * صَادَفَ زَادًا وَحَدِيثًا مَا أَشْتَهَى

Verily thou, O Ibn Ja'far art one of whom it is said "Most excellent is the youth!", and the best of them for a nightly visitor, when he comes. And many a guest, that has visited the tribe in (the time of) journeying by night, has found provisions and tidings, what he has desired!, or and some tidings that he has desired! (MN, A), where the evidence is in سُرَى (MN, Sn), because سُرَى is pronounced with Tanwīn (MN); not in الْفَتَى [below], because it is not pronounced with Tanwīn (Sn): (3) that the abbreviated is judged by comparison with, [i. e., analogy to (Sn),] the sound, the | in the acc. being a subst. for the Tanwīn, and in the nom. and gen. a subst. for the J of the word : this is the opinion of S [below] (MN, A, Tsr), as reported by most (A, Tsr); and [is said to be the opinion (A, Tsr)] of the great majority of GG (MN, A, Tsr)]; and is adopted by F [below] (MN, A), except in the Tadhkira, where he takes to agreement with Mz [above] (A). But what is [last] ascribed to S is not intelligible from his language, since he says "As for the | that goes away in continuity, it is not elided in pause, because the Fatha and the | are lighter. Do you not see them flee to the | from the , or ى preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684]?

And sometimes they flee to it from the [و, or ی] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as دُعَا and رُضَا” (R) and نُهَا (S, IY), for [دُعَا and رُضَا] and نُهَا (IY). And he also says that they lighten عَضُد [368, 408] and فَخْدُ [368, 468, 482] by eliding the vowel of their ع s ; but do not elide the vowel of the ع in جَمَل *he-camel* (R), because of the lightness of Fatha (IY). Sf [above] says, which is the truth, “ This passage indicates that the opinion of S is that the †, which is expressed in pause, is the very one which was elided in continuity”. The meaning, I say, of S ’s language is (1) that, when you say هَذَا قَاضٍ and مَرَرْتُ بِقَاضٍ [above], you elide in pause the ی that you elided in continuity on account of the two quiescents [16]; although one of the two quiescents, vid. the Tanwīn, has disappeared; and that because its disappearance is accidental : while, if the ی and Kasra were not elided in pause, the word, in the state of pause, would remain of a heavy aspect, according to them; although it would be lighter than it is in continuity, because the ی, in every state, is lighter than Tanwīn : but (2) that, in the abbreviated, you restore in pause, in the three cases, the † elided on account of the two quiescents, because the last quiescent, vid. the Tanwīn, has disappeared, [such restoration being] because the † is lighter than every [other] light [letter]. In the

abbreviated, then you consider the disappearance of the Tanwīn, notwithstanding its being accidental, because the consideration of it conduces to making the state of pause the lightest possible. But, in the defective, you do not consider that accidental [disappearance of Tanwīn], because the consideration of it would conduce to making [the word in] the state of pause assume a heavy aspect. And you see how general—in the *nom.*, *acc.*, and *gen.*—S makes the restoration of the **ل**, which is the **ج**, because, in the three cases, it is elided on account of the two quiescents. Nor does the language of S convey, directly or indirectly, what was [last] attributed to him; but what was [there] attributed to him is [really] the opinion of F [above] in the Takmilat (R) alĪdāḥ (HKh). The fruit of this dispute appears in parsing: for, on the theory that the **ل** is a *subst.* for the Tanwīn, the abbreviated is *infl.* with vowels assumed upon the **ل** elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents; and, on the theory that the **ل** is converted from the [و, or] **ي**, the abbreviated is *infl.* with vowels assumed upon the [ل] present, because it is then the seat of inflection (Sn). As for the abbreviated stripped of Tanwīn, like **أَعْلَى** *higher* and **الْفَتَى** *the youth* [above], the **ل** in pause is the one that was in it in continuity, without dispute; and is sometimes elided by poetic license, as

وَقَبِيلٌ مِنْ لُكَيْزٍ شَاهِدٌ * رَهْطٌ مَرْجُومٌ وَرَهْطُ آبِنِ الْمَعْدِ

[645, 648] (R), by Labid [Ibn Rabī'a al'Āmirī (MN)], *When a clan of Lukaiz was present, the kinsfolk of Marjūm, and the kinsfolk of Ibn AlMu'allā*, where he elides the doubling and the † in pause (MN, MAR): [for] IM goes on to say [in the CK] "There is no dispute that, in pause, the form of the abbreviated not pronounced with Tanwīn is like its form in continuity; and that its † is not elided, except in poetic license, as in *وَقَبِيلُ آلِ أَح* [above], meaning *ابْنِ الْمُعَلَّى*" (A). As for the diptote, like *سَكْرَى* and *حُبْلَى* [18, 272], and what has no Tanwīn affixed to it, like *الْقَفَا* and *الْعَصَا* [16, 326], its †, vid. the original †, which was [sounded] in continuity, is retained, because there is no Tanwīn in it, for which the † might be a *subst.* (IY). The † paused upon has [four] *dial. vars.*, (1) retention of its form; which is the best known *dial.*; (2) conversion into *ى*, because *ى* is plainer than †; which is the *dial.* of Fazāra and some of Kais: (3) conversion into *,,* because *,,* is plainer than *ى*; which is the *dial.* of some of Tayyī: (4) conversion into Hamza [642], because Hamza is the sister of the † [732], and is the plainest of all the letters; which also is the *dial.* of some of Tayyī, in whose *dial.* alleviation [of the Hamza] is not found [658]. And, in [the last three of] them, the conversion may be either from the original †, or from the † substituted for the Tanwīn, according to the different opinions before mentioned

(Tsr). S transmits, in pause, (1) ^{هَذِهِ حُبْلًا} *This is a pregnant (female)*, with the Hamza, meaning ^{حُبْلَى} *حُبْلَى*; (2) ^{رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا} *I saw a man* [below], meaning ^{رَجُلًا} *رَجُلًا*, where the Hamza in ^{رَجُلًا} is a *subst.* for the *ا*, which is a compensation for the Tanwīn in pause [640]; not a *subst.* for the Tanwīn itself. And one confirmation of the statement that the Hamza in ^{رَجُلًا} is substituted for the *ا*, not for the Tanwīn, is that you say ^{رَأَيْتُ حُبْلًا} *I saw a pregnant (female)*, pronouncing with Hamza, although there is no Tanwīn in it; and for that reason ^{هُوَ يَضْرِبُهَا} *He strikes her* [below] is transmitted (IY). Conversion of the *ا* [substituted for the Tanwīn (Jrb)] into Hamza, [as in ^{رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا} (Jrb),] is [of] weak [authority]: as [likewise (Jrb)] is conversion of every [other (R)] *ا* (SH) into Hamza (Jrb), whether it be for femininization, as in ^{حُبْلَى} (R, Jrb); or co-ordination, as in ^{مَعْرَى} [273, 375] (R); or anything else (R, Jrb), as in ^{عَصَا} (Jrb), [and] as in ^{يَضْرِبُهَا} [above], where some of the Arabs convert it into Hamza (R). And so is conversion of the *ا* of [femininization in (Jrb)] such as ^{حُبْلَى} into Hamza, or , or ^ى (SH), where IH's saying "Hamza" is not needed, with his [previous] saying "conversion of every *ا*" into Hamza (R). All of this is in pause: for, when you continue, you say ^{هُوَ يَضْرِبُهَا يَا}

هَذَا *He strikes her, O fellow*, and رَأَيْتُ حُبْلَى أَمْسَ *I saw a pregnant (female) yesterday* (IY).

§. 644. The *v.* is of two kinds, sound [in the final], and unsound. The sound is paused upon as the *n.* is paused upon; so that quiescence, Ishmām, Raum, and reduplication [640] are permissible in it, because the cause is one (IY). Pause (I) upon the *ind.* and *subj.* of the *v.*, whose *ʔ* is unsound, is with retention of its finals [without elision (IY)], as, [in the *ind.* (IY),] يَغْزُو *He raids*, يَرْمِي *He throws* [645] (M), and يَخْشَى *He dreads*; and similarly, in the *subj.*, لَنْ يَغْزُو *He shall not raid*, لَنْ يَرْمِي *He shall not throw*, and لَنْ يَخْشَى *He shall not dread*: (a) the *v.* has no Tanwīn affixed to it, necessitating elision, as is found in the *n.* [640]: and therefore its state in pause is conformable to its state in continuity, where you say, in the *ind.*, هُوَ يَغْزُو يَا فَتَى and يَرْمِي يَا فَتَى and يَخْشَى يَا فَتَى *He raids, and throws, and dreads, O youth*; and, in the *subj.*, لَنْ يَغْزُو يَا فَتَى and لَنْ يَرْمِي يَا فَتَى and لَنْ يَخْشَى يَا فَتَى *He shall not raid, and throw, and dread, O youth* [404]: but, when you pause, you make [the final] quiescent (IY): (2) upon its *apoc.* and *imp.*, is [in two modes (IY),] (a) with affixion of the *ʔ*, [which is the better mode (IY),] as, [in the *apoc.* (IY),] لَمْ يَغْزُ *He did not raid* [below],

لَمْ يَرْمَ *He did not throw*, and لَمْ يَخْشَ *He did not dread* (M), orig. لَمْ يَغْرُ [404], لَمْ يَرَمَ, and لَمْ يَخْشَ (IY); and [similarly, in the *imp.* (IY),] اَغْرُ *Raid thou* [below], اَرْمَ *Throw thou*, and اَخْشَ *Dread thou* (M), orig. اَغْرُ [431], اَرَمَ, and اَخَشَ : (a) the *l* s are elided [in the *apoc.*] because of the apocopation; while the vowels before them remain, indicating the elided [letter]; the Damma, Fatha, and Kasra being an indication of the elided , ا , and ي , respectively: and similarly in the *imp.*: but, when the *v.* is paused upon, elision of the vowels is entailed, since pause is only with quiescence, not upon a vowel; so that, grudging that pause should take away the vowels, and thus the indicator and the indicated should [both] be removed, they affix the *s* of silence [below] to them, in order that the pause may fall upon it with quiescence, and the vowels be preserved [648] (IY): (b) [with quiescence (IY),] without a *s*, as لَمْ يَغْرُ [below], لَمْ يَرَمَ, [and لَمْ يَخْشَ (IY)]; and اَغْرُ [below], اَرَمَ, [and اَخَشَ (IY)]; except in what is reduced, by omission of the *s*, to a single letter; for here affixion [of the *s* (IY)] is necessary, as قَ *Guard thou*, [*imp.* of وَقَى, *aor.* يَقَى (IY),] and رَ *See thou* [615] (M), in order that the quiescence may fall upon it, and the vowel be preserved (IY). One peculiarity of pause is the importation of the *s* of silence [615, 646] (Aud), to enable the

vowel to remain in pause, as the *conj.* Hamza is imported, to enable the quiescent to remain in beginning [667, 668]. It is named “the \mathfrak{s} of silence” because the silence falls upon it, not upon the final of the word (Tsr). And it has three positions. One of them is the *v.* altered by elision of its final, whether the elision be (1) for apocopation, as in لَمْ يَغْرُ [above], لَمْ يَكْشَ , and لَمْ يَرْمَ : (a) hence لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ II. 261. [647] (Aud), according to the saying that it is from سَنَنَ *year, sing. of سَنَوَ* [234], and that its ل is an elided و ; the *o. f.* being يَتَسَنَوُ ; but the و being converted into ل because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684, 719]; and the ل elided on account of the apocopative [404]; and then the \mathfrak{s} of silence affixed in pause: which is the opinion adopted by Mb (Tsr): or (2) on account of uninflectedness (Aud), as in the *imp. v.*, according to the saying of the BB [431] (Tsr), as أَغْرُ [above], أَخْشَ , and أَرْمَ : (a) hence $\text{فِيهِدَاهُمْ أَقْتَدَ}$ VI. 90. [647] (Aud), *imp. of يَقْتَدِي*, the \mathfrak{s} in it being for silence, quiescent (Tsr), on account of pause (K, B). The \mathfrak{s} [of silence (Tsr)] in all of that is allowable, not necessary (Aud): you [may] say in pause لَمْ يَغْرُ [above], لَمْ يَكْشَ , and لَمْ يَرْمَ , and أَغْرُ [above], أَخْشَ , and أَرْمَ , without the \mathfrak{s} of silence; and this is the *dial.* of some of the Arabs: S says (Tsr), IIU and Y told us that

(S, Tsr) ; but this *dial.* is the rarer of the two *dials.* [615] (S). And the *ʔ* is not necessary (Tsr), except in one case, vid. when the *v.* [subjected to elision (Tsr)] remains with one letter, like the *imp.* of وَعَى , *aor.* يَعِي [482, 643, 699], where you say عَى (Aud), with elision of its ف and its ل, as in its *aor. apoc.*; and with importation of the *ʔ* of silence, necessarily, in order that you may not be obliged to begin with a quiescent, or to pause upon a mobile (Tsr). And similarly, says IM [in the *Alfiya* and elsewhere, following others (Tsr)], when the *v.* [after elision (Tsr)] remains with two letters, one of which is *aug.*, [because the *v.* then remains with one *rad.* (MKh),] as كَمْ يَعْ كَمْ يَعْ He did not collect : but this [that IM says (Tsr)] is refuted (1) by the common consent of the Muslims that pause upon such as كَمْ أَكْ XIX. 20. [450] and وَمَنْ تَقِ XL. 9. And whomsoever Thou shalt guard is with omission of the *ʔ* (Aud), from fear of confusion with the *acc. pron.*; although the Author of the Aud, in his Commentary on the KN, agrees with IM, and professes to accept his theory (Tsr) : and (2) by the fact that the *ʔ* is not necessary in the مَا governed in the *gen.* by a *p.*, because the *p.* becomes like part of the مَا, as will be shown [648]; while the aoristic letter's being like part [of the *v.*] is stronger (MKh). [The other two positions of the *ʔ* of silence will be found in §. 648.]

§. 645. S says (R), The whole of what is not elided, and of what should preferably not be elided [below], in [continuous] prose, is [allowably (R)] elided in terminations of versicles (S, R), as in *وَاللَّيْلُ إِذَا يَسْرُ* LXXIX. 3. [below], *مَا كُنَّا نَبْغُ* XVIII. 63. *What we were desiring*, *يَوْمَ التَّنَادِ* XL. 34. *The day of calling, one to another*, [i. e., *the day of resurrection*, when some of them shall call to others for help (B),] and *الْكَبِيرُ الْمُتَعَالِ* XIII. 10. [643] (S); and in rhymes (S, R), as in the saying of Zuhair *وَأَرَاكَ تَفْرِي* *وَمَا خَلَقْتَ الْحَجَّ* [below] (S) He intends by “prose” [above] what has no pause in it: and by “terminations of versicles” the extremities of verses, and the breaks in speech (R), an expository coupling, meaning that what is intended by the “extremities” is the endings, not the beginnings (MAR). But *ns.* are more fit [than *vs.*] to suffer [such] elision, since, in them, elision occurs otherwise than in terminations of versicles and in rhymes [below] (S). S means [by “what is not elided”] the quiescent, and *ي* in [the *ind.* of] the defective *v.*, as *يَرْمِي* and *يَغْزُو* [644], which are not elided in pause, because their elision is not authorized in continuity, lest the *ind.* be confounded with the *apoc.* [below], except as a poetic license; or as a quasi-anomaly, like their saying *لَا أَدْرِي* *I shall not know*, [transmitted by Khl

and S (K on XI. 107),] and the texts XVIII. 63. [above] and *يَوْمَ يَأْتُ لَا تَكَلِّمْ نَفْسٌ* XI. 107. *On the day, when it shall come, no soul shall speak* (R), the latter being read by Ibn 'Āmir, 'Āṣim, and Ḥamza with elision of the *ي*, because the Kasra is considered sufficient without it (B); [or as a dialectic peculiarity, since Z says that] elision of the *ي*, because the Kasra is considered sufficient without it, is frequent in the *dial.* of Hudhail (K on XI. 107): while [in most *dials.*] they do not say *لَا أَرْمُ* *I shall not throw*. This is as they say *لَمْ يَكْ زَيْدٌ* *Zaid was not* [450]; but not *لَمْ يَكْ*, in the sense of *لَمْ يَكْ* *was not mean*. When, however, the *و*, and *ي* mentioned occur in terminations of versicles, in continuity, it is allowable to elide them, contenting oneself with the vowel of the preceding [letter], as in *وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَسِرُّ* LXXIX. 3. [319], for observance of homogeneity and conformity (R) with what precedes and follows them (MAR). And it is necessary to elide them, when you pause upon those terminations of versicles, whose *ل* s are elided in continuity. And similarly, in rhymes, they are often elided, for conformity, not for pause; although they are not elided [in poetry] for pause otherwise than in rhymes. It is therefore established that what is not elided otherwise than in terminations of versicles, and in rhymes, is elided in them. The

poet [Zuhair, praising Harim Ibn Sinān alMurī (IY, AKB, MAR) for *decision*, and *execution of his resolve* (IY),] says

وَلَأَنْتَ تَفْرِي مَا خَلَقْتَ وَبَعْدُ * خُصَّ الْقَوْمُ يَخْلُقُ ثُمَّ لَا يَفْرُ

(R) *And assuredly thou cuttest out what thou hast measured ; while some people measure, and then cut not out* (AKB, MAR) ; or, in another version, وَأَرَاكَ تَفْرِي

وَأَرَاكَ تَفْرِي And I see thee cut out what thou hast measured ; etc. [above] (MAR) : which is thus recited

[يَفْرُ], with the ر made quiescent, and the rhyme bound. S's saying "and what should preferably not be elided" [above] means the defective *n.*, as الْقَاضِي

[643], the ي of which is sometimes, though rarely, elided in continuity, otherwise than in terminations of versicles and in rhymes [above], as يَوْمَ التَّنَادِ وَيَوْمَ هُمْ بَارِزُونَ [below] (R), fragments of two separate texts, XL. 34.

[above] and XL. 16. [1], which R, as appears from his language, supposes to be one sentence (MAR),

and XXXIV. 12. وَجِفَانٍ كَالْجَوَابِ وَقُدُورٍ رَاسِيَاتٍ

And bowls like huge watering-troughs [149], and *cooking-pots standing firmly* (R), read with elision of the

ي [from الْجَوَابِي], the Kasra being considered sufficient, like LIV. 6. [640] (K), because it is not liable to be mistaken for an *apoc.* [above]. In terminations of

versicles, then, elision of its *ل* in continuity is better than elision of the *ي* of such as *يَرْمِي* [above], because the *ل* of such as *الرَّامِي* *the thrower* is elided in continuity, otherwise than in terminations of versicles, without anomalousness, as *يَوْمَ التَّنَادِ وَيَوْمَ هُمْ بِابْرَزُونَ* [above]; while the *ي* of such as *يَرْمِي* is not elided, in the like [position], except anomalously, as we have mentioned. And, when you pause upon the defective *n.* whose *ل* is elided in continuity, elision of the *ل* is necessary. But, when you pause upon the defective *n.* whose *ل* is retained in continuity, elision of its *ل* is allowable, not necessary: S says (R), Retention of the *ل*, *س* and *ي* [in the like (R)] is the more regular of the two modes of speaking (S, R); but this [elision] is allowable, [good] Arabic, frequent (S). The *ل*, however, is not elided, either in terminations of versicles, or in rhymes [below], except by poetic license, as in *رَهْطَ مَرْجُومٍ* [643], because of the lightness of the *ل*, and the heaviness of the *س*, and *ي*. S uses language whose meaning is that, in rhymes, you elide the *rad.* *س*, and *ي* in imitation [of the elision] of the *aug.* *س*, and *ي* following Damma and Kasra, and resembling the *س*, and *ي* in the pause of the Azd of AsSarāt [640]. He means that you elide the *ي* from *يَغْرِي* [above] in imitation of the elision of the *ي* in the preceding verse, vid. *وَلَا نَتَّ أَشْجَعُ* !

الخ [193]; so that, since elision of the *ى* of الدَّعْر is allowed, because it is like [the *ى* in] the pause of the Azd of AsSarāt in مَرَرْتُ بِعَمْرَى [640], the *rad. ى* imitates it in elision, since the rhymes must preceed uniformly: and similarly with the *و*, as in the saying [of Zuhair (Jh, MAR)]

وَقَدْ كُنْتُ مِنْ سَلَمَى سِنِينَ ثَمَانِيًا * عَلَى صِيرِ أَمْرِ مَا يَبِئْرُ وَمَا يَحْلُ
[When I was, in relation to Salmà, during eight years, on the verge of a matter not bitter, and not sweet (MAR)], where you allow elision of the *و*, though it is *rad.*, because, when you intend binding [the rhyme], you elide the *aug. و*, arising, on account of the unbinding, in الثَّقُلُ in the preceding verse

صَبَا الْقَلْبُ عَنْ سَلَمَى وَقَدْ كَانَ لَا يَسْلُو
وَاقْفَرَ مِنْ سَلَمَى التَّعَانِيقُ وَالثَّقُلُ

[My heart has recovered from its passion for Salmà, when it was near being inconsolable; and AtTa'ānik and Ath Thikl have become empty of Salmà (MAR)]; while this *aug. و* is elided only because it is assimilated to the *aug. و* in the *dial.* of the Azd of AsSarāt in جَاءَنِي زَيْدُ Zaid came to me [640]. The *ا*, however, is not elided in rhymes [above] (R): you say

دَايَنْتُ أَرَوَى وَالْدُّيُونَ تَقْضَى * فَطَلْتُ بَعْضًا وَأَدَّتْ بَعْضًا
(S, R), by Ru'ba Ibn Al'Ajjāj—so says IBr (MN),

I lent to Arwad, when debts were being discharged. Then she put off payment of part, and paid part (MN, N), because the **ا** paused upon, in such as **زَيْدًا**, is not elided in the best-known [*dial.*], as the **و** and **ي** arising, in pause, in the *dial.* of the Azd of AsSarāt [640], are elided by most of the Arabs (R); and therefore, as the **ا** of **بَعْضًا** is not elided, so the **ا** of **تَقْضَى** [below] is not elided (S). S says (R), The elision of the **ي** of [such as (R)] **يَقْضَى**, [and of the **و** of such as **يَدْعُو**, in rhymes (R),] induces many of Kais and Asad to elide the **و** and **ي** that are [the sign of (S)] the *pron.*: though neither of them is so often elided as the **ي** of **يَقْضَى** (S, R), and the **و** of **يَدْعُو**, because they are [entire] words (R), since they occur in the sense of *ns.* (S); and are not [mere] letters (S, R), founded upon what precedes them; so that they are on a par with the **س** in

يَا عَجَبًا لِلدَّهْرِ شَتَّى طَرَائِقُهُ

O, I marvel at Fortune, when its ways are diverse! (S). The verse

لَا يَبْعِدُ اللَّهَ إِخْوَانًا تَرَكْتَهُمْ * لَمْ أَدْرِ بَعْدَ غَدَاةِ الْبَيْنِ مَا صَنَعُ
[Let God not curse, or destroy, brethren that I have left, not knowing, after the morn of separation, what they have done! (MAR), meaning **صَنَعُوا** (S),] is recited (S, R), by some of the Arabs that I have heard repeating this poem (S), with elision of the **و**, [of the *pl.*

(MAR)], and quiescence of the ع (R) : and [‘Antara says (S)]

يَا دَارَ عِبْلَةَ بِالْجَوَاءِ تَكَلَّمْ * وَعِمْي صَبَاحًا دَارَ عِبْلَةَ وَآسَلَمْ

(S, R) *O home of ‘Abla in AlJiwá, speak, and tell me of thine immates, what they have done. And be thou pleasant at morn, home of ‘Abla, and be safe!* (EM),

meaning [and تَكَلَّمْ] (S), [which] also is recited with [elision of the ع and (MAR)] quiescence of the م (R); and AlKhuzaz Ibn Laudhān says

كَذَبَ الْعَتِيقُ وَمَاءَ شَنِ بَارِدًا * إِنْ كُنْتَ سَأَلْتَنِي غُبُورًا فَادْهَبْ

[187], meaning فَادْهَبِي (S). But the ا [of the pron. (R)] in [such as (R)]

خَلِيلَيَّ طَيْرًا بِالتَّفَرُّقِ أَوْ قَعَا

[recited to us by Khl (S), *My two friends, fly with separation, or fall*, or, in one MS, قَعَا stop (MAR),]

is not elided (S, R), as it is not elided from تَقْضَى [above] (S), because of what we have mentioned (R), vid. that the ا paused upon, in such as زَيْدًا, is not elided in the best-known [dial.] (MAR). I do not know any instance where the , of the pron. is elided in terminations of versicles, as it is in rhymes ; but the ع of the pron. is elided in terminations of versicles, as XXIX. 56. [420] (R).

§. 646. When the ت of femininization is paused upon, the ت is kept, [being preserved from conversion here (Tsr),] if it be attached to (1) a *p.* [263, 402], as in ثَبَّتَ [263, 402, 540] (Aud), رُبَّتْ [505], and لَعَلَّتْ [537] (Tsr) : (a) لَاتَ [109] is paused upon, by Ks [alone (Tsr)], with the ة (A, Tsr), irregularly (Tsr); and, by the remainder [of the Seven Readers], with the ت : (b) IM says in the CK "In my opinion, it is allowable to pause with the ة upon رُبَّتْ and ثَبَّتْ, by analogy to their saying لَآء in the case of لَاتَ" (A); but this is open to the objection that (Sn) the [similar] saying of AH "As for رُبَّتْ, ثَبَّتْ, and لَعَلَّتْ, they are commonly regarded as analogous to لَاتَ, so that they are paused upon in both modes," is refuted, because (Tsr) pause upon لَاتَ with the ة is not regular, and (Sn) what is irregular is not to be copied (Tsr, Sn) : (2) a *v.* [263, 402, 607], as in قَامَتْ *She stood* (Aud) and قَعَدَتْ *She sat* : (a) the ت is kept, in the *p.* and *v.*, from fear of confusion with the *pron.* in رُبَّ [168, 505] and ضَرَبَ *struck him*, what is unambiguous being made to accord [in this respect] with what is ambiguous : (b) IJ says "S says that, if you named a man ضَرَبَتْ *Darabat*, and then made it a *dim.*, saying ضَرَبَتْ *Duraiba*, you would pause upon it with the ة, because it would have been transferred from the [the *cat. of*] the *v.* to [that of] the *n.*" (Tsr) : (3) a *n.*, when

the ت is preceded by a sound quiescent, as in أُخْتُ and بِنْتُ [263] (Aud), because the ت in them, being preceded by a quiescent, becomes, as it were, not for feminization, but put only to co-ordinate the *bils.* with *trils.*, being for co-ordination with قَفْلٌ [368] and جَدُّعٌ [307, 689] (Tsr). And it may be retained [in its own form (Tsr)], or be changed [into ة (Tsr)], if it be [attached to a *n.*, when the ت is] preceded by (1) a vowel, [which is only Fatha (Tsr),] as in تَمْرَةٌ *date* and شَجَرَةٌ *tree* (Aud), to distinguish it from the *rad.* ت, as in زَمَنٌ *time* [below] and بَيْتٌ *tent* (Tsr): (2) an unsound quiescent, [which is only an ا (Tsr),] as in صَلَاةٌ *prayer* (Aud), رَاةٌ *poor-rate*, *alms*, and ذَاتٌ [below] (Tsr); and [as] مُسْلِمَاتٌ *female Muslims* (Aud) and أُولَاتٌ [below]: because the unsound quiescent [in صَلَاةٌ, etc.,] is constructively like the mobile, since it is in the position of the latter, and is converted from it [684, 719]; and because the ا [in مُسْلِمَاتٌ etc.,] proceeds from Fatha, and is on a par with the mobile letter, for which reason, with it, two quiescents [may] concur [663], as in دَوَابٌّ *beasts* [256], contrary to what is the case when the quiescent is sound (Tsr). There is no dispute that the verbal ت of feminization is a ت in pause, and also that its *o. f.* is ت [607]. But, as for the nominal [263], its *o. f.* is disputed.

For S, Fr, IK, and most of the GG hold that the ت is the *o. f.*, as in the *v.*: but that, in pause, it is converted into *z*, to distinguish the nominal from the verbal ت; or the nominal [ت], which is for feminization, as in عَفْرِية [385], from that which is not so, as in عَفْرِيت malignant and عَنكَبُوت [399, 678]: while the reason why it is converted into *z* is that, in the *z*, there are more faintness and softness than in the ت; so that, in the state of pause, which is the position of rest [640], the *z* is more appropriate, for which reason, in pause, the *z* is added to what does not contain it, I mean the *z* of silence [615, 644], as in أَنَسْ and هَوْلًا [648]: and the reason why the nominal, and not the verbal, is varied by conversion is that the nominal is original, because it is affixed to that [word] of whose feminization it is the sign; contrary to the verbal, which is affixed to the *v.*, to indicate the feminization of its *ag.* [607]; and alteration is more appropriate in what is original, because of its stability. But Th says that the *z*, in the feminization of the *n.*, is the *o. f.*; and that, in continuity, it is converted into ت, because, if it were left in its state, as a *z*, one would say رَأَيْتُ شَجَرَهَا, *I saw a tree*, with Tanwīn; and, in pause, the Tanwīn would be converted into ا, as in زَيْدًا [640]; so that, in pause, it would be liable to be mistaken for the [attached *gen.*] *fem.* [pron.] هَا [161]: and therefore, in continuity, the *z* is converted into

ت ; and afterwards, when one comes to pause, it returns to its *o. f.*, vid. the *س*. And, according to S also, the reason why the Tanwīn [in the *acc.* of the *n.* made *fem.* by the *ة*] is not converted into *ا*, after conversion of the ت [into *ا*], is fear of confusion (R) with the *fem.* هَا (MAR). But the preferable mode is pause with the ت in (1) the sound *pl.*, like مُسَلِمَاتٌ (Aud) and هِنْدَاتٌ [17] (Tsr) : (2) what resembles it, vid. (a) the *quasi-pl. n.*, [which has no *sing.* of its own crude-form (Tsr),] like أُوَلَاتٌ [17] (Aud), which has no *sing.* of its own crude-form [257], but only a *sing.* of its sense, vid. ذَاتٌ [below] (Tsr) : (b) the *pl.* used as a name, (a) actually, like عَرَفَاتٌ and أَذْرَعَاتٌ [17] (Aud), which are actually *pls.* of عَرَضَةٌ 'Arafa, the halting-place of the pilgrims, and أَذْرَعَةُ Adhria, a town of Syria (Tsr) : (b) constructively, like هَيْهَاتٌ [below], which is constructively *pl.* of هَيْهِيَّةٌ, [its *o. f.* being هَيْهِيَّاتٌ, the *ل* of which, vid. the *ي*, is elided; and its measure being فَعْلَلَاتٌ, orig. فَعْلَلَاتٌ (Tsr)]: and is afterwards used as a [verbal *n.*, literally] name of a *v.* (Aud); so that its sense becomes بَعْدُ Far off is ! [187]: though هَيْهَاتٌ is said [by some] to be a *sing.*, its *o. f.* being هَيْهِيَّةٌ, on the measure of فَعْلَلَةٌ, reduplicated, like قَلْقَلَةٌ [332] (Tsr). The reason why the [well-known, usual (Jrb), preferable (Tsr),] mode is

pause with the ت , [not otherwise (Jrb),] is that, since they mean to have two augments in the *perf. pl. fem.* (Jrb, Tsr), as we have explained in its place [234] (Jrb), and they are unable to add the , or ي with the ا , because, if added [with the ا], it would be converted into Hamza [683], therefore they add the ت with the ا , because the ت [sometimes] becomes a *subst.* for the , , as in [نُجَاءٌ and (Jrb)] تُخَبِّئُ [689]; and it then becomes the sign of femininization, and does away with the necessity for saying مُسَلِّمَاتٌ as *pl.* of مُسَلِّمَةٌ; so that, since this ت imports *pluralization* and *femininization* [234], and does away with the necessity for the sign of femininization affixed to the *sing.*, it is [preferably] retained in pause, and is not changed into ة (Jrb, Tsr): while they deal with what is co-ordinated with the *pl.* in the same way as with the *pl.* [itself], because, since they treat it like the *pl.* in inflection [17], they treat it so in other particulars (Tsr). But pause with change [of the ت (A) into ة (A, Tsr)] has been heard in the sayings [of some of them (A), transmitted by Ktb from Tayyi (Tsr), كَيْفَ الْبَنُونَ وَالْبَنَاتُ *How are the sons and the daughters?* (R, Jrb, Fk),] كَيْفَ الْأَخَوَةُ وَالْأَخَوَاتُ *How are the brothers and the sisters?* [690], and دَفْنُ الْبَنَاتِ *The burial of daughters is one of the noble deeds* (Aud, A), with change of the ت of the *pl.* into ة ,

[in pause (Jrb),] by assimilation to the pure ت of feminization (Jrb, Tsr) : while هَيْهَاتٌ and هَيْهَاتٌ have been heard (A); and هَيْهَاتٌ XXIII. 38. [187, 195, 504] is read by Ks and Bz (Aud), with change of the ت into ه (B, Tsr). Some report that this is the *dial.* of Tayyi ; but [IHKh (HKh),] the author of the *Iḥṣāḥ* [bi Fawā'id al-Īdāḥ (HKh),] says that it is anomalous, not to be copied (A). As for هَيْهَاتٌ [above], it has two *dial. vars.*, Fath and Kasr of the ت [195]. Those who pronounce [the ت] with Fath make هَيْهَاتٌ a *sing.*, and pause upon it with the ه ; while those who pronounce the ت with Kasr make هَيْهَاتٌ a *pl.*, and pause upon it with the ت (IY). The [statement] reported from Ks is that those who pronounce the ت with Kasr pause upon هَيْهَاتٌ with the ه ; while those who pronounce the ت with Fath pause upon هَيْهَاتٌ with the ت or ه (Tsr). But [the GG say that (Jrb)] هَيْهَاتٌ , if held to be a *pl.*, is paused upon with the ت ; and, if held to be a *sing.*, is paused upon with the ه (M, Jrb, Tsr) : so in the [M and] Jrb (Tsr). IH, however, says, in the CM, that [this is matter of assumption, since. (Jrb)] هَيْهَاتٌ , being a verbal *n.*, cannot be truly said to be *sing.* or *pl.*; while that [pause upon it with the ت or ه] is only because of its resemblance in form, not in number, to [a *n.* ending in] the ت of feminization (Jrb, Tsr). We have mentioned its

predicament among the verbal *ns.* [187, 195]. And here we mention that, whether it be pronounced with Damm, Fath, or Kasr of the ت, its *o. f.* may be هَيْهَاتَ; but that pause upon it with the ة is rare, because it is co-ordinated with *vs.*, on account of its being a verbal *n.*; while conversion of its ت into ة is nevertheless allowed, because it is assimilated, in form, to such as قَوَّاةٌ *clucking* (R). When a man is named هَيْهَاتُ, according to the *dial.* of those who change [the ت into ة in pause], it is like طَلْحَةُ [18], being diptote because of the quality of proper name together with femininization; but, when هَيْهَاتٌ is used as a name, according to *dial.* of those who do not change, it is like عَرَفَاتٌ [17], being *infl.* like the *perf. pl. fem.* when used as a name (A). And apparently أُولَاتُ [above] is like it, because the two *dials.*, change and absence of change, occur in it also (Sn). And like it, in admitting of both modes, is [their saying (IY)] اِسْتَأْصَلَ اللّٰهُ عِرْقَاتِهِمْ *God extirpate their roots!* or عِرْقَاتِهِمْ *their root!* (M). For عِرْقَةٌ *root*, pronounced with Fath [of its ت in the *acc.* (R, Jrb)], is [held to be (IY)] a *sing.* (IY, R, Jrb), co-ordinated with دِرْهَمٌ [392] (R), like سِعْلَةٌ [248, 272] (Jrb), the ة in it being for co-ordination with [دِرْهَمٌ and] هَجْرَعٌ [392] (IY), as is the case in مِغْرَى (IY, R) and ذِفْرَى [272, 375], according to those who pronounce them with Tanwīn

(IY) ; and pause upon it is with the س : while عِرْقَات roots, pronounced with Kāsr [of its ت (R, Jrb) in the acc. (R)], is [held to be (IY)] a *pl.* (IY, R, Jrb), the ا in it being the one accompanying the ت of the *pl. fem.*, as though it were *pl.* (IY) of عِرْق root (IY, R), the *masc.* being pluralized with the ا and ت, notwithstanding the occurrence of a broken *pl.* for it, i. e., عُرُوق, as بُوَانَات is said, notwithstanding بُون, in the *pl.* of بُوَان [261] (R) ; [or] of عِرْقَة (Md, KF) ; and pause upon it is more properly with the ت, as in the case of مُسَلِمَات [above] (R). And, in other formations [than the sound *pl.* and what resembles it (Tsr)], the preferable [mode] is pause with change (Aud) [of the ت] into س , for distinction between the ت of femininization and the *rad.* ت, as in وَقَّت [above] and مَوْت death, this being the reason assigned by S : or, as is said (Tsr), for distinction between it and the ت of femininization affixed to the *v.* (Jrb, Tsr, Fk), as in ضَرَبَتْ [607] (Tsr) ; while they do not reverse [the distinction, assigning the ت to the *n.*, and the س to the *v.*], because, if they said ضَرَبَ for ضَرَبَتْ, the س would be confounded with the objective *pron.* (Jrb, Tsr, Fk) : so says Jrb, confining himself to this reason ; [and he is followed by Fk] (Tsr). But [Akh asserts that (R), in the less chaste mode (Fk),] some [of the Arabs (M, R, Jrb)] pause [upon such as رَحْمَة

(Fk)] with the ت (M, R, Jrb, Fk), without change, as رَحِمَتْ (Fk), which is a wide-spread *dial.*, transmitted by Akh (IY), whence [their saying وَعَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَالرَّحْمَتُ and upon him be peace and mercy!, and (IY, Jrb)] the saying of the poet [183, 640, 690] بَدَّ جَوْزَ تَيْهَاءَ آخِ (M, Jrb) : while an [additional] instance of pause with omission of change [into ة (Tsr)] is the reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, and Ḥamza إِنَّ شَجَرَتْ XLIV. 43. [below] (Aud), with the ت (Tsr) ; and the [other (IY, Jrb)] poet [Abu-nNajm (Tsr, YS)] says

وَاللَّهُ نَجَّكَ بِكَفَى مَسْلَمَتْ * مِنْ بَعْدِمَا وَبَعْدِمَا وَبَعْدِمَتْ

صَارَتْ نَفُوسُ الْقَوْمِ عِنْدَ الْغُلَصَمَتْ * وَكَادَتْ الْحُرَّةُ أَنْ تَدْعَى أُمَّتْ

(IY, R, Aud, Jrb, Fk) *And God saved thee, by my hand, O Maslama, after, and after, and after the souls of the people had become near the top of the wind-pipe, and the free-born damsel was well-nigh being called a handmaid (MN), where he does not change the ت into ة in [all three of] them (Tsr). What is meant by بَعْدِمَتْ is بَعْدِمَا, a ة being supposed to be substituted for the ا (IY, Jrb, MN, Tsr, YS), so that it becomes بَعْدِمَة, since the ة is sometimes substituted for the ا, as in قَدْ وَرَدَتْ آخِ [175, 181, 690], meaning هُنَا (IY) and فَمَا (Jsh); and the ة being then changed into ت, to correspond with the remainder of the rhymes (IY, Jrb,*

MN, Tsr, YS) : this is the reasoning of [IY and] Jrb (Tsr). Or, [as IJ mentions (Tsr),] the † is changed into s ; and the s then changed into ت , by assimilation to the ت of femininization ; so that it is paused upon with the ت (Tsr, YS) : he mentions that he suggested this to his master F, who accepted it (Tsr). And, according to this *diab.*, [says AH, some words, as in (Fk)]

إِنَّ شَجَرَتَ الزَّكُّومِ XLIV. 43. *Verily the tree of*

AzZakkūm [above] (A, Fk), أَهْمُ يَقْسِمُونَ رَحْمَتَ رَبِّكَ, XLIII.

31. *What ! shall they part out the mercy of thy Lord ?*

(Fk), إِمْرَأَتُ نُوحٍ وَإِمْرَأَتُ لُوطٍ LXVI. 10. *The wife of*

Noah and the wife of Lot, and the like (A), are written in the Codex (A, Fk) with the ت (Fk). Our master, the Sayyid, relates that every امْرَأَة , mentioned in the Kur with her husband, is written with the extended ت (Sn). Therefore Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, 'Āṣim, and Ḥamza pause upon them with the ت ; while Ibn Kathīr, IAl, and Ks pause upon them with the s (A). The ت , if written as a s [in the Codex], is paused upon by all the [Seven] Readers with the s : but, if written as a ت , is paused upon by some with the s , for observance of the *o. f.* ; and by others with the ت , for observance of the 'Uthmānī orthography : so says our master, the Sayyid (Sn). Most of those [Arabs] who pause [upon such as رَحْمَةٌ] with the ت make it quiescent.

even if [the *n.* ending in] it be an *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn (A). Apparently these [Arabs] do not say, in [pause upon] the *acc.*, رَأَيْتُ أَمْتًا *I saw a handmaid*, like رَيْدًا [640], with the ا ; but رَأَيْتُ أَمْتٌ , as in وَكَادَتْ الْكُرَّةُ الْحَجَّ [above], because it is made to accord with أَمَّةٌ with the ة , which is the *o. f.* in pause (R). But some of them pause upon the [*n.*] made *fem.* by the ة , when it is an *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, as they pause upon the [*n.*] bare [of the ة], when it is an *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn [640] (Sn). There is a dispute about ذَاتٌ [above] in such as عَلِيمٌ ذَاتِ III. 115. [*Well-acquainted with the contents of the breasts* (K, B) of the hypocrites (K)]: for Akh, Fr, and IK say that it is paused upon with the ت , because, being *pre.* [115], it is always intermediate; while Ks and Jr say that it is paused upon with the ة , because [the ت in] it is a ت of femininization, so that you say ذَاة : so says Hf (Tsr). The ت not for femininization is not altered [in pause], the saying of some قَعَدْنَا عَلَى الْفُرَاةِ *We sat by the Euphrates* being anomalous (A).

§. 647. Continuity is sometimes treated like pause [648, 649] (M, R). This mostly occurs in poetry (IY, R), because of the inducing exigency (R); and is not

found in a case of choice (IY). The poet [Manzūr Ibn Habba alAsadī (MN, Jsh)] says

لَمَّا رَأَى أَنَّ لَا دَعَةَ وَلَا شَبِيعَ * مَالَ إِلَى أَرْطَاةٍ حَقِيفٍ فَالْتَطَجَعَ

[691] (IY, R), describing a wolf that meant to catch a gazelle (Jsh), *When he (the wolf) saw that there was no ease, and no glutting of his appetite, [in the pursuit of the gazelle (MN),] he turned aside to an Arṭā tree of a curving tract of sand, and lay down (MN, Jsh) to sleep (Jsh),* where he substitutes a *ṣ* for the *ṣ* of دَعَةَ, and retains it in continuity (IY); [and] hence

أَوْ كَالْحَرِيقِ الْآحِ [below]. It is not peculiar to [metric] exigency (M) : but sometimes occurs in prose (R); and corresponding instances in prose, by assimilation to poetry, have been mentioned before (IY), as (1) ثَلَاثَةٌ [159, 321] (M, R), and the whole of the *nums.*, in which that is necessary, as we have mentioned (R); and hence their saying, transmitted by S, in the *num.*, ثَلَاثُهُنَّ [321, 648], where they substitute a *ṣ* for the *ṣ* [of ثَلَاثَةٌ] in pause, and then throw the vowel of the Hamza [of أَرْبَعَةٌ] upon the *ṣ*, and elide the Hamza, on the principle of the reading قَدْ أَفْلَحَ الْيُؤْمِنُونَ XXIII.

1. *The believers have prospered* [16], which occurs only in continuity (IY) : (2) XVIII. 36. [521] (M, R), in the reading of Ibn 'Āmir (IY, R), with retention of the *ṣ*, *orig.* أَنَا [لَكِنِ (K, B)], the vowel of the Hamza

being thrown upon the ن of لَكِنَّ, the Hamza elided, and the ن incorporated into the ن; whereas analogy requires the ا of اَنَا to be elided in continuity, because it is put to make the vowel plain in pause [161], like the ء in كِتَابِيَّة LXIX. 19. and حِسَابِيَّة LXIX. 20. [below]: Zj says "Retention of the ا [of اَنَا] is excellent here, because, the Hamza being elided, the ا becomes a compensation for it", meaning in لَكِنَّ (IY): (3) [similarly (IY)] II. 260. [166] (IY, R), with retention of the ا of اَنَا [161]: (4) كِتَابِيَّة LXIX. 19. [22, 638, 648, 679] and حِسَابِيَّة LXIX. 20 *My reckoning* [648], in continuity, according to some readings (R). Continuous speech is [thus] given that [predicament (IA, Aud, A)] which belongs to pause (IM), vid. quiescence—with or without Raum or Ishmām—and reduplication [640], transfer [640, 641], and importation of the ء of silence [644, 648] (Tsr, Sn); seldom, [as compared with its absence (Tsr),] in prose; and extensively in poetry (IM), because this is the place of irregularity (Tsr). The following are *exs.* of that:—(1) in prose, (a) [the readings of others than Hamza and Ks (Aud, A)] لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ، وَأَنْظُرْ II. 261. *It hath not been altered by the lapse of years: and look* [644] (IA, Aud, A) and فَبِهْدَاهُمْ آفَتَدَهُ قُلْ VI. 90. *Then by their guidance*

suffer thou thyself to be led : say (Aud, A), with expression of the * of silence in continuous speech (Aud) : (b) ثَلْثَهْرَبْعَةً [above] (Tsr) : (c) مَا أَغْنَىٰ عَنِّي مَالِيَّ هَكَذَا (c) LXIX. 28-30. *My wealth hath not availed me : my power etc.* [615, 648] : (d) the saying of some of Tayyi هَذِهِ حُبْلُو يَا فَتَى *This is a pregnant female, O youth*, because it is only in pause that this ا is changed into و, [643] (A) : (2) in poetry, (a) أَوْ كَأَلْكَرِيقِ الْخ [640] (IA, Aud, A), where the ب is doubled, notwithstanding that it is conjoined with the letter of unbinding (IA, A) : (a) it is *orig.* الْقَصَبَ, with a single ب ; but, being assumed to be paused upon, the ب is doubled, on the principle of their saying in pause, هَذَا خَالِدٌ [640], with reduplication ; and then the letter of unbinding is put, vid. the ا ; while the reduplication of the ب remains (Aud) in continuity, by assimilation of continuity to pause in respect of reduplication (Tsr) : (b) أَتَوْا نَادِي الْخ [183] (A), where there are two anomalies, (a) affixion of the و and ن to مَنْ in continuity (MN) ; whereas analogy requires مَنْ أَنْتُمْ, because, in continuity, the form of مَنْ does not vary [in number or gender] (Sn) : and (b) mobilization of the [affixed] ن, which is [properly] quiescent (MN). The GG say that the poet, in such as عَيْهَدٌ and الْقَصَبَا [640, 648], treats continuity

like pause. They mean that, the letter of unbinding being the [letter] paused upon, since it is not put except to be paused upon, that [rhyme-letter, here the *ل* or the *ب*], which precedes it, is not paused upon, but is in the interior of the sentence; and this [reduplication of it] is treating continuity like pause (R). And, [says S (R),] one that I trust has told me that he heard an Arab say *أَعْطِنِي أَبْيَضَةً* *Give me a white one*, meaning *أَبْيَضَ* (S, R); but affixing the *ﺀ* as he affixes it in *هِنَّهُ*, when he means *هُنَّ* [161] (S), the *ﺀ* being for silence: which is a most hideous anomaly, because the *ﺀ* of silence is affixed only to that [letter] whose vowel is uninflectional [648]; and also [because] he mobilizes the reduplicated letter not on account of a letter of unbinding, [mobilization on account of which would be allowable,] as we have mentioned [640] (R). Some people pause with quiescence of the rhyme-letter [usually] conjoined with a letter of prolongation, [i. e., an *ا* or a *و*, or *ي* (Sn),] as in

أَتَلِّيَ اللَّوْمَ عَاذِلَ وَالْعِتَابَ

[608]. But the Hījāzīs retain the letter of prolongation, unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether they intend to quaver or not (Sn),] saying *وَالْعِتَابَا*; while the Tamīmīs, if they [intend to (Sn)] quaver, do likewise, [i. e., retain the letter of prolongation (Sn)]; and, if not, put Tanwīn as a compensation for it, [in order to discontinue the

quavering (Sn),] unrestrictedly, [i. e., after a Damma, Fatha, or Kasra (Sn),] as in

سَقِيَتْ أَلْعَيْتَ أَيْتَهَا أَلْحِيَامُنْ

[1],

يَا صَاحِ مَا هَاجَ أَلْعُيُونُ أَلْدُرْفُنْ

[by Al 'Ajjāj (S),] *O my companion, what has excited the streaming eyes?*, and

لَمَّا تَزَلْ بِرَحَالِنَا وَكَأَنَّ قَدِنْ

[577, 608] (A).

§. 648. The second [position (Tsr) of the *ʾ* of silence] is the *interrog.* مَا governed in the *gen.* (Aud) by a *p.* or *pre. n.* [181, 615] (Tsr). For, when it is governed in the *gen.*, [and is not compounded with ذَا (Tsr),] as in عَمَّ and فِيمَ, [where it is governed in the *gen.* by a *p.* (Tsr),] and in مَجِيءَ مَ جِئْتُ *With what coming, i. e., How,* [a question as to the *quality of the coming* (Tsr),] *camest thou?*, [where it is governed in the *gen.* by the *pre. n.* (Tsr),] its *l* must be elided, to distinguish it from the enunciatory, [which is the conjunct and the *cond.* (Tsr),] مَا, as in سَأَلْتُ عَمَّا سَأَلْتَ عَنْهُ *I asked about what thou askedst about* [or عَنْ مِثْلِ مَا أَخْبَرَ *about the like of what etc.,* where مَا is conjunct; and in بِمَا تَفْرَحُ أَفْرَحُ *At whatever thou rejoicest, I will rejoice* and كَلَّمَا

جِئْتَنِي أَكْرَمْتُكَ Whenever thou comest to me, I will honor thee, where مَا is *cond.* (Tsr) : so that, when you pause upon it, you affix the *, for preservation of the Fatha indicative of the [elided (Tsr)] ! [below]. And the * is necessary if the genitival *op.* [of the *interrog.* مَا (Tsr)] be a *n.*, as in مَجِيءٌ الْحِمْزِ [above] and اِنْتَضَا مَ اَقْتَضَى How did he exact? [640], where you say مَجِيءٌ مَّ and اِنْتَضَا مَّ ; and preferable if it be a *p.*, as in عَمَّ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ LXXVIII. 1. [181], where [it is reported (K) by] Bz [that Ibn Kathīr (K)] reads [عَمَّ (K),] with the * (Aud) of silence (K, Tsr), either because he treats continuity like pause [647]; or because he pauses [upon عَمَّ Of what (question they among themselves)?], and begins afresh with يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَاِ الْعَظِيمِ LXXVIII. 1, 2. They question among themselves of the great tidings, a [previous] يَتَسَاءَلُونَ, [on which عَمَّ depends,] being understood, because expounded by what follows it (K). The difference is that the مَا governed in the *gen.* by a *p.* is conjoined with it [181]; while the *prep.* is not independent in its meaning [497], so that it is like part of the مَا [644]; for which reason the * is [merely] allowable, [not necessary, because the conjunction of مَا with the *prep.* prevents it from being considered *unil.* when the * is elided] : whereas the *pre. n.* is independent in its

sense, so that the *n.* [مَ] with it is like a separate [word] ; and it is *unil.*, for which reason the *ʾ* is necessary with it [615] (Tsr). The third [position (Tsr)] is every [word] permanently *uninfl.* upon a vowel of uninflectedness [159], and not resembling the *infl.*, like the *ي* of the 1st *pers.* [161], هَيَّ , and هُوَ , according to those who pronounce them with Fath [below] (Aud) in continuity ; and like the *ن* of the 2nd *pers.* [below] (Tsr). The Revelation has مَا هِيََ CI. 7. *What it is*, and مَالِيَةَ LXIX. 28. and سُلْطَانِيَةَ LXIX. 29. [below] ; and the poet [Hassān (MN, Tsr) Ibn Thābit al Anṣārī (MN) aṣ Ṣaḥābī (Tsr)] says

إِذَا مَا تَرَعَرَعَ فِينَا الْغَلَامُ * فَمَا إِنْ يُقَالُ لَهُ مَنْ هُوَ

[below] (Aud) *When the lad grows up among us, it is not said of him "Who is he?",* إِنْ being *red.*, as in فَمَا إِنْ طَبَّنَا الْح [563] (MN). But the *ʾ* is not affixed to such as (1) زَيْدٌ جَاءَ *Zaid came*, because زَيْدٌ is *infl.* ; [and the vowel of inflection, being known through the *op.*, does not need to be made plain by the *ʾ* of silence (Tsr)] : (2) اِضْرِبْ *Strike thou* and لَمْ يَضْرِبْ *He struck not*, because the *v.* is quiescent ; [and the *ʾ* is affixed only to make the vowel plain (Tsr)] : (3) لَا رَجُلَ [99] (Aud), with Fath (Tsr), and يَا زَيْدُ [48] and مِنْ بَعْدُ and مِنْ قَبْلُ [201] (Aud), with Damm (Tsr), because their uninflectedness

is accidental, [not permanent ; so that the vowel in them resembles the vowel of inflection, because it supervenes on account of something resembling the *op.* (Tsr)]: while **أَرْمَضُ مِنْ تَحْتِ الْخ** [201] is anomalous, the *ʾ* being affixed to what is accidentally *uninfl.*, since **عَلَّ** belongs to the *cat.* of **قَبِلَ** and **بَعُدَ**: so say F and IM ; but as to this there is a dispute [before] mentioned [201] (Aud) ; and some say that the *ʾ* in **عَلَّ** is a *subst.* for the *و*, the *o. f.* being **عَلَوُ** (Tsr): (4) the *pret. v.* [403], like [the *trans.* (Tsr)] **ضَرَبَ** *struck* [and **رَكَبَ** *rode* (Tsr)], and [the *intrans.* (Tsr)] **قَعَدَ** *sat* [and **قَامَ** *stood* (Tsr)], because of its resemblance to the *aor.* in its occurring as an *ep.* [144], *conj.* [177], *enunc.* [26], *d. s.* [80], and *prot.* [419] (Aud), as the *aor.* likewise occurs. In short the quasi-inflectional vowel of uninflectedness is found in four sorts, the *sub.* of **لَ** [99], the aprothetic *voc.* [48], the *adv.* cut off from prothesis [201], and the *pret. v.* [403]: and as to [affixion of the *ʾ* of silence to] it there are three opinions, (1) disallowance, unrestrictedly, which is the opinion of S: (2) allowance, unrestrictedly, because the vowel is inseparable: (3) [allowance of] affixion when there is no fear of ambiguity, as in **قَعَدَ** *He sat*; and disallowance if ambiguity result, as in **ضَرَبَ** [below], because the *ʾ* is liable to be mistaken for the *obj.* (Tsr). In pause upon the *uninfl.* [*ns.* (IY)], you say (1) **أَنَا**

with the ا [161, 497]; or أَنَّ with the ة [690] (M), in place of the ا, because their outlet [732] is one, whence the saying of Hātim هَذَا فَرْدِي أَنَّ *This is my way of bleeding, mine* [696]: (a) this ا, in its being imported, in pause, to make the vowel [of the final] plain, is like the ة in LXIX. 19. [22, 638, 647, 679] and LXIX. 20. [647]: (b) hence their saying, in pause, حَيَّ هَلَا [with the ا], or حَيَّ هَلْ with quiescence; but, when they continue, حَيَّ هَلْ [191] with Fath of the ل, without an ا :: (c) the Arabs do not pause, upon any thing in their language, with the ا, to make the vowel plain, except in these two positions, I mean هَلَا and أَنَا [615] (IY): (2) هُوَ with quiescence, or هُوَ with affixion of the ة (M): (a) pause upon the *pron.* هُوَ *he* [161] is mostly with the ة, to make the vowel of the و plain; and so is pause upon هِيَ *she*: you say هِيَّ, not eliding anything from it, as you elide in the case of the *decl.* [643]; and the poet says إِذَا مَا تَرَعَرَعَ الْحِ [above], cited by S: but some of the Arabs pause with quiescence, saying هُوَ and هِيَ, contrary to أَنَّ, which is not paused upon with quiescence; so that, in answer to “who did?”, one does not say أَنَّ *I*, as one says هُوَ *he* or هِيَ *she*: for أَنَّ, in addition to the paucity of its letters, has for its final ا ن, which is faint, and is not a letter of inflection here, like the final of يَدُ

hand and دَم blood ; so that, on account of the faintness of the ن , the paucity of the letters, and the fact that the final of اَنْ is not a letter of inflection, an ا is imported in pause, and is inseparable from that [expression], contrary to هُوَ and هِيَ , since their final is a letter of prolongation and softness, which is plainer than the ن :

(b) this is according to the *dial.* of those who pronounce [هُوَ and هِيَ] with Fatḥ [above]; while those who make [the و and ى] quiescent [below] pause only with quiescence, not otherwise (IY) : (3) هُنا here or هُنا [175]; and هُلا these or هُلا [174], when it, [i. e., هُلاء (IY),] is abbreviated (M) : (a) this ا in هُنا and هُلا is affixed, with the ا , in pause, because of the faintness and lowness of the ا ; but the better [mode] is to pause without a ا :

(6) those who prolong [the final ا of هُلا], and add a Hamza, [saying هُلاء ,] pause upon the Hamza with quiescence : (c) this ا does not follow any of the quiescents, except the ا , because of its faintness ; so that you do not say هُوَ for هُو , nor هِيَ for هِيَ [above], according to the *dial.* of those who make the و and ى quiescent [above], because the ا , being faint, on account of its remoteness [732], is more in need of being made plain (IY) : (4) اَكْرَمْتُكَ I honored thee or اَكْرَمْتُكَ [below] (M) : (a) in the case of the ك of the pron. [161], as in اَكْرَمْتُكَ I honored thee [masc.] and اَعْطَيْتُكَ I gave thee [fem.],

there are two modes, pause with quiescence, as أَكْرَمْتُكَ [above] and أَعْطَيْتُكَ; and pause with the *ʔ*, as أَكْرَمْتُكَ [above] and أَعْطَيْتُكَ, from avidity for the vowel, because the ك is pronounced with Fath in the *masc.*, and with Kasr in the *fem.*, so that the vowel distinguishes the *masc.*, from the *fem.*; and they want the distinction and explanation in pause as much as in continuity : (b) some intensify the distinction, affixing to the ك an ا in the *masc.*, and a ي in the *fem.*; and then affix the *ʔ* of silence [to the ا or ي], saying أَكْرَمْتُكَ in the *masc.*, and أَكْرَمْتُكِ in the *fem.*, because distinction by a consonant and a vowel is more intensive and *corrob.* than distinction by a vowel alone : but the better of the two *dials.* is not to affix the letter of prolongation to the ك (IY) :

(5) غُلَامِي *my manservant* and ضَرَبَنِي *He struck me* [below], with quiescence, or غُلَامِيَّة and ضَرَبَنِيَّة, with affixion of the *ʔ* [to make the vowel plain; pause upon the ي being in two modes (IY)], according to those who mobilize [the ي with Fath (IY)] in continuity [161] (M); whence the reading of the majority مَا أَغْنَىٰ عَنِّي مَالِيَّةُ هَلَكَ عَنِّي سُلْطَانِيَّةُ LXIX. 28, 29. [615, 647] (IY) : and غُلَامٌ and ضَرَبَنْ, according to those who make [the ي] quiescent in continuity, whence the readings of إِيَّاكَ رَبِّي أَكْرَمَنِي LXXXIX. 15. *My Lord hath honored me*

and رَبِّي أَهَانَنِي LXXXIX. 17. *My Lord hath degraded me*, [with pause (IY)]; and the saying of Al A'shà [Maimūn Ibn Kais (MN, Jsh)]

وَمِنْ شَانِي كَاسِفٍ وَجْهُهُ * إِذَا مَا آتَسَبْتُ لَهُ أَنْكَرَنِي

And from a hater, whose face is scowling, who, whenever I claim kindred with him, refuses to acknowledge me (M), and, before it,

فَهَلْ يَمْنَعُنِي أَرْتِيَادِي أَلْبَلَا * دَمِنْ حَدَرِ الْمَوْتِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَنِي

أَلَيْسَ أَخُو الْمَوْتِ مُسْتَوْثِقًا * عَلَيَّ وَإِنْ قُلْتُ قَدْ أَنْسَانِي

[Then shall my roaming about the countries, from fear of death, defend me from the chance that it should come to me? (Jsh)] Is not the brother (i. e., messenger) of death sure of me, even if I say "He has granted me a respite"? meaning يَأْتِيَنِي and أَنْكَرَنِي and أَنْسَانِي : (a) those also who make the ي quiescent pause in two modes, the better being retention of the [quiescent] ي ; while the other is elision of it, as هَذَا غُلَامٌ This is my manservant and ضَرَبَنِي [above], meaning هَذَا غُلَامِي and ضَرَبَنِي : (b) elision of the ي in the case of [the pron. attached to] the v. is good, because the ي , being always preceded by a ن [170], is indicated by the ن ; so that there is no ambiguity, for which reason such elision is frequent in the Kur : whereas, when you say هَذَا غُلَامٌ

[above], pausing upon it with quiescence, one does not know whether *غُلَامٌ* is meant to be *pre.* to the *ي*, or to be aprothetic, for which reason some disallow such elision, on account of the ambiguity; while S allows it, because it is made plain by the pause (IY) : (è) Ibn 'Āmir and the KK read *أَكْرَمَن* and *أَهَانَن*, without a *ي*, in continuity and pause; and the like is reported from IAl [above]; while Nāfi' agrees with them in pause (B) : and [Z says in the K that] *أَكْرَمَن* and *أَهَانَن* [above], with quiescence of the *ن*, are read in pause, according to those who omit the *ي* in continuous speech, deeming the Kasra sufficient without it (K) : (6) *ضَرَبَكُم* *He struck you*, *ضَرَبَهُم* *He struck them*, *عَلَيْهِم* *upon them*, and *بِهِم* *by them*; and *مِنْهُ* *from him* and *ضَرَبَهُ* *He struck him* [above]: with quiescence, according to those who, in continuity, affix [the *conj.* to the *م* or *س*], or [simply] mobilize [the *م* or *س* with Damm or Kasr] (M) : (a) as for *ضَرَبَكُم* and *ضَرَبَهُم*, and *عَلَيْهِم* and *بِهِم*, you pause upon them with quiescence of the *م*, not otherwise; and elide the *و*, or *ي* from it [161], because they are *aug.*, and are often elided in continuity [161], as *ضَرَبَكُم قَبْلَ* *He struck you before*, *ضَرَبَهُم يَا فَتَى* *He struck them, O youth*, *عَلَيْهِم دَائِرَةُ السَّوْرِ* IX. 99. *May misfortune fall upon them!*, and *بِهِم يُسْتَعَانُ* *Of them is help sought*, for a kind of lightening, from frequency of usage, because of

the heaviness of the combination of two *Ḍammas* with the , in ضَرْبُكُمْ and ضَرْبُهُمْ [below], and of two *Kasras* with the ى in بِهِمِ [below] and the like (IY) : [for,] according to those who do not affix the *conj.*, in continuity, to the م of the *pl.*, there is no dispute that pause upon it is with quiescence ; while, according to those also who affix the *conj.*, in continuity, elision of it is necessary in pause, because what is often elided in continuity, vid. the , and ى , must be elided in pause, as in مِنْهُ and عَلَيْهِ [below] (R) : (b) they differ in opinion about the , in such as ضَرْبُهُمْ [above], and the ى in such as بِهِمِ [above], some saying that they are part of the *n.* itself, and others that they are *aug.* ; though they are agreed that, in the *fem.* [*sing.*], the | is part of the *n.* itself : and they differ about the opinion of S on that [matter] ; but the [opinion] apparent from his language is that the , and ى are not part of the *n.* [161] : (c) similarly pause upon مِنْهُ and ضَرْبُهُ also is with quiescence [of the *] (IY) : (d) we have mentioned [161] that the 3rd *pers.* [*sing., masc. or fem.,*] of the attached *acc.* or *gen. pron.* is abridged from the 3rd *pers.* [*sing., masc. or fem.,*] of the detached *nom.*, by elision of the vowel from the , of هُوَ [and the ى of هِىَ , and by conversion of the ى of هِىَ into ا] (R) ; [so that] the *o. f.* of مِنْهُ and ضَرْبُهُ is conjunction of [the * in] them with a letter of

prolongation, as *مِنْهُ* and *ضَرْبَهُ*, that being proved by the existence of [the letter of prolongation corresponding with] it in the *fem.*, as *مِنْهَا* and *ضَرْبَهَا* (IY) : the *ʔ* occurs, [says S (IY),] with what follows it, here in the *masc.*, as it occurs, with the *!* following it, in the *fem.* (S, IY) : (e) Zj holds that the *conj.* after the *ʔ* is not part of the *o. f.* of the word ; and this appears to be the opinion of S : and Zj adduces, as an argument for it, the elision of the *conj.* in pause ; but this is not strong, because the letters of softness, that form part of the word itself, are sometimes elided, as in *الْقَاضِي* [643] ; and, as for the *necessity* for elision of the *conj.* in pause, and not of the *ي* of *الْقَاضِي*, it is because the *conj.* is one of those things that, in the state of continuity, have a share in elision, as in *مِنْهُ* III. 5. and *فِيهِ* III. 91. [below] : (f) since they intend to lighten the attached [*pron.*], on account of its being like part of the preceding word, they consider ; and, if the *ʔ* be preceded by a quiescent, as in *مِنْهُ* and *عَلَيْهِ*, they do not put the quiescent, or *ي* in continuity : so that they do not say, according to the most frequent [*dial.*], *مِنْهُ* and *عَلَيْهِ*, because the *ي*, and *ي* are heavy ; and because the *ʔ*, on account of its faintness, is like the non-existent, so that, if they said that, two quiescents would, as it were, concur (R) : [thus even] in [continuous] speech they often elide the ,

or **ى** [conjoined with the **س**] : and, when the **س** is preceded by a letter of prolongation and softness, elision of the **ى**, or **ى** is [held by S to be] better than retention, because the **س** proceeds from the same outlet as the **ا** [732], and the **ا** resembles the **ى**, and **ى**, so that it is as though they fled from the combination of likes, and therefore elided the **ى**, or **ى** ; and, for that reason, **وَنَرَانَا تَنْزِيلًا**, XVII. 107. *And We have revealed it, part by part*, [according to the measure of events (K, B),] **إِنْ تَكِيدْ عَلَيْهِ**. VII. 175. *If thou bear down upon him, he will loll out his tongue* [from breathing hard (B)], **وَشَرُّهُ بَثْمٍ**. XII. 20. *And they sold him* [640] *for a mean price*, and **خَذُوْهُ فَعَلَّوْهُ** LXIX. 30. *Take ye him* [615, 647], *and put a collar of iron upon his neck* are the better of the two readings : and, according to that [opinion], **مِنْهُ** and **عَنْهُ** are more appropriate than [**مِنْهُ** and **عَنْهُ** with] elision ; so that **مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ مُّحْكَمَاتٌ** III. 5. [593] is the more appropriate of the two readings : but some make no distinction between the letter of prolongation and any other quiescent, preferring **مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ** III. 5. [below] and **أَصَابَتْهُ جَائِحَةٌ** *A calamity afflicted him* ; and this [opinion] is adopted by Mb and Sf ; and, according to me, is correct, because, the **س** being faint, **مِنْهُ** and **عَنْهُ** virtually contain [a combination of. (Jh on

the *pron.* ة] two quiescents, like كَيْفٌ and أَيْنَ (IY) : S prefers retention of the *conj.* after the ة, when the preceding quiescent is a sound letter, as in مِنْهُرُ and أَصَابَتْهُرُ ; and elision of it, when the preceding quiescent is an unsound letter, as in فَذُوقُوهُ VIII. 14. *Then taste ye it*, عَصَاهُ VII. 104. *His rod*, and فِيهِ II. 1. *About it*: but Mb [followed by Sf and IY] makes no distinction between the sound and unsound quiescents before the ة; and this is the truth, since the quasi-concurrence of two quiescents is realized in all; and the majority of the Readers act in accordance with it, as مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ III. 5. and فِيهِ آيَاتٌ بَيِّنَاتٌ III. 91. *In it are manifest signs* [above]; and, if S had reversed [his preferences], it would have been more suitable, because the combination of two quiescents is lighter, when the first of them is soft, than it is when the first of them is sound [663] : (g) they do not elide [the ة] from عَلَيْهَا upon her and مِنْهَا from her, though these also contain a quasi-combination of two quiescents, because of the lightness of the ة; so that this is the counterpart of their omission, in the most frequent [*dial.*], to convert the Tanwīn, in pause, into a letter of prolongation in the *nom.* and *gen.*, and their conversion of it into ة in the *acc.* [640] : (h) if the ة be preceded by a mobile, as in بِهِ and غَلَامُهُ [161], the *conj.* is indispensable, except when a poet is constrained

to elide it, as in the saying [of Ḥanzala Ibn Fātik (S)]

وَأَيَّقَنَ أَنَّ الْخَيْلَ إِنْ تَلَتَبَسَ بِهِ * يَكُنْ لِفَسِيلِ النَّخْلِ بَعْدَهُ آبِرُ

[And he knew for certain that, if the horsemen should overtake him, he would be killed, and, after him, the cuttings of the, i. e., his, palm-trees would have a dresser, or fecundator, other than him (MAR)], and the saying of AlMutanabbi

تَعَثَّرَتْ بِهِ فِي الْأَفْوَاهِ السُّنْهَاءُ * وَالْبُرْدُ فِي الطَّرِيقِ وَالْأَقْلَامُ فِي الْكُتُبِ

[In the mouths their tongues faltered with it, and the couriers on the roads, and the pens in the writings, where he does not affix the ى to the ى in بِهِ, but contents himself with the Kasra, by poetic license (W)]; so that the elision of the conj., in such cases, is like the elision of the ا in رَهْطٌ مَرْجُومٍ آخِ [643] (R) : and what is stronger than this has been transmitted from the Arabs, like the saying of the poet

وَأَشْرَبُ أَلْمَاءَ مَا بِي نَحْوَهُ عَطَشٌ * إِلَّا لِأَنَّ عَيْنَهُ سَيْدٌ وَادِيهَا

And I drink water, when there is not in me any thirst for it, except because its springs are the sources of the torrent of her valley; and this is like the reading [of Ḥamza, Abū Bakr, and IAl يُرِدُّهُ إِلَيْكَ III. 68. Will render it unto thee and (B)] لَا يُرِدُّهُ إِلَيْكَ III. 68. Will not render it unto thee, with quiescence of the ى (W) : (i) all of this that we have mentioned is the state

of the *pron.* of the 3rd *pers. sing. masc.* in continuity : but, when it is paused upon, the *conj.* must be omitted, whether it be retained in continuity, as in *لَهُ* and *بِهِ* [161], by common consent, and in *عَلَيْهِ* and *مِنْهُ* [161], according to some ; or not, as in *عَلَيْهِ* and *مِنْهُ* [161], according to most : that is because it is a property of their language that they elide in pause what is not elided in continuity, as in *غُلَامِي* and *ضَرْبِنِي* [above] ; so that they invariably elide this letter, whose elision is often authorized in continuity, as in *عَلَيْهِ* and *مِنْهُ* : and, [after elision of the *conj.*,] quiescence of the *ʾ* is unavoidable in pause, whether the preceding letter be quiescent or mobile : (j) some disallow Raum or Ishmām in the case of the *ʾ* of the *pron.*, when it is preceded by Damm or Kasr, as in *يَعْلَمُهُ* II. 273. *Knoweth it* and *بِعُلاَمِهِ* by his manservant ; and similarly when it is preceded by a , or *ي*, as in II. 70. [640] and *مَنْ يَأْتِيهِ* XI. 41. *On whom shall come* : that is (a) because the quiescent *ʾ* is so extremely light that it becomes like the non-existent ; so that, when, in pause, it is preceded by a Damma or , , it is as though you pronounced the final, pausal, letter with Damm, or put a , at the end, since the *ʾ* is like the non-existent, on account of its faintness ; and if, immediately after the Damma or the , , you pronounced [the *ʾ*] with Raum, i. e., uttered part of the

Ḍamma [of the \mathfrak{z}], or with Ishmām, i. e., compressed the lips, [as though to sound the Ḍamma of the \mathfrak{z} ,] these [modifications] would not be plain [as belonging to the \mathfrak{z}], since the hearer or the seer might account that part of Ḍamm, or that compression of the lips for Ishmām, to be part of the first Ḍamm, or part of the first compression of the lips, since a thing is not plain after its like, as it is after its contrary: and so may one say of Raum after the \mathfrak{z} preceded by a Kasra or \mathfrak{y} : and also (b) because Raum and Ishmām are [intended] to make the vowel of the \mathfrak{z} plain: whereas, on the hypotheses mentioned, that making plain is not needed, because the \mathfrak{z} , which is preceded by a Ḍamma or \mathfrak{y} , is not pronounced with any vowel but Ḍamm; while that which is preceded by a Kasra or \mathfrak{y} , is not pronounced, in the most frequent [*dial.*], with any vowel but Kasr [161]: (k) when the \mathfrak{z} pronounced with Ḍamm follows a Faṭḥa, as in إِنَّ غُلَامَهُ *verily his manservant*, or a sound quiescent, as in مِنْهُ [above], Raum or Ishmām is allowable, without dispute [640]: (l) some allow them after the \mathfrak{z} of the *pron.*, unrestrictedly, whether it follow a \mathfrak{y} or \mathfrak{y} or any other consonant; and whether it follow a Faṭḥa, Ḍamma, or Kasra: even though they be not so plain as they ought to be (R): (7) هَذِهِ , [even] according to those who say $\text{هَذِهِ أَمَةٌ آلِ اللَّهِ}$ *This is the handmaid of God*

(M): (a) the *ṣ* in [تَهِي and (R)] هَذِهِ is [not an *aug.*; but only (IY)] a *subst.* [690] for the ي [263] in [تِي and (R)] هَذِي [171, 174] (IY, R), the proof of which is that you say ذِيَا in the *dim.* of ذِي [293], as you say in the *dim.* of ذَا: nor is the *ṣ* in هَذِهِ for femininization, like the *ṣ* in طَلَكَةٌ and حَمْرَةٌ [265], because the *ṣ* in طَلَكَةٌ and حَمْرَةٌ is *aug.*, and you find it a *ṣ* in continuity [646]; whereas the *ṣ* in هَذِهِ is a *ṣ* in continuity and pause, and is the ع of the word: (b) the reason why it is pronounced with Kasra, and conjoined with the ي, is that, being in a vague *indecl. n.*, it is assimilated to the *ṣ* of the *pron.*, which [like this *ṣ*] is preceded by a Kasra, as in مَرَرْتُ بِهِ *I passed by him* and نَظَرْتُ إِلَى غُلَامِهِ *I looked at his manservant* (IY): [thus] the ي after the *ṣ* is on account of the assimilation of the *ṣ* to the *ṣ* of the *masc. pron.* preceded by a Kasra, [from the impletion of which a ي is engendered,] as in بِي and غُلَامِي, in the most prevalent [*dial.*], as before explained [161]; except that the *ṣ* of the *pron.*, notwithstanding its being preceded by a Kasra or ي, is sometimes conjoined, according to the people of AlHijāz, with the و, as بِهِ and عَلَيْهِ [161], because the [attached] *gen. pron.* is *orig.* the detached *nom.* [*pron.*], as above mentioned; whereas [the *ṣ* in] تَهِي or هَذِي is not conjoined with a و, at all

(R): S says " I do not know any one pronounce it with Damm, because, though they assimilate it to the *ﺃ* of the *pron.*, still it is not the *pron.*; so that they assimilate it to the most frequent pronunciation, which is Kasr of the *ﺃ*, when preceded [like this *ﺃ*] by a Kasra" (IY): (c) some of the Arabs assimilate it to the *ﻡ* of the *pl.* [161]; and therefore do not put the *conj.*, saying هُذِهْ in continuity and pause (R): [for] I have heard some Arabs, whose Arabic is trustworthy, say هُذِهْ أَمَّةُ اللَّهِ, making [the *ﺃ*] quiescent (S); but this, though the *o. f.*, is rare in usage: and some of them elide the *ﻱ* from it in continuity, but preserve its Kasra (R): (d) pause [upon it (R)] is with quiescence of the *ﺃ* (IY, R), and omission of the *conj.* (R), not otherwise (IY), without dispute (R), the *ﻱ* being elided in both *dials.*: as for those who make it quiescent in continuity, the matter is obvious, according to them, the states of continuity and pause being equal: while those who conjoin it with the *ﻱ* [in continuity] elide it in pause, as they elide it from بِيْهِ and عَلَيْهِ [above]; and, since elision of the *ﻱ* is permissible in بِيْهِ and the like, notwithstanding that its augmentativeness is disputed [above], the elision here is more appropriate, because the augmentativeness is certain (IY): (8) حَتَّامٌ and فَيْمٌ [and عَلَامٌ (IY)], with quiescence; or حَتَّامَةٌ and فَيْمَةٌ [and عَلَامَةٌ (IY)], with the *ﺃ* (M): (a) the

ʾ is preferable in the case of these *ps.*, because the ʾ in *مَا* is elided, while the *Fatḥa* remains as an indication of the elided; and therefore, grudging that pause should elide the *Fatḥa*, and thus the indication and the indicated should [both] be removed, they affix the ʾ of silence, upon which the pause falls, while the *Fatḥa* is preserved [above], as is done in *أَغْرَءٌ* and *إِزْمَةٌ* [644]: but some of the Arabs pause with quiescence, without a ʾ; while it is argued [on their behalf] that pause is accidental, and that the vowel is restored in continuity, [so that the removal of the indication is only temporary]: (b) some of them make the *م* quiescent in continuity, as in *يَا أَبَا آلَاسُودِ أَخِي* [181]; but that belongs to the *cat.* of treating continuity like pause, by poetic license, as in *عَيْهَلٍ* and *الْقَصَبَا* [640, 647] (IY), as *فَلْتَهَرَّ بَعَّةٌ* [321, 647, 663] has been heard (K on LXI. 2): (9) *مَجْبَىءٌ* and *مَثَلٌ*, in the case of *مَجْبَىءٌ* [above] and *مَثَلٌ أَنْتَ* *Like what art thou?*, [pause being (IY)] with the ʾ, not otherwise (M): (a) *مَجْبَىءٌ* and *مَثَلٌ* are *ns.*, detached from what follows them; while *مَا*, after elision of the ʾ, becomes *unil.*; and therefore, disliking that, they affix the ʾ, in order that the pause may fall upon it, and the *n.* be not excluded from the formations of *ns.* (IY).

§. 649. The single ن [of corroboration is light and weak ; so that, when preceded by a Fatha, it (IY)] is changed, in pause, into ا [497, 614, 684] (M), like the Tanwīn [below], because of its resemblance thereto, both of them being *ps.*, whose place is [at] the end of the word (IY). You say لَنْسَفَعَا for لَنْسَفَعْنَ in XCVI. 15. [153, 497, 610, 684] (M) ; and, in the *imp.*, اِضْرِبَا for اِضْرِبْنَ [614, 684] (IY). Al A'shà [Maimūn Ibn Kaïs (Jsh)] says, [in an ode praising the Prophet (IY, Jsh),]
 فَايَّالَ وَالْمَيْتَاتِ لَا تَقْرَبَنَّهَا * وَلَا تَأْخُذْنَ سَهْمًا حَدِيدًا لِتَفْصِدَا
 وَذَا النُّصَبِ الْمَنْصُوبِ لَا تَنْسُكَنَّه * وَلَا تَعْبُدِ الشَّيْطَانَ وَاللَّهَ فَاعْبُدَا
 [497, 684] (M) *Then beware of dead bodies ; be sure thou do not approach them : and do not thou take a sharp arrow to bleed a camel for the guest. And* [beware of (Jh on نصب)] *this idol set up ; be sure thou do not propitiate it by sacrifice : and worship not the devil, but God do thou worship* (Jsh), meaning فَاعْبُدْنَ (Jh, IY), but pausing with the ا, as you say رَأَيْتُ زَيْدًا [640] (Jh) ; and hence the saying of the other
 أَبُوكَ يَزِيدُ وَالْوَلِيدُ وَمَنْ يَكُنْ * هُمَا أَبَوَاهُ لَا يَذِلُّ وَيَكْرُمَا
Thy sire is Yazīd, and thy grandsire is Al Walīd ; and whoso is such that they are his sire and grandsire will not be lowly, and shall surely be noble, meaning وَيَكْرُمُنْ : and it is said, on the saying of Imra alKaïs

تَفَنَّنَ [115, 640], that the meaning is *Do thou tarry*, because, say they, the address is to one, that being proved by his saying

أَصَاحَ تَرَى بَرْقًا أُرِيكَ وَمِيضَهُ * كَلَمَعَ آلَيْدَيْنِ فِي حَبِيٍّ مُكَلَّلٍ

[*O my companion, thou seest, meaning look thou at, lightning, whose gleam I show thee, like the waving of the hands, in a pile of cloud surmounted by a crown, its upper part being like a crown for its lower part (EM)*]; but that he pauses with the *ا*, treating the state of continuity like pause [647]: while some explain L. 23. [193, 233] as *orig. أَلْقَيْنَ*. *Do thou cast*, arguing that the address, in that, is to an Angel, the Keeper of the Fire (IY). And, [if what precedes this *ن* be pronounced with Damm or Kasr, as (IY)] in *هَلْ تَضْرِبُنْ يَا قَوْمَ* *Will ye surely strike, O my people?* [and *هَلْ تَضْرِبُنْ يَا أَمْرَأَةً* *Wilt thou surely strike, O woman?*, then, if you pause (IY)], you say *هَلْ تَضْرِبُنْ* [and *هَلْ تَضْرِبِينَ* (IY)], by restoring the *و* of the *pl.* [and the *ي* of the 2nd *pers. sing. fem.*] (M). For the predicament of this *ن* is [like] that of the Tanwīn [above]: therefore, as you substitute an *ا* for the Tanwīn in the *acc.* [497, 640], so you substitute an *ا* for this *ن*, when what precedes it is pronounced with Fath; and, as the Tanwīn is suppressed in the *nom.* and *gen.* [640], so

this َ is suppressed, when what precedes it is pronounced with Damm or Kasr. And, when the َ is suppressed, the , , which is the *pron.* of the *pl.*, is restored [614], because of the removal of the quiescent after it, vid. the َ of corroboration. And the َ also, which is the sign of the *ind.*, is restored [614], because, it was elided only on account of the uninflectedness of the *v.*, [consequent] upon the attachment of the َ of corroboration to it [402, 406, 610]: and, since the cause of uninflectedness is removed, inflection is restored, because of the removal of its preventive, and the presence of its requirer [404], vid. resemblance [of the *aor.* to the *n.*]; and then the َ , which is the sign of [inflection in the 2nd *pers.*, *pl. masc.* and *sing. fem.*, of] the *ind.* [405], is restored. Y used to substitute a , or ِ for the single َ [of corroboration], when preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm or Kasr, respectively, by analogy to the َ [preceded by a letter] pronounced with Fath, saying إِخْشَوْ for إِخْشَوْنَ *Do ye dread*, and إِخْشِي for إِخْشِينَ *Do thou [fem.] dread*, which is analogous to [the practice of] those who substitute [a , or ِ] for the Tanwīn [640] in the *nom.* or *gen.*, [respectively]. But S does not allow that (IY).

CHAPTER IV.

THE OATH.

§. 650. The oath is common to the *n.* and *v.* [625]. It is a *prop.*, verbal, as *حَلَفْتُ بِاللَّهِ* *I have sworn by God* or *أَقْسَمْتُ* or *آلَيْتُ* [below], and *عَلِمَ اللَّهُ* *God has known* or *يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ* *God knows*, or nominal, as *لَعَمْرُكَ* [27, 29] or *لَعَمْرُ أَبِيكَ* *Assuredly thy father's life* or *لَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ* *Assuredly God's life*, and *يَمِينُ اللَّهِ* *God's oath* [29] or [below] or *أَيْمُ اللَّهِ* [651], and *أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ* *God's trust* [below], and *عَلَى عَهْدِ اللَّهِ* [29], whereby a *prop.*, *aff.*, as *لَا أَفْعَلُ* *Assuredly I will do*, or *neg.*, as *لَا أَفْعَلُ* *I will not do* [652], is corroborated [654] (M). The verbal *prop.* in the oath is *أَحْلِفُ بِاللَّهِ* *I swear by God* or *أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ*, and the like. And, since these *vs.* are not *self-trans.*, they put a *prep.*, *vid.* the *ب* [653, 654], to convey the idea of *swearing to the sworn-by* [below] (IY): Khl says “You put these *ps.* [653] only because [by means of them] you attach your *swearing* to the *sworn-by*, as by means of the *ب* you attach [your *passing* implied in] *مَرَرْتُ* (S, IY) to *Zaid* in your saying *مَرَرْتُ بِزَيْدٍ* [503] (IY), except that the *v.* [sometimes]

occurs understood in this *cat.* [651, 653], and that the oath is a corroboration" (S). There are some *vs.*, such as [*بِكَذَا* (Jh, KF)] *أَشْهَدُ* *I testify*, [meaning *أَحْلِفُ* *I swear, by such a thing* (Jh, KF),] *أَعْلَمُ* *I know*, and *آلَيْتُ* *I have sworn* [above], that contain the sense of the *oath*, and are therefore treated like *أَحْلِفُ*, the *v.* occurring [as a *correl.*] after them, as after *وَاللَّهِ* *By God*. The nominal *prop.* is *لَعَمْرُكَ* and *لَعَمْرُ أَبِيكَ* and *لَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ*, where *عَمْر* is an *inch.*, the *ل* in it being the *ل* of inception [604]; while the *enunc.* is suppressed [29, 651], constructively *قَسَمِي* *mine oath* or *حَلْفِي*, because of the length of the sentence, by reason of the sworn-to [below], on which account the suppression is inseparable [from it], as the suppression of the *enunc.* is inseparable [from *لَوْلَا زَيْدٌ لَكَانَ كَذَا* [29], because of the length of the sentence, by reason of the *correl.* (IY). The meaning of *يَبِينُ اللَّهِ* is *what God has sworn by*, vid. *وَالشَّمْسِ* XCI. 1. [538], *وَاللَّيْلِ* XCII. 1. [498, 657], *وَالضُّحَى* XCIII. 1. *By the forenoon* [657], and the like; or *the oath* that is [sworn] *by His Names*, as [below], *وَرَبِّ الْكَعْبَةِ* *By the Lord of the Ka'ba*, *وَالْخَالِقِ* *By the Creator*, and the like: and the sense is *يَبِينُ اللَّهِ* *God's oath (is mine oath)* [29] (R).

And hence ^{أَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ} (IY). According to S (R), ^{أَيْمُنُ} [in ^{أَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ} (IY, R), which is peculiar to the oath (ML), inasmuch as it is not used elsewhere, being thus distinguished from ^{أَيْمُنُ} occurring in the like of ^{أَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ} ^{بَارَةً} *The oaths of the people are true, or faithful*, about which there is no dispute at all, since it is a *n.*, *pl.* of ^{أَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ} *oath*, by common consent (DM),] is a *sing.* (IY, R, ML) *n.* (IY, ML), applied to denote the *oath* (IY); not a *p.*, contrary to the opinion of Zj and Rm (ML), who say that it is a *prep.* (DM); and not *pl.* of ^{أَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ}, contrary to the opinion of the KK [below] (ML): derived from ^{أَيْمُنُ} (IY, R, ML), i. q. ^{بَرَكَتُهُ} *blessing* (IY, R, DM), as though they swore by *God's blessing* (IY): always (ML) (a) governed in the *nom.* [653, 655], by inchoation, its *enunc.* being [necessarily (DM)] suppressed (IY, ML), because known, as in the case of ^{لَعَنَ} ^{اللَّهِ} [above], constructively ^{قَسَمِي} or ^{يَمِينِي}, and the like (IY), i. e., ^{بَرَكَتُهُ} ^{اللَّهِ} ^{يَمِينِي} *God's blessing (is mine oath)* (R); and (b) *pre.* to the name of *God*: contrary to the opinion of (a) IDh, who allows it to be governed in the *gen.* by the jurative *p.*, [vid. the و, as ^{وَأَيْمُنُ} ^{اللَّهِ} *By the oath of God* (DM)]; (b) IM, who allows it to be *pre.* to ^{الْكَعْبَةِ} [653] and the ^ك of the *pron.* [651]; and (c) IU, who allows it to be an *enunc.*, the suppressed being the

inch., i. e., قَسَمِيَّ أَيُّمُنُ ٱللَّهِ (*Mine oath is*) *God's oath* (ML): and its Hamza is [*orig.* (R)] *conj.* [651, 667] (R, ML), contrary to the opinion of the KK [below] (ML), as is proved by the fact that Kasr of its Hamza [below] is allowed; though, from frequency of usage, Fath of the Hamza [668] is more prevalent. But it seems improbable that the Hamza should be pronounced *orig.* with Kasr, and then with Fath for lightness, because there is no أَفْعُلُ with Kasr of the Hamza among *ns.* or *vs.*; and it also seems improbable that أَفْعُلُ should be an original *sing.* (R). According to the KK [651], أَيُّمُنُ is *pl.* of يَمِينُ *oath* (R, DM), so that أَيُّمُنُ ٱللَّهِ is like يَمِينُ ٱللَّهِ [above] (R): and its Hamza is *disj.* (R, DM); but is made *conj.* for lightness, from frequency of usage, as Khl says of the Hamza in the determinative اَلْ [below] (R). Their argument is that this measure is peculiar to the *pl.*, like أَكْلُبُ and أَفْلُسُ [237] (DM), which is refuted by the fact that Kasr of the Hamza [below], and Fath of the م, are allowable, [so that اَيُّمُنُ is said (DM)]; whereas the like [pronunciation] is not allowable in the *pl.*, such as أَفْلُسُ and أَكْلُبُ [above] (ML), so that اِنْفَلَسُ is not said (DM): and by the saying of [Abù Mihjan (ITB, Syt)] Nuṣaib [Ibn Rabāḥ al-Balawī (Jsh)]

فَقَالَ فَرِيقُ الْقَوْمِ لَمَّا نَشَدْتُهُمْ * نَعَمْ وَفَرِيقٌ لَيْسَ بِاللَّهِ مَا نَذَرِي

[651] (ML) *Then said the party of the people, when I entreated them, "Yes"; and a party said "By God's oath, we know not"* (Jsh), where he elides its ! [669] in the interior [of the sentence] (ML), after the J of inception (Jsh); though the KK may say that it is exclusively distinguished [among pls. of this measure] by that [elision], because of frequency of usage (DM).

The J of inception is prefixed to it, as [to عَمْر] in اللَّهُ [above]; and hence فَقَالَ فَرِيقُ الْقَوْمِ آخ [above].

And its Hamza is pronounced with Fath, because this *n.* is *indecl.*, not being used except in the oath alone; so that it resembles the *p.*, and is therefore pronounced with Fath [of the Hamza], by assimilation to the Hamza prefixed to the determinative J [above]: but Y has transmitted إِيْمُنُ اللَّهُ [651] with Kasr of the Hamza [above]. As for أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ, it also is governed in the *nom.* by inchoation, the *enunc.* being suppressed

[651, 655] (IY). What is meant by أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ is *what He has enjoined upon His creatures*, vid. *obedience to Him*, as though it were a *trust committed by Him* to them, that it was necessary for them to render entire unto Him: the Kur has إِنَّا عَرَضْنَا الْأَمَانَةَ عَلَى السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالْجِبَالِ فَأَبَيْنَ أَنْ يَحْمِلْنَهَا وَأَشْفَقْنَ مِنْهَا وَحَمَلَهَا

XXXIII. 72. *Verily We offered the trust*, [meaning *obedience* (K, B),] *to the heavens and the earth and the mountains; and they refused to undertake it, and were afraid of it. And man undertook it: verily he was wrongful, ignorant* (R), where *obedience* is named *trust*, because it [must be present, as the *trust* (K)] must be rendered (K, B). And عَلَى عَهْدِ اللَّهِ [below] is governed in the *nom.* by inchoation, while عَلَى is its *enunc.*; the form being like فِي الدَّارِ زَيْدٌ [28], but the sense being *I swear by God* (IY). One property of the two *props.*, [the oath and its *correl.* (IY),] is that, [since one of them is corroborated by the other (IY),] they are equivalent to one *prop.* [compounded of two terms, such as the *inch.* and *enunc.* (IY)], like the two *props.* of the *prot.* and *apod.* [419] (M): so that, as, when you mention the *inch.* alone, or the *enunc.* alone, it does not import any material sense, so, when you mention one of the two *props.*, as أَحْلَفَ بِاللَّهِ [above], without the other, it is like your saying زَيْدٌ ⁵⁰ *Zaid* alone in lack of material sense (IY). And suppression of the second [*prop.* (IY)], upon indication, is as allowable here, [e. g., in your saying to one that has thrown himself into harm هَلَكْتَ وَاللَّهِ *Thou hast perished, by God,*

(*assuredly thou hast perished*), meaning *وَاللّٰهُ لَقَدْ هَلَكَتْ* (IY),] as it was there (M), e. g., in *أَنَا ظَالِمٌ إِنْ فَعَلْتُ* *I shall be a wrong-doer, if I do, (I shall be a wrong-doer)* [419] (IY). The *correl.* of the oath is suppressed when the oath (1) intervenes as a *par.* [1] (IH), i. e., occupies the middle [of the sentence (R), between the parts of the *prop.* that indicates the *correl.* of the oath (Jm)], as *زَيْدٌ وَاللّٰهُ قَائِمٌ* *Zaid, by God, is standing* [below] (WIH, R, Jm) and *قَامَ وَاللّٰهُ زَيْدٌ* *Zaid, by God, stood, and, in the Nahj alBalāgha, قَدْ وَاللّٰهُ لَقُوا اللَّهَ* *They have, by God, met God* [575, 577] (R); or (2) is preceded by what indicates it (IH), as *زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ وَاللّٰهُ* *Zaid is standing, by God* [below] (WIH, R, Jm) and *قَامَ زَيْدٌ وَاللّٰهُ* *Zaid stood, by God* (R): because [in these two cases (Jm)] the oath is independent of [repetition of (WIH)] the *correl.* (WIH, Jm), on account of the presence of what indicates it (Jm). This sentence that the oath is intermediate in, or posterior to, is, as respects the sense, the *correl.* of the oath; and is a quasi-compensation for that *correl.*, like the *correl.* of the condition in *أَكْرِمُكَ إِنْ أَتَيْتَنِي* *I shall honor thee, if thou come to me*, as before mentioned [419] (R). But the *prop.* mentioned, though, according to the sense, a *correl.* of the oath, is, according to the form, named

only the indicator of the *correl.*, not the *correl.*, for which reason the sign of the *correl.* of the oath [652] is not necessary in it (Jm). Sometimes the jurative *prop.* is followed by a context indicative of the *correl.*, which is therefore suppressed [333], although this context is not, like the two [indicators above] mentioned, a *correl.*

in respect of the sense, as *وَالْفَجْرِ وَلَيَالٍ عَشْرٍ* LXXXIX.

1. [(*I swear*) by the daybreak and the first ten nights of Dhu-l-Hijja, where the sworn-to is suppressed (K, B)], i. e., *لَيُؤْخَذَنَّ وَلَيُعَاقَبَنَّ* assuredly they shall be taken, and shall be punished, because indicated by LXXXIX. 5. [207] (R). Suppression of the *correl.* of the oath is (1) necessary, when the oath is preceded, or enclosed, by what stands instead of the *correl.*, as

زَيْدٌ وَاللَّهِ قَائِمٌ and *زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ وَاللَّهِ* [above] : (a) if you say *زَيْدٌ وَاللَّهِ قَائِمٌ* or *لَقَائِمٌ زَيْدٌ وَاللَّهِ إِنَّهُ قَائِمٌ* *Zaid, by God, is such that verily he is standing, or Zaid is such that, by God, verily he is standing*, what follows the oath may be either (a) an *enunc.* to what precedes the oath, [the *correl.* being suppressed, because indicated by what encloses the oath (DM)]; or (b) a *correl.*, the aggregate of the oath and its *correl.* being the *enunc.* [of the *inch.* (DM)]: (2) allowable, in other cases, as *وَالْمَازِعَاتِ* LXXIX. 1. [*By the bands of Angels vehemently tearing out the souls from the bodies, (assuredly ye*

shall be raised from the dead), the sworn-to being suppressed (K)], i. e., لَتُبْعَثَنَّ, as is indicated by what follows it (ML), vid. the mention of the resurrection (K). Suppression of the jurative *prop.* is very frequent [651], and is necessary with the jurative *ps.* other than the ب [653]: and, wherever لَتَفْعَلَنَّ or لَقَدْ فَعَلَ or لَتُنْ فَعَلَ occurs, when not preceded by a jurative *prop.*, there a jurative *prop.* is supplied, as لَأُعَذِّبَنَّهٗ عَذَابًا شَدِيدًا XXVII. 21. (*By God,*) assuredly I will punish it with a severe punishment, III. 145. And, (*by God,*) assuredly etc. [432], and LIX. 12. [599, 652]; while it is disputed whether such as لَرَيْدًا قَاتِمٌ [below] and إِنَّ زَيْدًا قَاتِمٌ or لَقَاتِمٌ must be a *correl.* of an oath, or not (ML). Sometimes the jurative *prop.* is suppressed, because indicated by an *adv.*, one of the *regs.* of the *v.* occurring as *correl.*, as لَأَفْعَلُهُ عَوْضٌ and عَوْضٌ أَلْعَاطِضِينَ [206], from the frequency of the usage of عَوْضٌ with the oath, together with the fact that its sense is أَبَدًا ever [206] and الْبَتَّةَ decidedly, so that it contains such a corroboration as imports the sense of the oath. And, on account of its importing the sense of the oath, it sometimes precedes its *op.*, standing in the place of the jurative *prop.*, even if its *op.* be conjoined with a *p.* that prevents an *op.* from governing what precedes it, like the ن of corroboration [610] and [the neg.] مَا [498, 546], as عَوْضٌ لَا آتَيْنَكَ

Never indeed will I come to thee and عَوْضُ مَا آتَيْكَ
Never will I come to thee, the object being that عَوْضُ
 should supply the place of the oath. But sometimes
 it is used otherwise than in the oath, as

هَذَا ثَنَائِي بِمَا أَوْلَيْتُ مِنْ حَسَنِ
 لَا زِلْتُ عَوْضُ قَرِيرِ الْعَيْنِ مَكْسُودًا

(R), by Rabī'a Ibn Maḥrūm ad-Dabbī, *This is my praise, because of that good which I have conferred—May I never cease to be cool in eye, envied!* (AKB). One of the *ps.* of assent also stands in the place of the jurative *prop.*, vid. جَيْرِ i. q. نَعَمْ [556], the connecting link being that assent is a corroboration and confirmation, like the oath: you say جَيْرِ لَا فَعَلَنْ *Yea, assuredly I will do*, as though you said نَعَمْ وَاللَّهِ لَا فَعَلَنْ *Yes, by God, assuredly I will do*. But sometimes جَيْرِ is put without any oath, as in وَقُلْنَ عَلَى الْفِرْدَوْسِ آخِ [556]. It is *uninfl.* upon Kasr, but is sometimes pronounced with Fath; and sometimes it is pronounced with Tanwīn, by poetic license, as in وَقَائِلَةٍ أَسِيَّتِ آخِ [556], which is cited as evidence by those who hold it to be a *n.* [556]. Sometimes the mention of the oath is deemed sufficient, without mention of the sworn-by [below], as in

فَأَقْسِمُ لَوْ شِئْتُ أَنَا رَسُولُهُ * سَوَاكَ وَلَكِنْ لَمْ نَجِدْ لَكَ مَدْفَعًا

[651, 652] (R), by Imra al Kais, *Then I swear, if any thing, meaning any man, but thou were such that his messenger had come to us, (we would have repulsed him). But we did not find any way of repulse for thee* (AKB), i. e., فَأُقْسِمُ بِمَا يُقْسَمُ بِهِ *Then I swear (by what is sworn by).* And often the *correl.* of the oath, if corroborated by the ن [611, 613], is deemed sufficient without the oath, as لَا ضَرْبَكَ *Assuredly I will strike thee*, because the ن has [certain specified] positions, and does not occur in pure enunciation, as يَضْرِبَنَّ زَيْدًا [612]; but, as for such [phrases] as لَقَدْ سَمِعَ اللَّهُ III. 177. *Assuredly God hath heard* and لَزَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ [above], there exists no evidence that they are *correls.* of the oath, contrary to the opinion of the KK [652]. And sometimes حَقًّا *Truly*, يَقِينًا *certainly* قَطْعًا *decidedly*, and what resembles them, stand in the place of the oath, as حَقًّا لَا فَعَلَنْ *Truly, I will assuredly do.* And so does كَلًّا [598], when not [denoting] *reprehension*, as كَلًّا CIV. 4. *Now, assuredly etc.* [406]. And so also does the obligation of a vow, as لِلَّهِ عَلَى كَذَا لَا فَعَلَنْ *Such a thing is a vow to God, binding upon me, assuredly I will do; or of a covenant, as عَاهَدْتُ اللَّهَ لَا فَعَلَنْ I have covenanted with God, assuredly I will do, and عَلَى عَهْدِ اللَّهِ لَا فَعَلَنْ [above] (R).* The object

of the oath is corroboration of what is sworn to, whether *aff.* or *neg.*, as *وَاللّٰهُ لَأَقُومَنَّ*, *By God, assuredly I will stand* and *وَاللّٰهُ لَا أَقُومَنَّ*, *By God, assuredly I will not stand*, where you corroborate your announcement, in order to remove doubt from the person addressed. This involves three things, a *corrob. prop.* [652], a corroborated *prop.* [652], and a *n.* sworn by (IY). The *corrob. prop.* is the oath (M), vid. *أُقْسِمُ* [above], *أَحْلِفُ*, and the like, such as *أَشْهَدُ* and *أَعْلَمُ*; and similarly *لَعَنَ اللّٰهُ* and *أَيْمُنُ اللّٰهُ* (IY). The corroborated [*prop.* (IY)] is the sworn-to (M). If it be a *v.*, the oath applies to it, as *أَحْلِفُ بِاللّٰهِ لَتَنْطَلِقَنَّ* *I swear by God, assuredly thou shalt depart*; but, if it be a *p.*, followed by a *sub.* and *pred.*, what the oath applies to, in sense, is the *pred.* [652], as *وَاللّٰهُ إِنَّ زَيْدًا لَّنْطَلِقَ*, *By God, verily Zaid is departing* and *وَاللّٰهُ لَزَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ*, *By God, assuredly Zaid is standing*, where the oath corroborates the *departure* and the *standing*, not *Zaid* (IY). And the *n.* whereto the oath is made to adhere [653], in order that it may thereby be magnified, and rendered solemn, is the sworn-by (M), which is every name or *ep.* of God, and the like, vid. what is magnified [657], according to them, as

فَأَقْسَمْتُ بِالْبَيْتِ الَّذِي طَافَ حَوْلَهُ * رِجَالُ بَنُوهُ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ وَجُرْعَمِ

[652] (IY), by Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulmā Rabī'a alMuzanī, *Then I have sworn by the House* (meaning *the Ka'ba*) *that men, who built it, of the tribes of Kuraish and Jurhum, circled round* (EM), because they were wont to magnify *the House*. The Prophet forbade swearing by any but God [651]: but, in the K̄ur, the oath by His created things often occurs, to express *magnification of, and veneration for, the command of the Creator*, since in magnification of the work there is magnification of the Worker; and hence CIIL. 1, 2. [518, 469, 652], *وَالْدَّارِيَاتِ ذُرًّا* LI. 1. *By the winds scattering the dust about* (K, B)], *وَالسَّمَاءِ ذَاتِ الْحُبُكِ* LI. 7. [368], and C. 1. [246, 652] (IY).

§. 651. The oath being frequent in their speech, they take many liberties with it, and study [different] kinds of abbreviation. Hence (1) the suppression of (a) the *v.* [653] in *بِاللَّهِ* (M), meaning *أَحْلِفُ بِاللَّهِ* (*I swear*) *by God*, the jurative *v.* being often suppressed [650], because it is known, and can be dispensed with, as *بِاللَّهِ إِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ* XXXI. 12. (*I swear*) *by God, verily polytheism is a great wrong*, according to one of the two constructions: (b) the sworn-by [650], which they sometimes suppress, contenting themselves with the indication of it by the *v.*, as *أَقْسِمُ لَأَفْعَلَنَّ* *I swear (by God), assuredly I will do*, meaning *أَقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ*,

because it is frequently used, and the person addressed knows what is meant: the poet says *فَأُقْسِمُ أَنَّ الْخ* [564, 652], and another says *فَأُقْسِمُ لَوْ الْخ* [650, 652]: (a) the jurists say that, if a man said *أُقْسِمُ* *I make oath* or *أَحْلِفُ* *I swear* or *أَشْهَدُ* *I bear witness*, and afterwards broke the oath, the expiation of a violated oath would be incumbent upon him, because his expression is turned to the sense of *أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ* *I swear (by God)* and the like, since the Muslim is obliged, when he swears, to swear by God, for which reason the Prophet says *مَنْ كَانَ حَالِفًا فَلْيَحْلِفْ بِاللَّهِ أَوْ فَلْيَصُتْ* *Whoso is about to swear, let him swear by God, or let him hold his peace* [650] (IY): (c) the *enunc.* [of the inchoatival *prop.*, as (IY)] in *لَعَمْرُكَ* [29, 650] and its congeners (M), *أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ* and *لَيْمَنَكَ* [650], [the *pre. ns. in*] all of which are *inchs.*, whose *enuncs.* are suppressed, for abbreviation, because of the length of the sentence, by reason of the *correl.* (IY), the sense being *لَعَمْرُكَ مَا أُقْسِمُ بِهِ* *Assuredly thy life (is what I swear by)* (M), [or] *بِمَا أُقْسِمُ بِهِ* *(is part of what I swear by)* (K on XV. 72), [or] *قَسَمِي* *(is mine oath)* (B), whence XV. 72. [521], as though He swore by the *continuance*, and *life*, of the prophet, [in order to honor him (K),] for which reason Ibn 'Abbās says "God has not sworn by

the life of any other than the Prophet (peace be upon him!)” (IY): (a) if the *n.*, that you make an *inch.*, be specifically assigned to the oath, as in أَيُّمُنُ ٱللَّهِ [650] and لَعَمْرُكَ [29], suppression of the *enunc.* is necessary, as before explained in the *cat.* of the *inch.* [29], because that expression indicates the particular *enunc.*, vid. مَا أَقْسَمُ بِهِ, while the *correl.* supplies the place of the *enunc.*: but, if it be not specifically assigned to the oath, as in أَمَانَةُ ٱللَّهِ and عَهْدُ ٱللَّهِ and يَمِينُ ٱللَّهِ [29, 650], you may suppress the *enunc.*, as أَمَانَةُ ٱللَّهِ لَأَفْعَلَنَّ *God's trust (is what I swear by), assuredly I will do* and عَهْدُ ٱللَّهِ *God's covenant etc.*, and يَمِينُ ٱللَّهِ *God's oath etc.*; or express it, as أَمَانَةُ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيَّ *God's trust is binding upon me, [assuredly I will do,]* and عَهْدُ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيَّ *God's covenant is etc.*, and يَمِينُ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيَّ *God's oath is etc.*: and similarly you say ٱلْكَعْبَةُ لَأَفْعَلَنَّ *The Ka'ba (is what I swear by), assuredly etc.*, and ٱلْبُصْحَفُ *The Holy Book (etc.)*, or ٱلْكَعْبَةُ يَمِينِي لَأَفْعَلَنَّ *The Ka'ba is mine oath, assuredly etc.* [and ٱلْبُصْحَفُ يَمِينِي ٱلْحَاقِ *The Holy Book is mine oath, etc.*]: (b) Fr says that, if the *inch.* be an abstract *n.* [3], as in لَعَمْرُكَ and أَيُّمُنُ ٱللَّهِ, then the *correl.* of the oath is its *enunc.*; and there is no need to supply another *enunc.*, because لَعَمْرُكَ is

an oath, and *لَا فَعَلَنْ* also is an oath, so that the former is [identical with] the latter : but this is of no account, because the *عَمَر* i. q. *بَقَاء* continuance is the sworn-by, while *لَا فَعَلَنْ* is the sworn-to; and this cannot be [identical with] that : and so may one say of *أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ* and *أَيُّمُنُ اللَّهِ* and the like (R) : (d) the *ن* of *أَيُّمُنُ* [below], and its Hamza [650, 667, 669] in the interior [of the sentence] (M) : (a) hence it is understood that [in Z's opinion, as here implied,] the elision of the Hamza of *أَيُّمُنُ* in the interior [of the sentence] is one of the liberties taken by them in the oath, analogy requiring its retention in the interior [of the sentence] : but that is derived from the theory of the KK [650], that the word is a *pl.*, and its Hamza *disj.*, being made *conj.* only from frequency of usage ; and is the view of IK and IDh : while, according to us, the matter is not so (IY) : (b) as for *أَيُّمُ اللَّهِ* and *أَيُّمُ اللَّهِ*, with Fath and Kasr of the Hamza, together with Damm of the *م*, they are contracted from *أَيُّمُنُ*, with Fath and Kasr of the Hamza [650]; and sometimes *هَيْمُ اللَّهِ* is said, with conversion of the Hamza pronounced with Fath into *س* [690]; and sometimes the *ي* is elided, together with the *ن*, so that, *أَمُ اللَّهِ* and *إِمُ اللَّهِ*, with Fath and Kasr of the Hamza, are said : (c) what is contracted from *أَيُّمُنُ* is

used only with the word **اللَّهُ** ; not with **الْكَعْبَةِ** , as **أَيُّمُن** is used therewith [650] (R) : (d) Y asserts that the ا of **أَيُّم** is *conj.* ; and so the Arabs treat it, pronouncing the ا with Fath, as they pronounce the ا in **الرَّجُلُ** [599] with Fath [668] : and similarly [the Hamza of] **أَيُّمُن** : the poet says **فَقَالَ فَرِيْقُ الْقَوْمِ الْآخِ** [650], which we have heard from the Arabs thus [recited] (S) : (e) the ن of **مِنْ** and **مِنْ** [653] : (f) the jurative *p.*, without compensation, in **اللَّهُ** and **اللَّهُ** [503, 514, 515, 655] ; and, with compensation, in **هَـا اللَّهُ** [552], **آلله** , and **أَفَالله** [56] : (2) substitution of a ت for the jurative *p.*, [i. e., the و (IY),] in **تَالله** [506, 653] (M), as XII. 85. [454] and XII. 91. [575] (IY) : (3) their preference for Fatha over Damma, which is better known in **عمر** (M), whence your saying in the oath **لَعَمْرُكَ لَا فَعَلَنَّ** [29, 650] : (a) **عمر** *continuance, life*, has three *dial. vars.*, (a) **عَمْرٌ** with Fath of the ع , and quiescence of the م ; (b) **عُمْرٌ** with Damm of the ع , and quiescence of the م ; and (c) **عُمْرٌ** with Damm of both [ع and م] : (b) you say **أَطَالَ اللَّهُ عَمْرَكَ** *God prolong, or lengthen, thy life!* or **عُمْرَكَ** or **عَمْرَكَ** : but, when you come to the oath, you use only the [*dial. var.*] pronounced with Fath of the ع , because it is the lightest of the three *dial. vars.*; while, the oath being frequent, they adopt the lightest [form] for it (IY).

§. 652. The oath is of two kinds, either an adjuration [654], as نَشَدْتُكَ اللَّهَ [below], عَمَّرْتُكَ اللَّهَ *I have besought God to prolong thy life* or *I have entreated thee by thy confession of God's eternity*, عَمَّرَكَ اللَّهَ [41] and قَعَّدَكَ اللَّهَ [Part I, Notes, p. 42 A], and بِأَلَلَّهِ [below], and sometimes لَعَمْرُكَ [650, 651]; or not an adjuration. The *correl.* of the adjuration is a command, prohibition, or interrogation, as

بِدِينِكَ هَلْ ضَمَمْتَ إِلَيْكَ لَيْلَى * قُبَيْلَ الصُّبْحِ أَوْ قَبْلَتْ فَاهَا

[654] (R), by the Majnūn of Lailā, addressing her husband, (*I adjure thee*) *by thy faith, hast thou drawn Lailā close to thee, a little before dawn, or hast thou kissed her mouth?* (Jsh). It is [sometimes] headed by إِلَّا or لَبَّأُ, as إِلَّا فَعَلْتَ *I have adjured thee by God* [above], etc. [95] or لَبَّأُ فَعَلْتَ [559]. But فَقَعَّدَكَ أَنْ لَا آخَ in أَنْ [Part I, p. 42 A] is *red* [564]. And sometimes one says in adjuration بِأَلَلَّهِ لَتَفْعَلَنَّ (*I adjure thee*) *by God, assuredly thou shalt do* [above], where the *correl.* is an enunciation, in the sense of a command (R). The oath [that is not an adjuration (Jm)] is correlated [547, 549] (M, IH), i. e., confronted (R), meaning answered (R, Jm), with [a *correl.* containing (WIH) three things (M)], the J and إِنَّ, [when the *correl.* is *aff.* (WIH),] and the *neg. p.*

(M, IH), مَا or لَا (Jm), when it is *neg.* (WIH), as بِٱللَّهِ إِنَّكَ لَفَاعِلٌ *By God, assuredly I will do* and إِنَّكَ لَذَاهِبٌ *verily thou art going* and مَا فَعَلْتُ *I have not done* and لَا أَفْعَلُ *I will not do* (M). Since the oath and the *correl.* are, each of them, a *prop.* [650], which is an expression for every independent phrase, standing by itself; but each of them has some dependence upon the other; therefore *cops.* are unavoidable, to connect one of them with the other, as the *cond. p.* connects the *prot.* with the *apod.* [419]: so that two *ps.* are assigned to affirmation, *vid.* the ل [600] and إِنَّ [517]; and two to negation, *vid.* مَا [546] and لَا [547]. The reason why these [four] *ps.* [below] must occur as [*cops. for*] a *correl.* of the oath is that the sentence is begun with them. And, on that account, the ف [540] does not occur as [*a cop. for*] a *correl.* of the oath, because the sentence is not begun with it (IY). The *correl.* [of the oath (R)] is either a nominal, or a verbal (WIH, R) *prop.* (WIH); and is either *aff.* or *neg.* (R). If it be a nominal *prop.*, then, (1) if *aff.*, it is attended by إِنَّ , as وَٱللَّهِ إِنَّ زَيْدًا [427]; or the ل , as وَٱللَّهِ لَزَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ [650]; and sometimes by both combined, as وَٱللَّهِ إِنَّ زَيْدًا لَقَاتِمٌ , for corroboration, and for connection of the *correl.* with the oath (WIH): the K̤ur has وَٱلْكِتَابِ ٱلْمُبِينِ إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ

فِي لَيْلَةٍ مُبَارَكَةٍ XLIV. 1, 2. *Hā-Mīm. By the clear Scripture, verily We revealed it in a blessed night* [518], CIIL. 1, 2. [518, 469, 650], and إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لِرَبِّهِ لَكَنُورٌ C. 6. *Verily man to his Lord is ungrateful* after C. 1. [246, 650]; and [the corroboration in] the *correl.* [headed] by إِنَّ falls upon the *pred.* [650], because it is in the sense of the *v.* (IY) : (a) the *aff.* nominal [*prop.*] is headed by إِنَّ, uncontracted [517] or contracted [525]; or by the J [600] : (b) this J is the J of inception [604], importing *corroboration*, there being no difference between it and إِنَّ, except as respects the government [of the latter]; and the oath is answered with them because they import that *corroboration* for the sake of which the oath is uttered : (c) the J introduced after إِنَّ [521, 604] also is *orig.* the J of inception; and therefore this J, i. e., the J of the *correl.* of the oath, is not prefixed to anything except what the J occurring after إِنَّ is prefixed to : (d) the opinion of the KK is that the J in the like of لَرَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ [650] also is [the J of] the *correl.* of the oath, the oath before it being supplied; and, this being so, there is no J of inception in existence, according to them : but the better [opinion] is that the J in لَرَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ is the J of inception importing *corroboration*, the oath not being supplied, as is done by the KK, because the *o. f.* is that there

should be no supplying, while the *corroboration* sought from the [supplied] oath is realized from the *ل* (R) : (2) if *neg.*, it is attended by *مَا* or *لَا*, as *وَاللّٰهُ مَا زَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ* By God, Zaid is not standing or *قَاتِمًا* [107], and *وَاللّٰهُ لَا زَيْدٌ فِي الْبَيْتِ وَلَا عَمْرٌو* By God, Zaid is not in the house nor 'Amr [100] (WIH) : the *Kur* has *أَوَلَمْ تَكُونُوا أَقْسَمْتُمْ* XIV. 46. *What ! and had ye not sworn before, there should not be for you any removal?* (IY), i. e., by death (K, B) : (a) the *neg. nominal* [*prop.*] is headed by (a) *مَا* [38, 107, 546], *op.* according to the people of AlHijāz, and *inop.* according to others; (b) the *لَا* of exemption [36, 99, 547], in its various states; (c) *إِنْ* [550], as *وَاللّٰهُ إِنْ زَيْدٌ قَاتِمٌ* By God, Zaid is not standing (R). If it be a verbal [*prop.*], then, (1) if *aff.*, (a) when its *v.* is a *pret.*, it is attended by the *ل*, with *قَدْ*, as *وَاللّٰهُ لَقَدْ قَامَ* [427]; or without it, as *وَاللّٰهُ لَقَامَ*, [below]; and sometimes by *قَدْ* alone, as XCI. 9. [433, 575, 600] (WIH), where the *ل* is suppressed because of the length [of the interval between the oath and *correl.*] (B) : (a) with the *aff. pret.*, the best way is to combine the *ل* and *قَدْ* [577], as *وَاللّٰهُ لَقَدْ خَرَجَ* [600] (R) : [for,] when the *ل* is prefixed to the *pret.*, the phrase is not good unless *قَدْ* be with it, as *وَاللّٰهُ لَقَدْ قَامَ* [above], because *قَدْ* approximates the past to the present, as

XII. 73. *By God, assuredly ye have known, we have not come to do evil in the land* and XII. 91. [575] (IY) : (b) in the case of نَعَم and بَشَس , however, the ل alone is put [604], since قَدْ is not prefixed to them, because of their aplasticity [575], as

يَبِينَا لِنَعَمِ السَّيِّدَانِ وَجَدْتُمَا * عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ مِنْ سَخِيلٍ وَمُبْرَمٍ
(R), by Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulmà, *An oath*, يَبِينَا being [governed in the acc. as (EM)] an *inf. n.* [corrob. (AKB)] of أَقْسَمْتُ [39, 40] in the preceding verse [650], *assuredly such that most excellent are the two chiefs have ye been found to be, in every state, easy and hard!* (EM, AKB), meaning by “the two chiefs” AlḤārith Ibn ‘Auf and Harim Ibn Sinān (EM) : (c) وَاللَّهِ لَقَامَ [above] is allowable, but not frequent, whence إِذَا لَقَامَ بِنَصْرِي آلِخَ [23] (IY), the ل in لَقَامَ being [the ل of] the *correl.* of an oath understood, constructively إِذَا وَاللَّهِ لَقَامَ (T) ; and حَلَفْتُ لَهَا آلِخَ [below] (IY) : [for,] if the sentence be long, or there be some exigency of metre, restriction to one of them is allowable, as XCI. 9. [above], where the ل is not put because of the length [of the sentence]; and حَلَفْتُ لَهَا آلِخَ [575, 577, 600] (R), where the connection is effected by the ل , without قَدْ , because of the exigency of the

metre (AKB): but [the suppressed] **قَدْ** must be supplied after the **ل**, because the **ل** of inception is not prefixed to the bare *pret.* [577, 604]; and restriction to the **ل** is more frequent than the converse: (*d*) as for such as **فَأَقْسِمُ أَنَّ لَوْ أَلْتَقَيْنَا الْحَاجَّ** [564, 651], the opinion of S is that **أَنَّ** is subsidiary [to the oath], like the **ل** [599, 601] in **لَئِنْ جِئْتَنِي لِأَكْرِمَنَّكَ** (*By God,*) *if thou come to me, assuredly I will honor thee*; and, in that case, the **ل** in **لَكَانَ** is [the **ل** of] the *correl.* of the oath [600], not [the **ل** of] the *correl.* of **لَوْ** [602] (R): and similarly the *correl.* would belong to the oath, if **أَنَّ** were absent, as in **وَاللَّهِ لَوْ قُمْتَ لِأَكْرِمَنَّكَ**, *By God, if thou stoodest, assuredly I would honor thee* (AKB); so that, in **فَأَقْسِمُ لَوْ** [650, 651], the *correl.* of the oath, [constructively, as mentioned by Fr and others, **لَدَفَعْنَاهُ**, on the evidence of **مَدَفَعَا** (AKB),] is suppressed (R), not the *correl.* of **لَوْ**, this being required by the rule for the combination of the oath and condition [427] (AKB): (b) when its *v.* is an *aor.*, it is attended by the **ل**, with the **ن** of corroboration, as **وَاللَّهِ لَأَقُومَنَّ** [613]; and, extraordinarily, without it, as **لَأَقُومُ** (WIH): (*a*) the *aff. aor.* is mostly headed by the **ل**; and terminated by the **ن**, as **وَاللَّهِ لَأَضْرِبَنَّ**, *By God, assuredly I will strike*; unless the **ل** be prefixed to a *prepos. reg.* of the *aor.*, as in III.

152. [75, 613], which contains the **J** alone ; or to a *p.* of amplification [578], as in XIX. 67. [600], in which case likewise you do not put the **ن**, contenting yourself with one of the two signs of futurity, and dispensing with the other : (b) it seldom happens that the *aor.* is devoid of the **J**, the **ن** being deemed sufficient, as in **وَقَتِيلٌ مَّرَّةً أَلَحَ** [600] : (c) according to the BB [613], it is not allowable to content yourself with the **J**, and dispense with the **ن**, except in a case of metric exigency [614] : but the KK allow it, without any [such] exigency ; and, agreeably with their opinion, it is related that Fr allows the **J** and **ن** to be interchangeable ; the poet [Zaid alFawāris Ibn Ḥusain Ibn Dirār adḌabbī (T, AKB)] says

تَأَلَّى ابْنُ أَوْسٍ حَلْفَةً لَيَرُدَّنِي * إِلَى نِسْوَةٍ كَأَنَّهُنَّ مَفَآئِدُ

(R) *Ibn Aus swore an oath, assuredly he would [take me prisoner, and then grant me grace, and (AKB)] restore me to women as though they were pokers or spits (T, AKB), because of their being burnt by love for, and grief over, me : then I did with him the like of what he purposed to do with me (AKB) :* (d) all of this is if the *aor.* be future : whereas, if it be present, the majority allow its occurrence as a *correl.* of the oath ; contrary to the opinion of Mb, [who disallows it,] because the present, being actually in existence, does not need to be corroborated by the oath ; and properly it should be allowed, since many an existing [matter, when] not

witnessed, is deniable: [Ks, says (AKB)] Fr [in his commentary on XVII. 90. (AKB),] has cited [to me the verse of AlKumait Ibn Ma'rūf (AKB)] لَيْتَن تَكَ فَدَّ [613] (R), where the sense is *assuredly my Lord (now) knows* (AKB); and you say وَاللَّهِ لَيُصَلِّيَ *By God, assuredly Zaid is praying*, where you must content yourself with the ج, and do not put the ن, because it is the sign of the future (R): (e) BD says "If the *aor.* be in the sense of the present, it is corroborated by the ج, without the ن, because the latter is peculiar to the future, as وَاللَّهِ لَيَفْعَلُ زَيْدٌ آلَانَ *By God, assuredly Zaid now does, or is now doing*: this usage is disallowed by the BB, who, in its stead, avail themselves of the [nominal] *prop.* headed by the *corrob.* [p.], as وَاللَّهِ إِنَّ زَيْدًا لَيَفْعَلُ آلَانَ *By God, verily Zaid now does, or is now doing*; but is allowed by the KK, whose opinion is attested by the reading of Ibn Kathīr لَا أَقْسِمُ بِيَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ LXXVI. 1. *Assuredly I swear etc.* [566] and the saying of the poet cited by Fr لَيْتَن تَكَ فَدَّ [above]" (AKB): (2) if *neg.*, (a) when its *v.* is a *pret.*, it is attended by مَا [546] or لَا [547], as وَاللَّهِ مَا قَامَ زَيْدٌ *By God, Zaid has not stood* or لَا قَامَ *will not stand* (WIH): (a) the *neg. pret.* is [headed] by مَا, as وَاللَّهِ مَا قَامَ [above] (R): the K̄ar has وَاللَّهِ رَبَّنَا مَا كُنَّا مُشْرِكِينَ

VI. 23. *By God, our Lord, we have not been polytheists* and *يَحْلِفُونَ بِاللَّهِ مَا قَالُوا* IX. 75. *They swear by God, they have not said* (IY) : (b) if negatived by *لَا* or *إِنْ* [550], the *pret.* is converted to the sense of the future, [being then *pret.* in form, future in sense (AKB),] as in the saying [of AlMu'ammal Ibn Umail alMuḥāribī (AKB)] *لَا تُعَذِّبُهُمْ* [547, 615], i. e., *حَسْبُ الْبُحَيِّينَ الْخ* (AKB) ; so that repetition of the *لَا* is not obligatory, as also it is not obligatory when *لَا* is prefixed to the deprecatory *pret.*, as in *لَا رَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ* *May God not have mercy upon him!*, because, in both positions, the *pret.* is in the sense of the future ; whereas, in any other [position], *لَا* must be repeated, as in LXXV. 31. [547] ; though, in poetry, it sometimes occurs not repeated, as in *فَأَيَّ أَمِيرٍ* [547] ; while in *فَلَا أَتَتْحَمَ الْعُقْبَةَ* XC. 11. *Yet he hath not attempted the mountain-road* it is not repeated because of the repetition in the exposition of *فَكَ رَقَبَةٍ أَوْ إِطْعَامٍ فِي يَوْمٍ ذِي مَسْغَبَةٍ يَتِيًّا ذَا مَقْرَبَةٍ*, *العُقْبَةُ*, vid. XC. 13-16., [i. e., *هِيَ فَكَ الْخ* (It is) (K)] *freeing of a captive, or feeding, on a day of hunger, an orphan* [339] *near of kin, or a needy man cleaving to dust*, [the occurrence of *لَا*, in XC. 11., in place of *لَمْ* being good, on account of the multiplicity of what is meant by *العُقْبَةُ* (B),] as though *فَلَا فَكَ رَقَبَةٍ وَلَا إِطْعَامٍ*

[يَتِيمًا أَوْ] مِسْكِينًا (B)] Yet he hath not freed a captive,
 nor fed [an orphan or (B)] a needy man were said (R),
 so that لَا is repeated in sense (K) : (b) when its *v.* is an
aor., it is attended by مَا or لَا, [the latter] with the ن of
 corroboration [612], as وَاللَّهِ لَا أَفْعَلَنَّ, *By God, assuredly I will not do*; or without it, as لَا أَفْعَلُ *I will not do* (WIH) : (a) the *aor.* is negatived by مَا or إِنَّ or لَا
 (R) : an instance of the *correl.* [headed] by لَا, in the
 Kur, is LIX. 12. [599, 650], where لَا يَخْرُجُونَ and
 لَا يَنْصُرُونَهُمْ are the *correl.* of a suppressed oath, not the
correl. of the condition, as is proved by the existence of
 the ن [of the *ind.*]; whereas, if they were the *correl.* of
 the condition, they would be apocopated [405] (IY) : but
 مَا and إِنَّ, when not restricted by [something indicative
 of] *future time*, apparently denote *negation of the present* [546, 550]; so that Mb [above] does not allow
 وَاللَّهِ مَا أَقُومُ, *By God, I do not stand* or إِنَّ أَقُومُ [427],
 because it is apparently a present, while his opinion is
 that the sworn-to is not a present : (b) negation of the
aor. by لَمْ or لَنْ is not allowable in the *correl.* of the
 oath, because the Arabs negative it by what may be
 suppressed, for conciseness, as will be mentioned [below];
 whereas the *op. p.* is not suppressed, while its government
 remains; and, if they annulled the government, the

suppressed *neg.* would not be specified (R) : (c) correlation of the oath with *كُن* or *لَمْ* is very rare, as in the saying of Abū Tālib *وَاللّٰهُ كُنْ يَصِلُوا آلَ حَبَشَ* [549], and in *وَاللّٰهُ نَعَمْ وَخَالِقِهِمْ لَمْ تَقُمْ عَنْ مِثْلِهِمْ مُنْجِبَةً* Yes, by their Creator, not a bearer of noble children has given birth to the like of them! said by an Arab in reply to “Hast thou sons?”; though this [second *ex.*] may be by suppression of the *correl.*, i. e., *إِنَّ لِي بَنِينَ* (*Verily I have sons*), the *neg. prop.* being afterwards begun (ML on *لَمْ*). If the sworn-to be the *correl.* of a future condition preceded by an oath, the *cond.* instrument is often conjoined with a *ج* pronounced with Fath, named subsidiary [599, 601], i. e., subordinating, and specifically assigning, the *correl.* to the oath, not to the condition [427], as *وَاللّٰهُ لَتَنِي أَتَيْتَنِي لَا تَيْتَنِي* *By God, if thou come to me, assuredly I will come to thee*, where *إِنْ أَتَيْتَنِي* without a *ج* is allowable. If, however, the oath be suppressed, and supplied, the subsidiary *ج* is most often put, to give notice of the supplied oath from the beginning of the matter; but sometimes the condition occurs without it, as VI. 121. [601] (R). The *neg.* [*p.* (M, WIH) *لَا* (IY)] is [allowably (WIH, R)] suppressed (M, WIH, R), because indicated by the circumstances of the case (WIH), from the [*neg.* (WIH)] *aor.* [above] (WIH, R), not from the *pret.* or

nominal *prop.* [below] (R), in the *correl.* of the oath (IY, R), as XII. 85. [447, 454, 547], i. e., لَا تَفْتُوْ (IY, WIH); whether the *aor.* be لَا يَزَالُ and its sisters [447, 454], as in فَقُلْتُ يَمِيْنَ اَللّٰهُ اَلْح [454, 547, 655] (R), *orig.* لِلّٰهِ يَبْقَى اَلْح (AKB); or any other, as in لَا اَبْرَحُ [504, 653] (R), constructively لَا يَبْقَى (AKB), [and] in the saying of the [Hudhali (IY)] poet

تَاَللّٰهُ يَبْقَى عَلٰى اَلْاَيَّامِ مُبْتَقِلٌ * جَوْنُ اَلسَّرَاةِ رِبَاعٍ سِنَّهُ غَرْدٌ

(M) *By God, a pasturer upon herbs, intensely black in the back, rising five in his age, hoarse in braying, will (not) outlast the days!*, meaning *a wild he-ass* (IY). It is not suppressed from (1) the nominal *prop.* [above], because the nominal is less used in the *correl.* of the oath than the verbal, and suppression is for the sake of lightening; (2) the *pret.* [547], because the *aor.* is more used than the *pret.*, while the form of the *aor.* is heavier. And hence suppression of the *neg. p.*, otherwise than in [the *correl.* of (AKB)] the oath, is allowable from لَا يَزَالُ and its sisters, as تَنْفَكَ تَسْمَعُ اَلْح [454] (R), constructively لَا تَنْفَكَ (AKB), because, negation being inseparable from them [447], they are not liable to be mistaken for affirmation (R): and, in poetry, has been heard in the case of other *aors.*, as مَا وَقْوَايَ اِذَا مَا

اَلْح [547]: though IM explains this by the assumption of a supplied oath, i. e., وَاللّٰهُ لَا تُلَاغُوْنَهُ " (*By God,*) ye

will (not) find him"; and Dm says that apparently his opinion is more probable (AKB). As for the saying, however,

فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ زَالَتْ عَزِيزَةٌ * عَلَى قَوْمِهَا مَا فَتَدَلَّ الزَّيْنَدُ قَادِحُ

[Then she (Dahmá, the name of a woman) shall not, by Abū Dahmá, cease to be exalted above her people, so long as a striker of fire shall twist a fire-stick!

(AKB)], the *neg.* [*p.* in it (AKB)] is not suppressed;

but is separated from the *v.* (R), by the *prep.* and *gen.*,

i. e., the jurative *prop.* وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ (AKB). Properly لَا

or مَا should not be separated from زَالَتْ and its sisters by an *adv.* or its like, though that is allowable in the case

of other *vs.*, as لَا آلْيَوْمَ جِئْتَنِي وَلَا أَمْسٍ Not to-day didst thou come to me, nor yesterday, because the *neg. p.* is

compounded with زَالَتْ and its sisters to import *affirmation*;

and فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ [above] is anomalous (R on the

Non-attributive Verbs). The same opinion is adopted

by IHsh in the ML, except that he does not restrict

this separation as anomalous, or even rare; but, seem-

ingly, according to him, it is regular: he says, in the

discussion on the parenthetic *prop.*, "It occurs between

..... the *neg. p.* and what it denies, as وَلَا أَرَاهَا تَزَالُ

and فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ [above] [1] and فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ [above]". His Commen-

tator IMH says that لَا may be a refutation, the *neg. p.*

being suppressed, and there being no *par.* (AKB).

But [R says that (AKB)] it is not a case where the *neg. p.* is suppressed, as in XII. 85. [above], on the theory that it is renderable by **فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ لَا زَالَتْ** Then no, by *Abù Dahmá* she shall (not) cease, because such suppression has not been heard except from their *aors.* (R on the Non-attributive Verbs). He means [this as] a refutation of Fr, who, in his Commentary, adopts the opinion that the *neg. p.* is suppressed from it, saying that **لَا** is sometimes understood with oaths, as **فَقُلْتُ يَمِينَ اللَّهِ الْح** [above] and **فَلَا وَأَبَى دَهْمَاءَ الْح**, i. e., **لَا زَالَتْ** (AKB). The sign of affirmation may not be suppressed in the *aor.*, because it is mostly two signs, the **ل** and the **ن**, as has been mentioned; so that suppression of one would entail suppression of the other, and thus suppression would be multiplied. And it is decreed that the [*neg. p.*] suppressed from the *aor.* should be **لَا**, not **مَا**, because **لَا** is used more than **مَا** in negation of the *aor.* (R). IU holds the verse [last cited] to be a case of suppression of the *neg. مَا*; but quotes its first hemistich differently, saying "And hence the suppression of the *neg. مَا*, which is very rare, as in **لَعَبْرُ أَبِي** *By the life of Abù Dahmá, she has (not) ceased to be exalted above her people, so long as a striker of fire has twisted a fire-stick!*, meaning **مَا زَالَتْ**": and so is it quoted, and explained, by IUK in

the [Commentary on the Tashīl, except that he says “i. e., *لَا تَزَالُ* *she shall (not) cease*”, [which involves “*shall twist*”] (AKB). None of these [four] *ps.* [above] may be suppressed, except *لَا* alone, because (1) *لَا* is *op.*; and may not govern, when understood, on account of its weakness : (2) *مَا* also is *op.*, in the idiom of the people of AlHijāz : (3) suppression of the *ج* would necessitate suppression of the *ن* with it (IY).

§. 653. The oath and the sworn-by have certain instruments among the *preps.* (S). The jurative instruments are five *ps.*, vid. the *ب* [503], the *و* [506], the *ت* [506], the *ل* [504], and *مِنْ* [499] (IY). The jurative *ps.* are *preps.*; but are named “jurative *ps.*” because of their prefixion to the sworn-by (CAj). The *ب* is the original jurative *p.* [503, 654], because it is a *prep.*, meaning *adhesion*; which attaches the idea of *swearing*, and makes it adhere, to the *sworn-by*, in *أَحْلَفُ بِاللَّهِ* [650], as the *ب* conveys the [idea of] *passing* to the *passed-by* in *مَرَرْتُ بِزَيْدٍ* [503]. The *ب*, then, is one of the *preps.* [498], on a par with *مِنْ* [499] and *فِي* [502]; and, for that reason, we say that it is “the original jurative *p.*”, the others being only made to accord with it. The *v.* is sometimes suppressed [651], for abbreviation, because of the frequency of the oath, and because they content themselves with the indication of it by the

prep., as بِاللَّهِ لِأَفْعَلَنَّ (I swear) by God, etc. [654] (IY). And, after suppression of the *v.*, which you have made to adhere to the sworn-by, they sometimes put, in place of the ب , four *ps.*, the , and the ت , and two *preps.*, vid. the ل and مِنْ in your saying لَا يُؤَخَّرُ الْآجَلُ By God, the end shall not be delayed ! [498] and مِنْ رَبِّي By my Lord, assuredly etc. [499], from desire for peculiarity [654] (M). The , is a *subst.* for the ب [506], because they mean to allow themselves some latitude [in the choice of a *p.*], on account of the frequency of oaths [651]; while the , is nearest to the ب , because of two matters, (1) that it issues from the same outlet, since both are from the lips [732]; and (2) that, the , denoting *union* [539], and the ب denoting *adhesion* [503], they approximate one to the other, because the thing, when it *adheres* to another, is *united* with it : so that, since the , agrees with the ب in sense and outlet, it is made to accord with, and to act as a *subst.* for, it ; and is used so frequently that it predominates over the ب , for which reason S mentions it first. In the oath, then, the , is a *subst.* for the ب ; and is *op.* with the government of the latter, unlike the rest of the *cons.*, because the *con.* , is itself *inop.*, being only indicative of the suppressed *op.* [131, 538], for which reason, instead of قَامَ زَيْدٌ وَعَمْرٌو Zaid and ‘Amr

stood, you may say *قَامَ زَيْدٌ وَقَامَ عَمْرُو* *Zaid stood, and 'Amr stood*, where it is combined with the *op.*; whereas, if it were the *op.*, it would not be combined with another *op.*: while the jurative *و* is not like that, because it is not combined with the *ب*; so that, when you say, *وَبَرَزَ زَيْدٌ* and *by Zaid*, this *و* is not the jurative, (IY). The *ت* and the *ل* contain the sense of *wonder* (M), as XII. 91. [575, 651] and *لِلَّهِ يَبْقَى الْخ* [508, 652] (IY): and sometimes the *ت* occurs otherwise than in *wonder* (M), as XXI. 58. [498, 611] (IY); but not the *ل*: S cites *لِلَّهِ يَبْقَى الْخ* [above], by 'Abd Manāt alHudhalī (M). The *ت* is a *subst.* for the *و*, [506, 651], being often substituted for it, as in *نُجَاءٌ* and *تُرَاثٌ* [689], which [substitution] is so frequent as to be almost regular (IY). The *ل* occurs in the sense of the *و*, being peculiar to the word *أَلَلَهُ* [504], in great matters. And so does *مِنْ*, pronounced with Kasr, and sometimes with Damm, of the *م*, Kasr being more frequent; and peculiar to the expression *رَبِّي* *my Lord* [499]. It is held (1) by S to be a *prep.*, standing in the place of the *ب*; the Damm of the *م* being to indicate the alteration of its meaning, and its exclusion from its *cat.*, as you say of the proper name *شُمُسُ ابْنِ مَالِكٍ* *Shums Ibn Mālik*, with Damm of the *ش*: (2) by some of the KK to be contracted from *أَيْنُن* when

pronounced with Damm, and from **يَمِين** when pronounced with Kasr of the **م** : but this requires consideration, because **أَيْمَن** is peculiar to **اللَّهُ** or **الْكَعْبَةُ** [650], and **مِنْ** to **رَبِّي** [above] ; though there is nothing to prevent one from saying that its predicament is altered upon its contraction. Its uninflectedness, however, is adducible as a proof that it is not curtailed from **أَيْمَن** [or **يَمِين**], because contraction of the *infl.*, and its reduction to two letters, do not necessitate uninflectedness, as [we see] in **يَدٌ** *hand* and **دَمٌ** *blood*. And one should rather say that **مِنْ** in their sayings **مِنْ اللَّهِ** with Damm, and **مِنِ اللَّهِ** with Kasr, of the **م** and **ن**, [used] with the word **اللَّهُ** alone, is [identical with] the *prep.* **مِنْ** used with **رَبِّي** ; the **ن** being made to imitate the **م** in Damm and Kasr, because of the two quiescents [664, 666] : and that [**مَنْ** in **اللَّهُ**] with two Fathas is [identical with **مِنْ** in **اللَّهُ**] [499], with Kasr of the **م** and Fath of the **ن**, the **م** being made to imitate the **ن** [in Fath], from desire for lightening ; although the Fatha of the **ن** arises accidentally, because of the two quiescents. It is said, however, that all three [*vars.*], i. e., with Damm, Kasr, and Fath of both **م** and **ن**, [used] with the word **اللَّهُ**, are contracted from **أَيْمَن**. As for the abridgment of **مِنْ اللَّهِ**, with

two Dammas, from **أَيُّن**, it is plain. But, as for those [vars.] with Kasr or Fath of both letters, I see no reason for their being contracted from it, because **أَيُّن**, according to the GG, must be in the *nom.* [650, 655], by reason of hearsay; and, since contraction does not necessitate uninflectedness, whence comes the Kasr or Fath of the ن? If, indeed, **أَيُّنُ** **اللَّهِ** occurred, in the three cases, *nom.*, *acc.*, and *gen.*, as **يَمِينُ** **اللَّهِ** occurs in the *nom.* and *acc.*, according to all, and in the *gen.* also, according to the KK [655], then one might say that the م was made to imitate the ن in Fath or Kasr. And **مَنْ** **اللَّهِ** with two Fathas may be contracted from **يَمِينُ** **اللَّهِ**, by making the م imitate the ن [in Fath] after the contraction; but not **مِنْ** **اللَّهِ** with two Kasras, by making the ن imitate the م [in Kasr], because the vowel of inflection is not removable for the sake of alliteration. Sometimes **مُ** **اللَّهِ** with Damm, and **مِ** **اللَّهِ** with Kasr, of the م are said, being contracted from **مُنْ** and **مِنْ** [651], according to what S says. It is said [by others] (1) that they are contracted from **أَيُّن**, in which case there is a difficulty in [accounting for] the Kasr of the م: (2) that the one with Kasr is contracted from **يَمِين**: (3) that both are *subst.* for the و [687], like the ت [above], because the م and و are labial [732], for which reason

they are peculiar to the word **اللَّهُ**, like the **ت** [506]; but this requires consideration, because the word of one letter does not occur, in their language, pronounced with Damm (R).

§. 654. The **ب**, because of its originality [503, 653], enjoys three privileges, not shared by any other [jurative *p.* (IY)], (1) prefixion to [the explicit *n.*, as **بِاللَّهِ لَأَفْعَلَنَّ** *By God, assuredly I will do*; and (IY)] the *pron.*, as **بِهِ لَأَعْبُدَنَّ** *By Him, assuredly I will worship Him* and **بِكَ لَأَزُورَنَّ بَيْتَكَ** *By Thee, assuredly I will visit Thy House* (M): whereas the other *ps.* are prefixed only to the explicit *n.*, not to the *pron.*; and **وَكَلَّا فَعَلَنَّ** is not allowable, nor **تَكَ** (IY): the poet says

أَلَا نَادَتْ أُمَامَةً بِأَحْتِمَالٍ * لَتَحْزُنَنِي فَلَا بِكَ مَا أَبَالِي

Now Umāma has proclaimed her departure, that she may grieve me. Yet no, by thee, I care not (M), cited by AZ (IY): (2) expression of the *v.* with it, as **أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ** [650] (M), **أَحْلِفُ بِاللَّهِ**, and **أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ**; whereas you do not say **أَحْلِفُ وَاللَّهِ**, nor **أُقْسِمُ تَاللَّهِ**, and the like (IY): (3) [that you apply it to denote (IY)] conciliatory [and propitiatory (IY)] adjuration of the man [addressed (IY)], as **بِاللَّهِ لَمَّا زُرْتَنِي** (*I adjure thee*) by God, only that thou visit me [95, 559, 652]

and بِكَيَاتِكَ أَخْبِرْنِي (*I adjure thee*) by thy life, inform me (M); whereas you do not say وَاللَّهِ, nor تَاللَّهِ, because that occurs only in the [non-adjuratory] oath (IY). These conditions, and the *ps.* for which they are prescribed, are combined by some one in the [following mnemonic] verses

فِي ظَاهِرٍ مَعَ حَذْفِ فِعْلِ الْقَسَمِ * بِالْوَاوِ مَعَ تَرْكِ السُّوَالِ أَقْسِمُ
وَهَذِهِ الشُّرُوطُ فِي آتَاءِ رَزْدٍ * تَخْصِيصُهَا بِاللَّهِ وَالْبَاءِ عَمِّ

In the case of an explicit [n.], with suppression of the jurative v., together with omission of adjuration, swear with the و; and these conditions are prescribed in the case of the ت, and add its being made peculiar to اللّٰه; and make the ب general (CAj). Ibn Harma says

بِاللّٰهِ رَبِّكَ إِنْ دَخَلْتَ فَقُلْ لَهُ * هَذَا آبْنُ هَرَمَةَ وَاتِّفَا بِأَبَابِ
[below] (M) (*I beg thee*) by (the power of) God, thy Lord, if thou enter, then say to him "This is Ibn Harma, stopping at thy door", where the ب is dependent upon a suppressed v., as though he said أَسْأَلُكَ بِاللّٰهِ [below], which is suppressed because indicated by the circumstances of the case; and the sense is أَسْأَلُكَ بِقُدْرَةِ اللّٰهِ (IY): and the [other (IY)] poet says بِدِينِكَ هَذَا الْحَقِّ [652] (M), i. e., أَسْأَلُكَ بِحَقِّ دِينِكَ, as though he said

(*I beg thee*) by (*the truth of*) *thy faith* (*that thou tell me rightly, and let me know the real fact*). But this is not an oath; for, if it were an oath, it would need a *correl.* [650], and would be answered with what oaths are answered with [652]. And, if you say “Then what do you make of the poet’s saying

أَيَا خَيْرَ حَيٍّ فِي الْبَرِيَّةِ كُلِّهَا * أَبِاللَّهِ هَلْ لِي فِي يَمِينِي مِنْ عَقْلِ

O best of living beings, in creation, all of it, what! (*I ask thee*) by God, will there be for me any sense in mine oath?, where he names it an *oath*, because he says “هَلْ لِي فِي يَمِينِي آخِ”, the reply is that the full phrase is *will there be any sense in mine oath (if I swear that thou art the best of living beings in creation)?*, not that he regards this phrase [(*I ask thee*) by God] as an oath (IY). In holding this [kind of phrase] to be an oath [652], R is following IM. “We do not know”, says AH, “any one that takes the course of naming this an oath, except IM: but, in one of the Commentaries on the Book, when عَمَرْتُكَ [652], عَمَرَكُ and تَعِيدُكَ, and تَعِيدُكَ [Part I, p. 44 A] have been mentioned, there is a declaration to the effect that some of the GG assert these [expressions] to be oaths; so that IM agrees with those who say that: whereas, according to our school, the juratory *prop.* is only enunciatory [below]”. And this [declaration] is confirmed by the

fact that IJ says "The oath is an originative *prop.*, whereby another *prop.* is corroborated [650]: then, if the latter be enunciatory, the oath is non-adjuratory; and, if it be requisitive, the oath is adjuratory". IU expresses himself strangely, saying, in the small Commentary on the Jumal, "The oath is every *prop.*, whereby another *prop.* is corroborated, both of them being enunciatory"; whereas the correct doctrine is that the jurative *prop.*, [though] not its *correl.*, is originative, as IJ [above] and others say: but it is urged, in his excuse, that his meaning is that, when the two *props.* are combined, they constitute a sentence admitting of being [pronounced] true or false. Then, after his definition, he says "When there occurs what is in the form of the oath, but [is followed by a *prop.* that] does not admit of being [pronounced] true or false, it is to be explained as not being an oath, as بِٱللّٰهِ رَبِّكَ ٱلْحَمْدُ [above] and بِدِينِكَ هَذَا ٱلْحَمْدُ [652], the like of which is not an oath, because the oath is not conceivable except where faithfulness or faithlessness is conceivable". And he says, in the Commentary on the Īdāḥ, "As for these two verses, they are not oaths, because the two *props.* [هَذَا ضَمَمْتَ ٱلْحَمْدُ and إِنَّ دَخَلْتَ ٱلْحَمْدُ] do not admit of being [pronounced] true or false; but what is meant thereby is only *conciliation* [below] of the person addressed, the full phrase being أَسْأَلُكَ بِدِينِكَ and أَسْأَلُكَ بِٱللّٰهِ [above],

except that they understand the *v.*, because it is indicated by the sense". "And", says he, "three things will prove to you that [بِاللَّهِ in] زَيْدٌ *By God*, has Zaid stood? or زَيْدٌ فَأَكْرَمُهُ *By God*, if Zaid stand, then honor him, or the like, is not an oath:—(1) that the *p.* peculiar [653] to the oath does not occur, in place of the ب, in the language of the Arabs, who do not say قَالَهُ هَذَا قَامَ, nor وَاللَّهِ إِنْ قَامَ أَخْبَحَ; (2) that, when they express the *v.* whereon the ب depends, it is not one of the jurative *vs.*, أَقْسَمُ بِاللَّهِ هَذَا أَخْبَحَ not being said; (3) that the oath is not devoid of faithlessness or faithfulness, and that is not suitable except in what is qualifiable as true or false". His saying that the like of this is *conciliation* [above], not an *oath*, is obviously correct; and there is no doubt that [the notion of] its being an oath is distasteful. But the language of IHsh apparently imports that it is an oath, because he names it قَسَمَ آسْتَعِظَانِي *conciliatory* [or *adjuratory*] oath (AKB). The *correl.* of the non-adjuratory oath must be enunciatory [above]; and the *correl.* of the adjuratory oath originative, as in بَرِّكَ هَذَا ضَمَمْتَ أَخْبَحَ (*I adjure thee*) by thy Lord, hast thou drawn etc? and

بَعِثَكَ يَا سَلَمَى أَرْحَمِي ذَا صَبَابَةٍ
أَبَى غَيْرَ مَا يُرْضِيكَ فِي السِّرِّ وَالْجَهْرِ

[(*I adjure thee*) by thy life, O Salmà, have mercy upon an ardent lover, who has abstained from everything other than what pleases thee, in secret and openly (Jsh): and whatever is transmitted to the contrary is to be paraphrased (ML).

§. 655. The jurative *p.* is sometimes suppressed, for abbreviation, because strongly indicated. In that respect it is of two kinds, [*inop.* and *op.*]:—(1) they suppress it, and make the jurative *v.* govern the sworn-by in the *acc.*; (2) they suppress the *prep.*, but maintain its government, taking it into account when suppressed, as they take it into account when expressed, in order to notify that the suppressed [*prep.*] is meant [to be understood]: so that **اللّٰهُ لَا تُؤْمِنَنَّ** (*By*) *God, assuredly I will stand* is said, transmitted by S, meaning **وَاللّٰهُ**, and **بِاللّٰهِ** (IY on §. 656). The [jurative *p.* (IY)] **ب** is (1) [often (IY)] suppressed [514, 651] (M), as **اللّٰهُ لَا فَعَلَنَّ** with the *acc.* [651]: (a) they hardly ever suppress this *p.* in the oath with [expression of] the *v.*; and do not say **اللّٰهُ أَحْلَفَ**, nor **أُقْسِمُ اللّٰهُ**; but suppress the *v.* and *p.* together: (b) analogy requires suppression of the *p.* first; so that the *v.*, coming in contact with the *n.*, governs it in the *acc.*: and then the *v.* is suppressed, by extension [of the suppression], because of the copious circulation of oaths (IY): (c) the sworn-by is then governed in the *acc.*

by the [jurative (IY)] *v.* understood (M), vid. أَحْلَفُ, أَقْسِمُ, and the like ; for, when they suppress the *p.*, either by poetic license, or for a kind of abbreviation, they make that *v. self-trans.*, as [they make the *v.*] in VII. 154. and تَمْرُونَ الدِّيَارَ الْحَ [514] (IY) : the poet [Dhur-Rumma (IY, N)] says

أَلَا رَبَّ مَنْ قَلْبِي لَهُ اللَّهُ نَاصِحٌ
وَمَنْ قَلْبُهُ لِي فِي الطِّبَاءِ السَّوَاحِ

[below] (M) *Now many a one is there towards whom my heart, (I swear by) God, is sincere! And (many) a one whose heart towards me is among the gazelles coming from the right !*, which the Arabs sometimes deem *ill-omened*, i. e., *is running away from me, like the swift gazelles!* (N), meaning أَحْلَفُ بِاللَّهِ (IY) ; another says فَقُلْتُ يَمِينُ اللَّهِ [454] (M), *orig.* أَحْلَفُ بِيَمِينِ اللَّهِ (AKB) ; and another says

إِذَا مَا الْخُبْزُ تَادِمُهُ بِلَحْمٍ * فَذَلِكَ أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ الثَّرِيدُ

[below] (M) *Whenever thou seasonest the bread with meat, then that, (I swear by) God's trust, is the dish called ثَرِيد*, i. e., أَحْلَفُ بِأَمَانَةِ اللَّهِ (N), which [last verse], they say, is *spurious* : (d) if you wish, you understand a *trans. v.*, such as أَذْكُرُ *I mention*, أَشْهَدُ *I call to witness*, or the like : IS says that only a *trans. v.* is understood ;

but the proper way is the first, because, when you understand a *trans. v.*, it is not of this *cat.*, [i. e., jurative] (IY): (e) the *يَمِينُ* and *أَمَانَةٌ* [here] are also related in the *nom.*, [*نَقُلْتُ يَمِينُ اللَّهِ* Then said I, God's oath (is mine oath, or what I swear by) and *فَذَلِكَ أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ آخِ* then that, God's trust (is binding upon me) (IY),] as *inchs.* whose *enunc.* is suppressed [29, 650, 651] (M), the full phrase being *يَمِينُ اللَّهِ تَسْمَى* or *مَا أَتَسَمُّ بِهِ*, and similarly *أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ لَازِمَةٌ لِي* (IY): (2) understood [503, 515, 651] (M), for a kind of abbreviation, because frequently used (IY), like the *ل* in *لَا أَبُوكَ* (M) and *لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَبْنُ عَمِّكَ*, meaning *لِلَّهِ أَبُوكَ* and *لِلَّهِ أَبْنُ عَمِّكَ*, as *لَا أَبْنُ عَمِّكَ لَا آخِ* [508, 206], where the *prep. ل* and the determinative *ل* are suppressed, while the *rad. ل* remains. This is the opinion of S: but is disapproved by Mb, who asserts that the suppressed are the determinative *ل* and the *rad. ل*, while the one remaining is the *prep. ل*, which is pronounced with Fatḥh in order that the *ل* may not return to *ي*, and also because the *o. f.* of the *prep. ل* is Fatḥh [504]. And sometimes they say *لَهِيَ أَبُوكَ* [206] (IY). When the original jurative *p.*, i. e., the *ب*, is suppressed, then, if no *subst.* for it be put [656], the preferable [construction] is the *acc.* governed by the [supplied] jurative *v.* [556]. But the word

اللَّهُ [below] is exclusively distinguished by allowability of the *gen.*, notwithstanding the suppression of the *prep.*, without compensation [651]. (R). In V. 105. [656], اللَّهُ (By) God, without prolongation, is transmitted from AshSha'bī (K, B), according to what S mentions, that some of them suppress the jurative *p.*, and do not put the *interrog.* Hamza as a compensation for it (K). And the KK allow the *gen.* in every sworn-by [653], wherefrom the *prep.* is suppressed, even though it be without compensation, as الْكَعْبَةِ لَا فَعَلَنَّ (By) the Ka'ba, assuredly etc., and الْمَصْكِفِ لَا تَيْنَنَّ (By) the Holy Book, assuredly I will come. The *inch.* whose *enunc.* is suppressed, if conjoined with the *ل* of inception, as in لَعَمْرُكَ and لَا يَمُنُّ اللَّهُ [650], must be in the *nom.*; and so, says Jz, must [أَيُّمُنُ in] أَيُّمُنُ اللَّهُ [650, 653], even if not conjoined with the *ل*, because of hearsay from them. But every [sworn-by], except the [*inch.*] conjoined with the *ل*, and except [أَيُّمُنُ in] أَيُّمُنُ اللَّهُ, may be governed in the *acc.* by the jurative *v.* understood, as عَهْدَ اللَّهِ (I swear by) God's covenant and الْكَعْبَةِ (by) the Ka'ba and الْمَصْكِفِ (by) the Holy Book, and similarly إِيَّاكَ لَا فَعَلَنَّ (I swear by) Thee, assuredly etc.; and, in such expressions, the *acc.* is more frequent than the *nom.*; while فَقُلْتُ يَمِينُ اللَّهِ is related with the *nom.* and *acc.* [above]. Jz says that,

in the word **اللَّهُ** [above], only the *acc.* and *gen.* have been heard ; but An allows the *nom.* also, in accordance with analogy (R). In XXXVIII. 85. [27], **فَأَلْحَقُ**, is read with (1) the two [**حَق** 's (N)] in (a) the *acc.*, *Then, (I swear by) the truth—and the truth I say,* meaning *and I say (not aught save) the truth—assuredly I will fill*, the first being a sworn-by [wherefrom the jurative *p.* is suppressed, so that it is governed in the *acc.* (N),] like **اللَّهُ** in **إِنَّ عَلَيْكَ اللَّهُ أَنْ آخِ** *Verily incumbent upon thee, (I swear by) God, is that etc.* (K), or, in another version, **إِنَّ عَلَى اللَّهِ آخِ** [154] ; and like **أَمَانَةً** in **إِنَّ اللَّهَ** [above], and **فَذَاكَ أَمَانَةُ اللَّهِ آخِ** [above], and **أَلَا رَبُّ مَنْ** [above], and **إِنَّ اللَّهَ** [above] (N) : (b) the *nom.*, the first being an *inch.* whose *enunc.* is suppressed like **لَعَمْرُكَ** [above], i. e., **فَأَلْحَقُ قَسَبِي** [27] ; (c) the *gen.*, *Then, (by) the truth, etc.*, the first being a sworn-by whose jurative *p.* is understood, like **اللَّهُ لَا فَعْلَانَ** [503, 515, 651] ; while **وَأَلْحَقُ أَقُولُ**, i. e., *And I say (not aught save) the truth*, is a *lit.* imitation of the sworn-by, its sense being *corroboration* and *strengthening* : (α) this construction, [by which the second **حَق** is treated as a *lit.* imitation of the first,] is allowable in the *acc.* and *nom.* also ; and is a fine,

beautiful construction : (2) the first in the *nom.* or *gen.*, with the second in the *acc.*, the explanation of which is according to what we have mentioned (K).

§. 656. The , is [sometimes] suppressed ; while the premonitory *p.* in *لَا هَا اللَّهُ ذَا* [552], the *interrog.* Hamza in *آلله* [below], or the disjunction of the *conj.* Hamza in *آفآلله* [651] is put as a compensation for it (M). And they say *إِي هَا آلله*, meaning *إِي, آلله* [556] (IY). The word *الله* is exclusively distinguished by receiving [the premonitory (AKB)] *هَآ* or the *interrog.* Hamza as a compensation for the [suppressed] *prep.* (R). The language of Kh in the CAj, [where he says “The *ت* is sometimes, though rarely, changed into *هَآ*, as *الله هَآ*, with the *disj.* or *conj.* Hamza, and, in both cases, with retention or elision of the |”,] apparently means that the *هَآ* here is [not a premonitory, but] a jurative *p.* [653] ; and that it is a *subst.* for the *ت* [506] : and this is more appropriate, in respect of its freedom from suppression of the *prep.* with maintenance of its government [515] ; while what is mentioned by [R here and] IHsh [652] is more appropriate for the reason that invariability is more suitable for *ps.* (Amr on *هَآ*). And similarly, in *الله*, disjunction of the Hamza, in the interior [of the phrase], is made a compensation for the *prep.* ; as though the Hamza were elided because of

[the position of ^{اللّٰه} in] the interior [669], and were afterwards restored as a compensation for the [jurative] *p.* [653]. *Z* holds these *ps.* to be *subst.* for the , , perhaps because they are peculiar to the word ^{اللّٰه} , like the ت , [which is a *subst.* for the , (506, 651, 653)]. When you put the premonitory ^{هَآ} as a *subst.* [for the jurative *p.* (AKB)], you must put the word ^{ذَا} after the sworn-by, [whether ^{اللّٰه} be governed in the *gen.* by the supplied *p.* (AKB),] as in ^{إِى هَآ} [552] and ^{إِى هَآ} [556] (R), meaning ^{وَاللّٰه} , (*by*) *God* in both [*exs.*] (AKB); or [by ^{لَعَمْرُ} *pre.* to it (AKB),] as in ^{تَعْلَمَنَّ هَآ لَعَمْرُ اللّٰهِ ذَا قَسَمًا * فَاَقْدِرْ بِدَرْعِكَ وَآنْظُرْ أَيْنَ تَنْسَلِكُ} (R), by Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulmà, threatening AlHārith Ibn Warkā aṣṢaidāwī, who had made a raid upon his people, *Know thou, now assuredly the life of God, this (is what I swear by), solemnly* (^{قَسَمًا} being, says Am, governed in the *acc.* as an *inf. n. corrob.* of what precedes it, because the sense thereof is ^{أُقْسِمُ} *I swear*): *then measure (thy steps) by thy stride, and look where thou enterest* (AKB). Apparently the premonitory *p.* belongs to the *dem.* [174, 552]; but is made to precede the sworn-by, upon suppression of the *p.*, in order to be a compensation for it. When ^{هَآ} is prefixed to ^{اللّٰه} , there are four modes [of pronunciation]. The

most frequent of them is retention of its ا, and elision of the *conj.* Hamza from اللّٰه; so that two quiescents meet together, the ا of هَا, and the first ل of اللّٰه (R); and therefore you say هَاللّٰه (IY). Analogy requires elision of the ا [of هَا], because such [a concurrence of two quiescents] as that is pardonable only in a single word, like الصّٰلِيْنَ I. 7. [539, 663]; while in two words, elision is necessary, as مَا اللّٰهُ and ذَا اللّٰهُ [pronounced ذَ اللّٰهُ and مَ اللّٰهُ]: but here the ا is mostly not elided, in order that it may be a quasi-premonition that the هَا belongs to ذَا, since ذَا اللّٰهُ [below], with elision of the ا of هَا, suggests the notion that the ذ is a *subst.* for the Hamza of اللّٰه, as in اَرَقْتُ for هَرَقْتُ, and هِيَاكَ for اِيَّاكَ [690]. The second [mode], which is intermediate in rarity and frequency, is هَا اللّٰهُ ذَا [pronounced ذَا اللّٰهُ], with elision of the ا of هَا, because of the two quiescents, as in ذَا اللّٰهُ and مَا اللّٰهُ [above]. The third, which is below the second in frequency, is [هَا اللّٰهُ with] retention of the ا of هَا, and disjunction of the Hamza of اللّٰه [669], notwithstanding its being in the interior [of the phrase], as a premonition that هَا ought to be with ذَا, after اللّٰه, in which case the Hamza would not occur in the interior. The fourth, which is transmitted by F, and is the rarest of all, is هَا اللّٰهُ with elision of the *conj.* Hamza [from اللّٰه], and Fath of the ا of هَا,

after conversion of it into Hamza, as in الضَّالِّينَ I. 7. and دَابَّةً [665]. Khl says that ذَا is part of the *correl.* of the oath; and is *enunc.* of a suppressed *inch.*, i. e., ذَا لَلْأَمْرِ (*assuredly the matter is*) *this*; or an *ag.* [of a suppressed *v.*], i. e., ذَا لَيَكُونَنَّ (*assuredly*) *this (shall be the case)* or ذَا لَا يَكُونُ *this (shall not be the case)*; while the *correl.* that comes after it, whether *aff.* or *neg.*, as هَا آلَ اللَّهِ هَا لَا فَعَلَنَّ ذَا Now, (by) God, (*assuredly the matter is*) *this*, or (*assuredly*) *this (shall be the case)*, *assuredly I will do* or لَا أَفَعَلُ [Now, (by) God, *this (shall not be the case)*,] *I will not do*, is a *subst.* for the first: but that this phrase is not to be taken as a model; so that one does not say هَا آلَ اللَّهِ أَخُوكَ, meaning لَأَنَا أَخُوكَ (*assuredly I am*) *thy brother*. But Akh says that ذَا is part of the oath, either an *ep.* of آلَ اللَّهِ, i. e., هَا آلَ اللَّهِ الْحَاضِرِ النَّاطِرِ (by) *This*, i. e., *the Present, the Overlooking, God*; or an *inch.*, whose *enunc.* is suppressed, i. e., ذَا قَسَمِي *this (is mine oath)*: while afterwards the *correl.* either is put, or is suppressed [650] with a context [indicative of it]. As for the *interrog.* Hamza [581], it denotes either *disapproval*, as in the saying of AlHajjāj about HB كَذَا آلَ اللَّهِ لَيَقُومَنَّ عَبْدٌ مِنْ عِبِيدِي فَيَقُولَنَّ كَذَا وَكَذَا What! (By) God, *shall one of my slaves indeed rise up, and say so and so?*; or *interrogation*, as in the saying of the

Prophet to ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mas‘ūd, when the latter said “This is the head of Abū Jahl”, *اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ غَيْرُهُ*, *Is it, (by) God, than Whom there is no other god?* When the *interrog.* Hamza is prefixed to *اللَّهُ*, the Hamza of *اللَّهُ* is either changed into a pure *ا*, which is the more frequent mode [of pronunciation]; or softened, as is the rule in *الْأَرْجُلُ* *Is the man?* and the like [661, 663, 669]: and is not elided, because of the ambiguity; nor preserved, because of the heaviness (R). There is a reading [transmitted from AshSha‘bī (K, B)] *وَلَا نَكْتُمُ شَهَادَةَ اللَّهِ* V. 105. [655] *Nor will we hide testimony. What! (By) God, verily then are we sinners* (IY), i. e., if we hide (B), with pause upon *شَهَادَةَ*, and prolongation [of the Hamza] in *اللَّهُ* (K, B). And, as for disjunction of the Hamza of *اللَّهُ*, that is in a particular place, vid. when it follows a *ف* preceded by the *interrog.* Hamza: you say to a person “Hast thou sold thy house?”, and he says *أَفَأَلَّ اللَّهُ لَقَدْ كَانَ كَذَا* *What! then, (by) God, assuredly such a thing has taken place*; and the *ف* may be prefixed without [a Hamza of] interrogation, as *فَأَلَّ اللَّهُ لَقَدْ كَانَ كَذَا* *Then, (by) God, assuredly, etc.* (R). As you prolong the *ا* in *الذَّكَرَيْنِ* VI. 144, 145. *The two males [hath He made unlawful, or the two females]? [663]* to distinguish between the two matters, announcement and inquiry, so, by the disjunction of the Hamza here,

you distinguish between compensation and its omission (IY). The *interrog.* Hamza here is not a compensation for the jurative *p.*, because it is separated from ^{اللّٰهُ} by the *con.* ف . But, according to Akh, the ف in ^{أَفَاللّٰهُ} is *red.* [540]. The proof that these three [things, the هَا, the *interrog.* Hamza, and the disjunction of the *conj.* Hamza in ^{اللّٰهُ}] are *subst.* is (1) their interchangeability with the jurative *p.* (R): (a) the , [or ب] and the هَا may not be combined; so that one does not say ^{إِي هَا} , ^{وَاللّٰهُ} , nor ^{إِي هَا بِاللّٰهِ} : and [similarly] the *interrog.* Hamza [or the disjunction of the *conj.* Hamza] is interchangeable, but not combinable, with the jurative *p.* (IY): (2) the inseparability of the *gen.* with them, to the exclusion of the *acc.*; whereas, without compensation, the *acc.* is more frequent, as before stated [655] (R).

§. 657. It is said that the second , in such as ^{وَالضُّحَى} , ^{وَاللَّيْلِ} , XCIII. 1, 2. *By the forenoon* [650] *and the night* admits of being either copulative or jurative; but the correct [opinion] is the first, otherwise each [oath] would need a *correl.* [506]; and one thing that makes this manifest is the occurrence of the ف in the beginnings of Chapters LXXVII. and LXXIX. (ML), because, the ف there being necessarily a copulative *p.*, the , here must be so (DM). When the , is repeated

after the jurative , , as in وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَى وَالنَّهَارِ إِذَا تَجَلَّى ,
 وَمَا خَلَقَ الذَّكَرَ وَالْأُنْثَى إِنَّ سَعْيَكُمْ لَشَتَّى XCII. 1-4.

By the night, when it covereth [the sun, or the day, or all that it hides by its darkness (K, B)], and the day, when it becometh clear, and that [Almighty (K, B) God (K)]

Which hath created the male and the female, verily your strivings are diverse, the opinion of S and Khl

is that the repeated is the copulative , [539], while some say that it is the jurative , [506]. But the first

[opinion] is stronger, (1) because, if the , were jurative, it would be a subst. for the ب [506, 653]; and would

not import coupling, and connection of the second sworn-by, and what follows it, with the first : but the passage

would be constructively أَقْسِمُ بِاللَّيْلِ أَقْسِمُ بِالنَّهَارِ أَقْسِمُ بِمَا

خَلَقَ I swear by the night, I swear by the day, I swear by That Which hath created ; so that there would be

three oaths, each of them independent ; and, a correl. being indispensable for each oath [650], three correls.

would be required : while, if we say that two correls. are suppressed, the remaining one being deemed sufficient,

then [the reply is that] suppression is contrary to the o. f. : and therefore it only remains for us to say

that the oath is one thing, and the sworn-by three ; while the oath, not the sworn-by, is the requirer of the correl. ; so that one correl. suffices it, and the passage

reads as though أَقْسِمُ بِاللَّيْلِ وَالنَّهَارِ وَمَا خَلَقَ إِنَّ الْحَ I

swear by the night, and the day, and That Which hath created, verily etc., were said : and (2) because you say, displaying the coupling, *بِاللَّهِ قَالَهُ لَا فَعَلَنْ* By God, then God, assuredly I will do and *بِحَيَاتِكَ ثُمَّ حَيَاتِكَ لَا فَعَلَنْ* By Thy life, again Thy life, assuredly etc. [134, 540] ; but do not say *أُقْسِمُ بِاللَّهِ أُقْسِمُ بِالنَّبِيِّ لَا فَعَلَنْ* I swear by God, I swear by the Prophet, assuredly etc.; while conformity to what is authorized in their language is more proper. An objection to its being the copulative , is taken on the ground that this entails a coupling [of two *regs.*] to [two *regs.* of] two [different] *ops.* [with one *p.*], because *النَّهَارِ* is then coupled to *اللَّيْلِ*, and *إِذَا يَغْشَى* to *إِذَا تَجَلَّى*, while the *con.* is one [538] (R), by means of which [131] you govern the *acc.* and the *gen.*, as in *مَرَرْتُ أَمْسَ بِزَيْدٍ وَالْيَوْمَ عَمْرٍو* I passed yesterday by Zaid, and to-day 'Amr (K on XCI. 4). Z replies by saying [in the K on XCI. 4.] that the , is a quasi-compensation for the jorative *p.* and *v.* together, because the *v.* is not mentioned with it [506, 653, 654], on account of its frequent usage in the oath ; so that, not being combined with the *v.*, it is a quasi-compensation for the *v.* also, as it is for the *p.* ; and thus *النَّهَارِ إِذَا تَجَلَّى* is, as it were, coupled to [two *regs.* of] a single *op.*, vid. the , [in *وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَى*]. But, according to this, says IH, he must

disallow *أَنْفُسُ بَالَيْلٍ إِذَا يَغْشَى وَالتَّهَارِ إِذَا تَجَلَّى* *Is wear by the night when it covereth, and the day when it becometh clear*; whereas the *Kur* has LXXXI. 15-17. [538], where, though the passage does not involve [a coupling to] two *regs.*, still the *وَ* in *وَاللَّيْلِ إِذَا عَسَسَ*, being a *subst.* for *أَنْفُسُ* and the *ب*, does, as it were, govern the *gen.* and the *acc.*, which is the [contingency] feared: and, says he, the reason why this [construction] is allowable [in XCII. 1—3.] is only that it is like *إِنَّ* *وَالْحَجَرَةَ عَمْرًا* *Verily in the house etc.* [1, 538]. According to our suggestion [below], however, that the full phrase is *وَعَظْمَةُ اللَّيْلِ إِذَا يَغْشَى* *By (the greatness of) the night when it covereth*, the *op.* of *وَاللَّيْلِ*, and likewise of *إِذَا يَغْشَى*, is really the supplied [*inf. n.*] *عَظْمَةُ* [331], for which the *وَ* acts as a *subst.*; and this is a single *op.*, the phrase being constructively *بِعَظْمَةِ* *وَقْتُ اللَّيْلِ* *by (the greatness of) the night at the time of its retiring* [or rather *وَقْتُ غَشْيَانِهِ* *at the time of its covering*], so that the *op.* of the *gen.* and *acc.* is one (R). It is said that the *إِذَا* [that follows the oath] in such as XCII. 1. [204, 498] does not contain the sense of *condition*, since the *correl.* of the condition either comes after it, or is indicated by what precedes it [419]; while the *إِذَا* here is not followed by anything, expressed

or supplied, suitable for being a *correl.*; nor preceded by anything indicative of a *correl.* of a condition, except the oath: so that, if إِذَا were *cond.*, the phrase would be constructively إِذَا يَغْشَى أَقْسَمُ *when it covereth, (I swear)*, the oath not being absolute, but dependent upon the covering of the night, which is the *opp.* of what is intended. If one says "Then, since إِذَا is a bare *adv.*, what governs it in the *acc.*?", I reply that إِذَا may be said, not improbably, to be an *adv.* to the sense of عَظَمَةٌ *greatness* and جَلَالٌ *majesty* indicated by the oath, because one does not swear by any thing except because of its *great state* [650]; so that إِذَا is dependent upon the supplied *inf. n.*, according to what we have mentioned [342], vid. that the *inf. n.*, on being strongly indicated, may govern when supplied [498], and especially in the case of the *adv.*, which is satisfied with a tinge, and suspicion, of the *v.* [294, 342], as is notorious; and therefore the full phrase is عَظَمَةُ اللَّيْلِ إِذَا أَحْمَ [above], like عَجَبًا مِنْ زَيْدٍ إِذَا رَكِبَ *I marvel at Zaid, when he rides*, i. e., مِنْ عَظَمَتِهِ *at his greatness*, where عَظَمَةٌ *greatness* is understood, because one does not marvel except at what is great in some sense, as one does not swear except by what is great in some sense or other (R on the Uninflected Adverbs).

CHAPTER V.

THE ALLEVIATION OF THE HAMZA.

§. 658. The Hamza is a hard, heavy letter, uttered from the farthest [part] of the throat (IY, Jrb). It is a rising in the chest, produced with an effort, being the farthest letter in outlet [732]; and that is heavy upon them, because it is like vomiting (S). Since the Hamza is the innermost letter in the throat, [and has a disagreeable rising, that acts like vomiting (R),] its pronunciation is [deemed (IY)] heavy (IY, R) upon the tongue (R), since its utterance is like retching (IY); and therefore, [because of that heaviness (IY, Jrb),] alleviation of it is permitted (IY, R, Jrb) by some people (R), for a sort of improvement (Jrb). Alleviation is the *dial.* of most of the inhabitants of AlHijāz [641, 642], and [especially (R)] of Kuraish (IY, R, Jrb). The Commander of the Believers, ‘Alī (God honor his face!), is reported to have said: “The Kūr’ān came down in the language of Kuraish, who are not fond of raising the voice; and, were it not that Gabriel (peace be upon him!) brought down the Hamza to the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!), we should not pronounce it.” But others sound it true (R). Sounding true is the *dial.* of Tamīm and Kais (IY, Jrb), who pronounce it [fully], like the rest of the letters (Jrb). Sounding true is the *o. f.*, as in the rest of the letters

{R}; and alleviation is a [sort of (IY)] improvement (IY, R), because of the heaviness of the Hamza (IY). It is common to the three kinds [625]. There are three modes of alleviating the Hamza, (1) change; (2) elision; (3) putting it betwixt and between [211], i. e., between its outlet [732] and the outlet of the consonant that its vowel is connected with (M). The original [mode] is betwixt-and-between, because it is an alleviation with remanence of the Hamza to some extent; then change, because it is a removal of the Hamza with compensation; and then elision, because it is a removal of the Hamza without compensation (Jrb). Change [of the Hamza] is cessation of its rising, so that it becomes soft; and then passes into | or , or ع , according to its vowel, or the vowel of what precedes it. And, for that reason, Mb used to omit it from the letters of the alphabet, and not reckon it with them, but make the first of them the ب , saying "The Hamza does not remain uniform, nor do I reckon it with the letters whose ways are known, remembered." Elision is omission of it from the expression altogether [663]. And putting it betwixt and between means [putting it] between Hamza and the consonant that its vowel is connected with; so that you put it between Hamza and | when it is pronounced with Fath, between Hamza and , when it is pronounced with Damm, and between Hamza and ع when it is pronounced with

Kasr (IY). Betwixt-and-between is [said by some authorities to be (R)] of two kinds (R, Jrb), (1) well known (Jrb), [vid.] what has been mentioned [above by Z and IY] (R), i. e., between Hamza and the consonant of its vowel, as you say سَيَلٌ *was asked*, between Hamza and ي (Jrb): (2) [not well known, i. e. (Jrb),] between Hamza and the consonant of the vowel of what precedes it (R, Jrb), as you say سَوَلٌ *was asked*, between Hamza and و (Jrb). This second [kind, commonly called "strange,"] is, even according to the saying of these authorities, not found in every position; but [only] in specified positions, as in سَوَلٌ and مَسْتَهْزِئُونَ [below], as will be mentioned (R). According to the KK, the Hamza of betwixt-and-between is quiescent; but, according to us, it is mobilized with a weak vowel inclined towards the quiescent. In most cases, therefore, it does not occur, except where the quiescent may occur; so that it does not occur in the beginning of the sentence (Jrb). The condition of alleviation is that the Hamza should not be inceptive (SH). By its [not] being inceptive [667] IH does not mean that it should [not] be in the beginning of the word, because it is alleviated in the beginning of the word, by elision, as in XXIII. 1. [16, 647]; and conversion, as in VI. 70. [below]: but he means that it should [not] be in the beginning of the sentence [above], in which case it is not alleviated,

because its change is regulated by the vowel of what precedes it, and similarly its elision is [effected] after transfer of its vowel to what precedes it, and likewise the strange betwixt-and-between is regulated by the vowel of what precedes it; whereas, in the beginning of the sentence, nothing precedes it: and, as for the well-known betwixt-and-between, [it also is impracticable in the beginning of the sentence, because] its Hamza approximates to the quiescent; whereas the inceptive [letter] is neither quiescent, nor approximate thereto [667]. Nor is the Hamza, in the beginning of the sentence, alleviated in any other mode than these three, because the inceptive [letter] is light, since heaviness is in the finals. In some positions, indeed, the Hamza, in the beginning of the sentence, is converted into *s*, as in *هَرَحْتُ* [690], *هَرَقْتُ*, and *هَيَّاكَ*; but that is an anomalous conversion (R). The Hamza is either one [658, 660] or two [659, 661, 662] (Jrb). And, [if one (Jrb),] it is [either (R, Jrb)] quiescent or mobile (SH). The quiescent Hamza is of one kind, being preceded only by a mobile, because two quiescents do not come together [663]; unless indeed the [mobile] Hamza, when preceded by a quiescent, be made quiescent for pause [642], its predicament in which case will be mentioned [below]. The vowel of what precedes the quiescent Hamza is (1) in the same word as the Hamza, which is then (a) in

the middle, as in رَأْسُ *head* [and قَرَأْتُ *I read* (IY)], بَيَّرَ *well*, and مُؤْمِنٌ *believer*; (b) at the end, as in لَمْ يَقْرَأْ *did not read*, لَمْ يَرُدُّ *was not bad*, and لَمْ يَقْرِئْ *did not teach reading*: (2) not [in the same word], as in إِلَى الْهُدَى آتَيْنَا VI. 70. *To guidance*, [saying to him (K, B),] “Come thou unto us,” الَّذِي أُوتِئْتَنِي II. 283. [Then let] him that hath been entrusted [repay], and يَقُولُ آتَدْنَنِي IX. 49. *That saith “Give me leave”* (R). Th quiescent [Hamza] is changed into the consonant of the vowel of what precedes it, [i. e., is converted into 1 if preceded by Fatha, into ى if preceded by Kasra, and into و if preceded by Damma (Jrb, MASH),] as رَأْسٌ [and قَرَأْتُ (M)], بَيَّرَ, and سُوءٌ *I was evil*; [and لَمْ يَقْرَأْ, لَمْ يَرُدُّ, and لَمْ يَقْرِئْ;] and إِلَى الْهُدَى آتَيْنَا VI. 70. [below], الَّذِي أُوتِئْتَنِي II. 283., and يَقُولُونَ IX. 49. (SH): whether the quiescent Hamza and the preceding mobile be in one word, as in رَأْسٌ [and قَرَأْتُ], بَيَّرَ, and سُوءٌ *I was evil*, 1st pers. pret. of سَاءَ, aor. يَسُوءُ; or in two words, as in VI. 70., II. 283., and IX. 49. (Jrb): [and] whether the Hamza be in the middle, as in رَأْسٌ [and قَرَأْتُ], بَيَّرَ, and سُوءٌ; or at the end, as in لَمْ يَقْرَأْ, لَمْ يَرُدُّ, and لَمْ يَقْرِئْ: their predicament being one (MASH): because the unsound letter is lighter than Hamza (R, MASH), and

especially when the vowel of the letter before the Hamza is homogeneous with the unsound letter (R). The Hamza is not put betwixt and between, since it has no vowel, between whose consonant and Hamza it might be put. Nor is it elided (R, MASH), because there would remain nothing to indicate it (MASH); since Hamza is elided only after its vowel is thrown upon the preceding [consonant], to be an indication of it; while the vowel is thrown only upon the quiescent, not upon the mobile (R). In VI. 70. [above], the *conj.* Hamza is elided from the beginning of the *imp.* [669]; and then, two quiescents coming together, the ا of اَلْهَدَى is elided [663]; so that the expression becomes اِلَى اَلْهَدَيْتِنَا with a quiescent Hamza after the د; and then the Hamza is converted into !: [similarly,] in II. 283., the *conj.* Hamza is elided [669], and then the ي of اَلَّذِي [663]; so that the expression becomes اَلَّذِي تَبْنَ , with a quiescent Hamza after the ذ; and then the Hamza is converted into ي: and, in IX. 49., the *conj.* Hamza is elided [669], so that the expression becomes يَقُولُوْنَ; and then the Hamza is converted into ,. Having finished with the quiescent Hamza, IH [now] begins upon the mobile (Jrb). The mobile Hamza is [of two kinds, being (R)] preceded by either a quiescent or a mobile (R, Jrb). If it be preceded by a quiescent, then that

quiescent is either in the same word as the Hamza, or in another word; and, if in the same word, is either a sound or an unsound letter; and, if an unsound letter, is either a , or *ي*, or an *ا*; and, if a , or *ي*, is either *aug.* or *rad.*; and, if *aug.*, is either non-coordinative or coordinative (Jrb). The mobile [Hamza (R, Jrb)], if preceded by a quiescent, (1) when the quiescent is a non-coordinative *aug.* , or *ي*, is converted into a , or *ي*, respectively; and, [when so converted (Jrb),] has the preceding , or *ي* incorporated into it, as *خَطِيئَةٌ*, [orig. *خَطِيئَةٌ* *fault* (Jrb)]; *مَقْرُوءَةٌ*, [orig. *مَقْرُوءَةٌ* *read* (Jrb)]; and *أَفِيسٌ* (SH), orig. *أَفِيسٌ* (Jrb), *dim.* of *أَفْسٌ*, *pl.* of *أَفْسٌ* *axe* (R, Jrb): (a) the alleviation here is by change, which is prescribed because betwixt-and-between is not possible, since its Hamza is approximate to the quiescent; so that it would entail a concurrence of two quiescents, what precedes the Hamza being quiescent: nor [is] elision [possible], by transfer of the vowel of the Hamza to what precedes it, because of their dislike to mobilizing a consonant that has no right to a vowel; while mobilization of it is rendered unnecessary by recourse to conversion, which, as above shown, is superior to elision: (b) this [alleviation by] conversion and incorporation is merely allowable (Jrb); and the saying [of some GG (Jrb)] that it is obligatory in *نَبِيٌّ*

prophet and ^سبَرِيَّة *creation* [278] is incorrect, [because
^ننَبِي with Hamza is read by Nāfi' in the whole of the
 K̤ur, and ^سبَرِيَّة with Hamza by Nāfi' and Ibn Dhakwān
 (Jrb)]; but it is frequent (SH) in them (Jrb) : S says
 (R), change is made obligatory in them [even] by those
 who [ordinarily] sound [the Hamza] true ; [and this is
 not done to every thing like them, being only learnt
 by hearsay (S)] : but, [says he (R),] it has reached us
 that some [inhabitants of AlHijāz (S)], who sound [the
 Hamza] true, say ^ننَبِي and ^سبَرِيَّة ; though that is rare,
 corrupt (S, R), meaning " rare, corrupt " in the language
 of the Arabs, not " corrupt " in analogy, it being
 authorized among the Seven Readings ; and similarly
 he holds alleviation to be obligatory in the *inf. n.*, like
^سنَبَا *prophecy, prophetic office* : but IH, seeing that ^ننَبِي
 and ^سبَرِيَّة with Hamza are authorized among the Seven,
 decides that alleviation of them is not obligatory ; and
 similarly ^سنُبُوَّة with Hamza occurs among the Seven :
 whereas S holds that to be corrupt, notwithstanding its
 being so read ; and perhaps, according to him, the Seven
 Readings are not canonical, otherwise he would not
 decide that to be corrupt which [by its canonicity] would
 be authenticated as part of the noble, ancient K̤ur'ān, far
 above corruptness ! (R) : (2) when the quiescent is an ^اا,
 is alleviated by the well-known betwixt-and-between

(SH) : so that you put it between Hamza and ا , if the Hamza be pronounced with Fath, as in سَأَلَ *questioned* and قَرَأَ *reading*; between Hamza and و , if it be pronounced with Damm, as in تَسَأَلَ *asking one of another* and تَلَامَ *reconciliation*; and between Hamza and ي , if it be pronounced with Kasr, as in قَائِلٌ *sayer* [below] and بَائِعٌ *seller* : (a) elision by transfer of the vowel to the ا is disallowed, because ا does not receive a vowel; and conversion with incorporation is disallowed, because ا is not incorporated, nor incorporated into [739] (Jrb); while the strange betwixt-and-between is not possible, since what precedes the Hamza has no vowel : so that no mode remains but the well-known betwixt-and-between, [which is allowable,] because its Hamza, though it approximates to the quiescent, is in every case mobile; while recourse to this [mode] is compulsory, when alleviation is intended, because the doors of the other modes of alleviation are closed (R) : (3) when the quiescent is a sound letter (SH), as in مَسْأَلَةٌ *question* and حَبٌّ [641, 642] (Jrb), or an unsound letter other than that [ا or non-coordinative *aug.* و or ي , vid. a *rad.* و or ي , as in سُوءٌ *evil* and شَيْءٌ *thing*, or a coordinative *aug.* و or ي , as in جَوَابَةٌ *Jaw'aba*, name of a water, and جِيَالٌ *the she-hyena*, where the و and ي are for coordination with جَعْفَرٌ (392) (Jrb)], has its vowel transferred

thereto, and is elided, as مَسَلَّة [663] and خَب [below], شَي and سُ [below], and جَوْبَة and جَيْل [300] (SH), because elision of the Hamza is most effective in alleviation ; while onè appurtenance of the Hamza remains to indicate it, vid. its vowel transferred to the preceding quiescent (Jrb) ; (a) the Hamza is not put betwixt and between, lest a quasi-concurrence of two quiescents be entailed, the Hamza being put betwixt and between only in a position where a quiescent would be allowable in its place, except with the ا alone, as in قَائِل [above], as we have mentioned, because of the compulsion [before noted] ; nor do they change it into an unsound letter, without, or after, transfer of its vowel, because, says S, they dislike to include these words among the formations having و and ي [for their ا s (S)] : (b) the KK and some of the BB, like AZ, allow conversion of the Hamza into an unsound letter, without transfer of its vowel, in various ways, without rule or system, saying رَفَّوْ for رَفَّاء *inf. n.* of رَفَّأْتُ *I darned*, as they say, in the case of the quiescent Hamza preceded by a mobile, رَفَّوْتُ and نَشَوْتُ for رَفَّأْتُ and نَشَأْتُ *I grew up*, and خَبَيْتُ and قَرَيْتُ for خَبَأْتُ and قَرَأْتُ *I hid* and قَرَأْتُ *I read* ; but all of this, according to S, is corrupt : (c) the KK allow as regular the conversion of the Hamza pronounced with Fath, exclusively, into ا, after transfer of its vowel to the preceding

quiescent, as مَرَاةٌ and كَمَاةٌ [for مَرَاةٌ *woman* and كَمَاةٌ *truffles* (S)]; and S transmits that, but says that it is rare: (d) transfer of the vowel is not allowable in the *conjug.* of اِنَّاظَرَ *was bent, or curved*, because they require the ن of اِنْفَعَلَ [491] to be invariably quiescent (R): (e) [all of] this is when the quiescent is in the same word as the Hamza (Jrb); and, [if it be not, then also the vowel of the Hamza is transferred to the quiescent, and the Hamza is elided, whether the quiescent be an unsound, or a sound, letter (Jrb),] as اَبُو يُوْبَ [for اَبُو اَيُّوْبَ *the father of Job* (Jrb)], ذُو مَرِهَمَ [for ذُو اَمْرِهَمَ *the author of their matter* (Jrb)], اَبْتَغِي مَرَّةً [for اَبْتَغِي اَمْرَةً *I seek for his matter* (Jrb)], and قَاضُوْ بَيْكَ (SH) for قَاضُوْ اَبِيْكَ *the judges of thy father*; and similarly مَنْ اَبُوْكَ for مَنْ بُوْكَ *Who is thy father?*, مَنْ اُمُّكَ for مَنْ مَّكَ *Who is thy mother?*, كَمْ بِلْكَ for كَمْ اِيْلَكَ *How many are thy camels?* (Jrb): (f) the *cat.* of شَيْءٌ and سُوءٌ [above] also occurs incorporated (SH), as شَيْءٌ and سُوءٌ (MASH), the *non-aug* و and ي being assimilated to the *aug.*, as in خَطِيئَةٌ and مَقْرُوْرَةٌ [above], and incorporated, like them [into the converted Hamza]; but the well-known [mode of alleviation] is the first (Jrb): (g) that [transfer of the vowel with elision of the Hamza (Jrb)] is (a) obligatory in the *cat.* of يَرَى

sees, [orig. يَرَى, like يَرْعى grazes (Jrb),] and of أَرَى showed and يَرى shows, from frequency (SH) of usage (Jrb), since يَرَى, according to the o. f., is hardly ever used as aor. of رَأَى saw, or أَرَى and يَرى as pret. and aor. in the conjug. of اِنْعَال (MASH); contrary to يَنَآى goes far away, [aor. of نَآى (Jrb),] and to أُنَآى sent far away and يُنِى sends far away (SH), which are treated like other words as regards allowability of alleviation, because they are not so frequent as يَرى, etc. (Jrb): (α) every word composed of رَأَى, whether from رَوَيْة sight, رَأى knowledge, opinion, or رَوَى vision, dream, when you prefix another letter to it, for the formation of its paradigm, and its ر is quiescent, must have its Hamza elided, after transfer of the vowel thereof [to the quiescent ر], from frequency of usage, except مَرَأى aspect, مَرَاة outward appearance, and مِرَاة mirror; but in poetry such as

أُرِى عَيْنَى مَا لَمْ تَرَآيَاهُ * كِلَانَا عَالِمٌ بِالتَّرَهَاتِ

[by Surāḡa Ibn Mirdās alAzdī alBāriḡī, I make mine eyes see what they have not seen: each of us is knowing in falsehoods (SM),] sometimes occurs: (β) the Hamza [of رَأَيْتَ, when conjoined] with the interrog. Hamza, is often elided, notwithstanding the mobility of what precedes it, in such as أَرَيْتَ [below], as [will be]

mentioned (R) : (b) frequent in the *cat.* of سَأَلَ *ask*, [*orig.* إِسْأَلَ (Jrb),] because of the two Hamzas (SH) : (α) they transfer the vowel of the second Hamza to the س ; and dispense with the *conj.* Hamza [428] (Jrb), because of the mobility of what follows it (Mb) : and that, say the GG, is more frequent than جَرَّ *bellow* for إِجَارَّ (Jrb) : (β) إِسْأَلَ being used more frequently than such as إِجَارَّ, its alleviation, by transfer of the vowel of its [second] Hamza to the preceding [letter], and elision of the [same] Hamza, is frequent, contrary to such as إِجَارَّ ; but, if the alleviation were frequent, [as IH suggests,] because of the two Hamzas only, إِجَارَّ would be like it : (γ) IH says that, after transfer of the vowel of the [second] Hamza to the س , and elision of the [same] Hamza, elision of the *conj.* Hamza [also] is obligatory [660], although the vowel of the س is accidental, because what requires alleviation to be frequent in إِسْأَلَ is the combination of two Hamzas ; while the [second] Hamza [of إِسْأَلَ] is [constructively] remaining [in إِسْأَلَ], since its vowel is remaining upon the س ; so that the *conj.* Hamza is necessarily elided : (δ) Sf says that one of the GG, meaning Akh, transmits إِسْأَلَ, like أَلْحَبَّرُ [660] ; but states that what he transmits is vitiated by [the fact] that no one says اِقْتَلُوا *They fought together*

[756] or رُدُّ *Reject thou* [664]: and he distinguishes between رُدُّ and اسأل by [saying] that the س [in the latter] is *orig. mobile*, as in سأل *asked*; whereas the determinative ل [in the former] is *orig. quiescent*: while S says that the distinction between them is that the Hamza of the determinative ل resembles the *disj. Hamza* of اَحمَر in being pronounced with *Fathā* when inceptive [668]; and in being retained in interrogation, as اَللَّهُ [669], and in [the *voc.*] يَا اَللَّهُ [52] also (R). Here begins the explanation of the mode of pausing upon the final Hamza, which is mobile in continuity. A similar explanation has not been indicated in the case of the quiescent [Hamza], because, in respect of alleviation, the predicament of the final Hamza quiescent in continuity is the same in the state of pause as in that of continuity (Jrb). The final mobile Hamza is paused upon either according to the method of those who sound [the Hamza] true, or according to the method of those who alleviate [it]. The predicament of the first [method] has been fully explained in the chapter on Pause [641, 642]. And the second method is first to alleviate the Hamza, because the state of continuity is anterior to that of pause, while the heaviness of the Hamza is realized in the state of continuity. The Hamza is therefore alleviated according to the proper mode, which, [when the Hamza is not

preceded by an ا,] is either transfer and elision, as in حَبَّ [above]; or conversion and incorporation, as in بَرِّى free and مَقْرُو [above]: so that حَب remains, with the ب mobile, like دَم blood; and is then paused upon with mere quiescence, or with Raum, Ishmām, or reduplication [641, 642]; and بَرِّى and مَقْرُو remain, [with the ى or ,] doubled; and are then paused upon with quiescence, Raum, or Ishmām: while the alleviation of شَى and سُوء [above] is, as we have mentioned, by transfer and elision, which is the *o. f.*; or by conversion and incorporation, according to the saying of some; and, in either case, quiescence, Raum, or Ishmām is allowable; but not reduplication [640]. This is [the rule of pause after alleviation] when the Hamza is not preceded by an ا: but, if the final Hamza be preceded by an ا, then, as we have mentioned, the alleviation is by the well-known betwixt-and-between: and, when you have so alleviated it, and afterwards mean to pause upon it, then, (1) if you observe, and retain, in pause, the alleviation that was in the state of continuity, vid. the well-known betwixt-and-between, only pause with Raum is allowable, because reduplication of the Hamza is not allowable [640]; while with mere quiescence and Ishmām, which also is quiescence, betwixt-and-between is not allowable, because betwixt-and-between is not found

except with something of the vowel: (2) if you do not observe in pause the alleviation of continuity, and mean [to employ] the well-known mode of pause, vid. quiescence, you reduce the Hamza, that was *orig.* mobile, but after the alleviation is put betwixt and between, to quiescence, the concurrence of two quiescents being allowable, because it is in pause [663]; and then, the alleviation of betwixt-and-between being annulled by the reduction of the Hamza to quiescence, you intend [to employ] another [mode of] alleviation; while elision is not practicable, since that occurs only with transfer of the vowel to what precedes the Hamza, whereas no vowel is transferred to the †; so that nothing remains but conversion of the quiescent Hamza into †, because the preceding † is like Fathā; and thus it becomes like [the † in] لَمْ يَقْرَأَ [above]: but, in addition to quiescence, neither Raum nor Ishmām is allowable, because the vowel was upon the letter for which this † is a *subst.*, not upon the † [itself], so that the latter should be pronounceable with Raum or Ishmām, as we said of pause upon the * of feminization [640]; and also because Raum is [achieved] by retaining part of the vowel, whereas the pure † does not admit of that. This [second] mode, I mean pause with quiescence, and [with] conversion of the Hamza into †, is more frequent in this *cat.* than [the first mode, i. e.,] pause with Raum by putting the Hamza betwixt

and between. And, when you convert into **!** the Hamza, which is preceded by an **!**, you may (1) retain the two **!**s, because two quiescents are admissible in pause; and then you draw a long sign of prolongation, supposed to represent two **!**s: (2) elide one of them, because of the combination of two likes; and then you draw a short sign of prolongation, supposed to represent one **!**. But, if the [*n.* whose final is] Hamza be an *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn, the Hamza is not final; so that these varieties are not found in it; but the Tanwīn is converted into **!**, as **دُعَاءُ** *prayer* and **عِشَاءُ** *nightfall* [640] (R). The discussion is [still] upon the mobile Hamza (Jrb). If it be preceded by a mobile, it is [of (Jrb)] nine [kinds (Jrb)], being pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm, and, in each case, preceded by [any of] the three [vowels], as (1) **سَأَلَ** *asked*, (2) **مِائَةٌ** *hundred*, (3) **مَوْجَلٌ** *limited* [661], (4) **سَتِمَ** *was disgusted* [661], (5) **مُسْتَهْزِئِينَ** *scoffers*, (6) **سُئِلَ** *was asked*, (7) **رَوِفٌ** *pitiful*, (8) **مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ** II. 13. *scoffers*, (9) **رُؤُوسٌ** *heads* (SH). And the predicament mentioned in the case of the [Hamza] attached [to the preceding mobile] holds equally good in the case of the detached, the *exs.* of which are (1) **قَالَ أَحْمَدُ** *Aḥmad said*, (2) **بِعُتْلَامِ أَبِيكَ** *by the manservant of thy father*, (3) **إِنَّ هَذَا عُتْلَامُ أَبِيكَ** *Verily this is the manservant of thy father*, (4) **قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ** *Ibrāhīm said*,

(5) *بُعْلَامٍ إِبْرَاهِيمَ* by the manservant of Ibrāhīm, (6)

هَذَا مَالُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ This is the property of Ibrāhīm, (7)

إِنَّ غُلَامَ أُخْتِكَ verily the manservant of thy sister, (8)

بُعْلَامٍ أُخْتِكَ by the manservant of thy sister, (9) *هَذَا مَالُ*

أُخْتِكَ This is the property of thy sister, (R). The

regular mode [of alleviation] in its case is betwixt-and-between, because this involves alleviation of the Hamza

with a remnant of its effect, to be an indication that the *o. f.* of the word is [with] Hamza. But betwixt-and-between is not possible in two cases, vid. when the

Hamza is pronounced with Fath, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in *مُوجَلٍّ* ; or Kasr, as

in *مَائَةٍ* : because, in the well-known betwixt-and-between, the Hamza would approximate to an *!* preceded

by Damma or Kasra, which is disliked (Jrb). When you intend to alleviate the Hamza, whether it be

attached [to the preceding mobile] or detached, then, (1) if pronounced with Fath, and preceded by a letter

pronounced with Kasr, as in *مَائَةٍ* , it is converted into a pure *ي* , because of the impracticability of eliding it,

since it is elided only after transfer of the vowel, whereas no vowel is transferred to a mobile : while

softening [below] also is impracticable, since the Hamza would become [intermediate] between Hamza and *!* ; so

that, as the occurrence of *!* after Kasra is impossible,

they do not allow the similitude of the **!** also to occur after it : (2) if pronounced with Fath, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in **مَوْجَلٌ**, it is converted into a pure **,**, for a reason like what we have mentioned in the case of **مَائَةٌ** [above]. There remain seven *exs.*, in all of which, according to S, the Hamza is softened by the well-known betwixt-and-between : not by elision, because what precedes it is mobile : nor by conversion, as in the two *exs.*, because the intention to alleviate is realized by the softening of the Hamza betwixt and between, while the general rule is that a letter should not be excluded from its natural constitution ; whereas, in the two *exs.*, conversion is quasi-compulsory, as we have mentioned. The meaning of “softening” [the Hamza] is pronouncing it between Hamza and the consonant of its vowel, and making the vowel, that is upon it, slurred, soft ; so that the Hamza is quasi-quiet, although you do not [actually] make it quiet. And, for this reason, the Hamza preceded by a quiet is not softened, lest there be a quasi-combination of two quiescents : though indeed that [quasi-combination] is allowable, when recourse to it is compulsory, vid. when the Hamza is preceded by an **!** [above], because the remaining modes of alleviation are [then] impracticable, as we have mentioned ; and because the **!** [663], being a letter of prolongation more frequently than the rest of the soft letters, is available, like

the mobile, as a support [for the quiescent after it], as [will be seen] in the chapter on the Concurrence of Two Quiescents. The KK hold that the softened [Hamza] is [actually] quiescent. But S adduces an irresistible argument for its mobilization, vid. that, when following a quiescent, it is softened, in poetry, in the position where, if two quiescents were combined, [the metre of (MAR)] the verse would be broken, as in the saying of AlA'shà

أَأَنْ رَأَتْ رَجُلًا عَشَى أَضْرَبَهُ * رَبِّبُ الْمُنُونِ وَ دَهْرٌ مُتَبَدِّلٌ خَبِلُ
(R) *Is it because she has seen [me to be] a man blind by night, whom the vicissitudes of fortune, and a destructive, disordered, time, have afflicted?* (MAR).

But, according to Akh, [the Hamzas in] the seven [exs.] are softened with the well-known betwixt-and-between, except two of them, the one pronounced with Damm, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ II. 13. [661]; and the one pronounced with Kasr, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in سُبُل [661]: the first, says he, being converted into a pure ي, [as مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ]; and the second into a pure , , [as سُبُل]: since, if they were softened, the first would be like the quiescent , , which does not occur after Kasra; and the second like the quiescent ي, which does not occur after Damma; as the ا does not occur after Damma or Kasra. And some, in the case of such as

سُئِلَ and مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ, have recourse to the strange betwixt-and-between, [saying سُئِلَ and مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ, as above mentioned]; while this opinion also is attributed by some to Akh. Those who venture upon this mode of softening here, strange, extraordinary though it be, do so only to escape from the charge incurred by S in the well known betwixt-and-between, [vid. the occurrence of the similitude of a quiescent , after Kasra, and of the similitude of a quiescent ي after Damma,] as before mentioned; and from the charge incurred by Akh, vid. the occurrence of the pure , mobilized by Kasr after Damma in سُئِلَ, and of the pure ي mobilized by Damm after Kasra in مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ: such [an occurrence] being eschewed in their language. But, as to [the Hamzas in] the remaining five [exs.], there is no dispute that the well-known betwixt-and-between is [prescribed] in their case. The Hamza is sometimes changed into ا, when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Fath, as سَأَلَ asked; into a quiescent , when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Damm, as رُؤُس heads; and into a quiescent ي, when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Kasr, as مُسْتَهْزِئِينَ scoffers [below]. This, says S, is not an undeviating rule: but is confined to hearsay, [being only remembered from the Arabs, as one remembers the word for whose , the ت is substituted

(S),] like أَتَلَجْتُ for لَجْتُ [689] ; whereas you do not say أَتَلَعْتُ for أَلَعْتُ I rendered eager (R). And hence مِّنْسَا [659], orig. مِّنْسَآ staff (S). In metric exigency, however, says he, that is regular, as

رَاحَتْ بِمَسْلَمَةِ الْبَغَالِ عَشِيَّةٌ * فَأَرْعَى فَرَارَةً لَا هَنَّاكَ الْمَرْعُ

[by AlFarazdaq, *The mules have gone away with Maslama at evening. Then graze your camels, Fazāra. May the pasture not be pleasant to you !* (N)],

سَأَلَتْنِي الطَّلَاقُ أَنْ رَأَيْتَنِي * قَدْ مَالِي قَدْ جِئْتُمَانِي بِنُكْرٍ

[by Zaid Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Nufail alKūrahī al‘Adawī, *They (his two wives) have asked me for divorce, because they have seen me to be such that my wealth has become small. Ye (an enallage from the 3rd pers. to the 2nd) have brought to me an unseemly matter* (AKB)],

سَأَلَتْ هُذَيْلٌ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَاحِشَةً

ضَلَّتْ هُذَيْلٌ بِمَا سَأَلَتْ وَلَمْ تُصِبْ

(R), by Ḥassān, *Hudhail asked of the Apostle of God a lewd boon. Hudhail erred in what it asked, and did not right* (N). For سَأَلْتُ I asked, [aor. أَسَأَلَ, like خِفْتُ I feared, aor. أَخَافَ (Mb),] does not belong to the dial. of these [poets] : nor does [سَأَلَ He asked, aor.] يَسْأَلُ [below] (S); or هُمَا يَتَسَاوَلَانِ *They two ask, one of*

another (Mb). It has reached me that سَلْت Thou askedst, aor. تَسَال, is a dial. var. (S); and Am says that it is a recognized dial. var., [being the dial. of Kuraish (K, B), who say سَلْت, aor. تَسَال, and هُمَا يَتَسَايَلَانِ They two ask, one of another (K),] in accordance with which is the reading [of Nāfi' and Ibn 'Amir (B)] سَال سَائِلُ الْخ LXX. 1. [503] (AKB); and [the author of the KF says that] سَال, aor. يَسَال [above], like خَاف He feared, aor. يَخَاف, is said, and هُمَا يَتَسَاوَلَانِ [above] (KF). S cites, among [the exs. of] what is not allowable out of poetry, except by hearsay, the saying of the poet ['Abd ArRaḥmān Ibn Ḥassān (S, N)]

وَكُنْتَ أَذَلَّ مِنْ وَتْدٍ بِقَاعٍ * يُشَجِّجُ رَأْسَهُ بِالْفِهْرِ وَاجِي

(R) And thou wouldst be viler than a tent-peg in a plain, whose head a hammerer batters with the stone, meaning وَاجِي (N). But this, says IH, which is the truth, is not an instance of that, being regular, [contrary to the opinion of S (SH),] because وَاجِي is the end of the verse; and, this being paused upon, the final of the word is a quiescent Hamza preceded by Kasra, as in لَمْ يَقْرِ [above], the rule of which is to be alleviated by being made into ي, in, or out of, poetry. When, indeed,

such as *مَرَرْتُ بِالرَّاجِي يَافَتَى* occurs in continuity, as *I passed by the hammerer, O youth*, the Hamza being made a quiescent *ي*, [as in *مُسْتَهْزِئِينَ* above,] then it belongs to this *cat*. S lays down unrestrictedly that the Hamza, which, according to those who alleviate, is put betwixt and between, is converted into *ا* when the letter preceding it is pronounced with Fath, into *ي* when the letter preceding it is pronounced with Kasr, and into *و*, when the letter preceding it is pronounced with Damm : but the truth is that one should restrict this, as IY does, by saying “The Hamza is [sometimes] converted into *ا* when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Fath, into *ي* when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Kasr, and into *و*, when it and the letter preceding it are pronounced with Damm”, as above expressed. IY, however, does not restrict the *و*, and *ي*, that the Hamza is converted into, by quiescence ; but it is more proper to say “a quiescent *و*,” and “a quiescent *ي*”, as we have done above. According to this, then, [the Hamza in] such as *لَوْمَ* was *base* or *سِئَمَ* [above] is not converted into *ا*, either in, or out of, poetic exigency ; nor [the Hamza in] such as *مُسْتَهْزِئُونَ* or *مِائَةً* into a quiescent *ي* ; nor [the Hamza in] such as *مُوجَلٍّ* or *سُئِلَ* with a quiescent *و*. Sf says “Among the anomalies that occur are the following :—(1) some

transfer the vowel of the detached Hamza [below] to the final of the preceding word mobilized with an uninflectional vowel, as قَالَ سَحَاقُ *Ishāk said* and قَالَ سَامَةٌ *Usāma said* : whereas, if the vowel [of the preceding final] be inflectional, the vowel of the Hamza is not transferred ; so that you do not say يَقُولُ سَحَاقُ *Ishāk says* or لَنْ يَقُولَ سَامَةٌ *Usāma shall not say*, from respect for the vowel of inflection : (2) some elide the [detached] Hamza [below], without transfer of its vowel to the final of the [preceding] word, saying قَالَ سَحَاقُ and قَالَ سَامَةٌ : but the first [mode] is more excellent : (3) some elide the detached Hamza [above], i. e., that which is in the beginning of the word, when it occurs after an ! at the end of the [preceding] word : and then, if the Hamza be followed by a quiescent, as in مَا أَحْسَنَ *How good is!* and مَا أَمْرٌ *What is thine affair?*, the ! is dropped, [as مَا حَسَنٌ and مَا مَرٌّ] ; but, if it be followed by a mobile, as in مَا أَشَدَّ *How hard is!*, the ! remains, as مَا شَدَّ , whence

مَا شَدَّ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَعْلَمَهُمْ بِمَا * يَحْبِي الدِّمَارِيهِ الْكَرِيمُ الْمُسْلِمُ

(R) *How hardy are their souls! and how knowing are they in what the noble, the Muslim, defends his dependents with!* (MAR). The Hamza is sometimes elided, (1) without reason or canon, as نَاسٌ for أَنْاسٌ [52] : (2) in رَأَيْتَ , (a) [often] with the *interrog.* Hamza,

as ^{أَرَيْتَ} [above] for ^{أَرَأَيْتَ}; and this is the reading of Ks in the whole of the formations of ^{أَيَّ}, conjoined with the ت, and having the *interrog.* Hamza at their beginning (R) : Abu-l-Aswad [adDu'ali (KA)] says

^{أَرَيْتَ} أَمْرًا كُنْتُ لَمْ أَبْلُهُ * أَتَانِي فَقَالَ أَتَّخِذْنِي خَلِيلًا
(Jh, R) *Hast thou considered, [meaning Tell me what thou thinkest of,] a man, that I had not proven, who came to me, and said "Take thou me for a friend"?*
(MAR); and another says

^{أَرَيْتَكَ} إِنْ مَنَعْتَ كَلَامَ لَيْلَى * أَتَمْنَعُنِي عَلَى لَيْلَى الْبُكَاءِ

Hast thou considered, meaning Tell thou me [560], if thou prevent me from speaking to Lailà, shalt thou prevent me from weeping for Lailà? (Jh) : (a) the reason why that [elision] is frequent in ^{رَأَيْتَ} and its congeners is only frequency of usage, as elision is necessary in ^{يَرَى} [above], ^{أَرَى}, and ^{يُرَى}; but unnecessary in such as ^{يَسْأَلُ} asks and ^{يُنَازِلُ} [above] : for, when you prefix the *interrog.* Hamza to ^{رَأَيْتَ}, then, [by reason of the frequency of such prefixion,] it is assimilated to the Hamza of *vs.* [433, 488]; so that the Hamza of ^{رَأَى} is allowably elided : (b) seldom with هَلْ, as ^{صَاحَ} هَلْ رَيْتَ أَوْ سَمِعْتَ بِرَاعٍ * رَدَّ فِي الصَّرْعِ مَا قَرَى فِي الْحَلَابِ
(R), by Ismā'il Ibn Yasār (KA, Jh) anNisā'i (KA),
Comrade, hast thou seen, or heard of, a herdsman

that put back into the udder what he had collected in the milking-vessel? (Jsh, N); or in one version, *in the milking-vessels* (Jh). And the Hamza, which, if it remained in its place, would be alleviated by elision, is sometimes made to precede, from dislike to elision; so that one says *يَسْأَلُونَ* for *يَسْأَلُونَ* *They ask*, because its alleviation is then by conversion, not by elision: the poet says

إِذَا قَامَ قَوْمٌ يَسْأَلُونَ مَلِيكَهُمْ * عَطَاءً فَدَهْمَاءُ الَّذِي أَنَا سَائِلُهُ
When people arise, asking of their king a gift, then Dahmá is that gift which I shall be asking; and like it is يَاسُ for يَيْتُسُ despairs (R).

§. 659. In the *imp.* of the *v.* whose *ف* is a Hamza quiescent in the *aor.*, as in *آتَى* came, *aor.* *يَأْتِي*, and *آثَمَ* sinned, *aor.* *يَأْثُمُ*, [and *أَسَا* dressed the wound, *aor.* *يَأْسُو*,] the Hamza is changed into a pure *ي* if the *conj.* Hamza be pronounced with Kasr [428], as *آيَتِ* come and *آيْتُمْ* sin, *orig.* *إِئْتِ* [661] and *إِئْتُمْ*; and is converted into a pure *ي*, if the *conj.* Hamza be pronounced with Damm, as *أَوْسُ* *أَوْسُ* *أَوْسُ* *Dress the wound, orig.* *أَوْسُ*: the second Hamza being converted into a soft letter, as an escape from the combination of two Hamzas, because alleviation, which is allowable in the case of [one] Hamza [658], is necessary in the case of two Hamzas

[661]. Three *vs.*, however, deviate from this [rule], vid. خُذْ *take*, كُلْ *eat*, and مُرْ *command*, which are heard, but are not to be copied, because of their exclusion from [the predicament of] their counterparts (IY). They elide the [*rad.* (Jrb)] Hamza (M, Jrb), which is a ف (IY), in كُذْ [above], خُذْ, and مُرْ, irregularly (M), from frequency of usage (Jrb), for alleviation, because of the combination of two Hamzas in what is frequently used (IY); and [then (IY)] they dispense with the *conj.* Hamza (IY, Jrb), because of the disappearance of the quiescent [Hamza], and the mobility of what is made the initial, vid. the خ in خُذْ, the ن in كُلْ, and the م in مُرْ [428]. Thus the measure of the *v.* is عُلْ, with the ف elided (IY). Then they make this elision obligatory in خُذْ and كُلْ; but not in مُرْ (M, R), where elision, though chaster than conversion, is not obligatory (R). Therefore they do not say أُوْخُذْ or أُوْكُلْ: but [you say مُرْ and أُوْمُرْ; and (IY)] the Kur has XX. 132. [428] (M). The regular form is أُوْخُذْ, أُوْكُلْ (IY, Jrb), and أُوْمُرْ (IY), in the *imp.* from أَخَذْ *taking*, أَكَلَ *eating*, [and أَمَرَ *commanding*,] like إِشْرَ [in the *imp.*] from أَشْرَ *exulted*, i. q. بَطَرَ (Jrb). But they keep to خُذْ and كُلْ, irregularly, from frequency (SH) of usage (MASH). As for the *imp.* from أَمَرَ ^{سَوْفَ} *commanding*, it does not reach the same extent of frequency as the [other] two;

so that they assign to it an intermediate predicament, allowing **أُمِرَ** and **مُرَ** in it (Jrb). This is when it is inceptive. When, however, it occurs in the interior [of the sentence], as in **وَأَمَرَ** *And command*, **فَأَمَرَ** *Then command*, and **قُلْتُ لَكَ أَمْرٌ** *I said to thee "Command"*, retention of the Hamza is more frequent than elision, because the reason for the elision is the combination of two Hamzas, which are not combined in the interior [669]. But **وَمُرَ** and **فَمُرَ**, though rare, are allowable, because the original state of the word is to be inceptive: so that it is as though at first the Hamza were elided in inception; and afterwards the curtailed word, occurring in the interior [of the sentence], remained in its [curtailed] state (R). This discussion, although it involves a combination of two Hamzas [661], is mentioned here by [Z and] IH, because it is akin to [the discussion on] **مَنْسَأَ** [658], **سَالَ**, and **الْوَجِي** in continuity, inasmuch as their alleviation [also] is irregular (Jrb).

§. 660. It [is known, from what (Jrb)] has been previously mentioned [658], that the [mobile (IY)] Hamza [preceded by a quiescent, which is not a letter of prolongation or softness (IY),] has its vowel transferred to the preceding quiescent (IY, Jrb), and is elided, as **مَسَلَّ** for **مَسَالَّةَ** (IY); and here [Z followed by] IH shows whether, when the vowel is transferred to the determinative **ل**, that vowel is taken into account, or

not (Jrb). One instance of that is **الْأَخْبَرُ** [668], when its Hamza is alleviated (IY). If the vowel be not taken into account, as is the method of most, **الْخَبَرُ** must be said, with expression of the *conj.* Hamza, because the **ج** is virtually quiescent (Jrb). [For,] when the vowel of the Hamza, which is the initial of a word, is transferred to the preceding **ج** of determination, that **ج** is constructively quiescent for [three] reasons:—(1) that the **ج** is *orig.* quiescent, contrary to such as the **ق** of **قُلْ** [below]: (2) that the **ج**, being another word [599], not [part of] the one whose initial is the Hamza, is on the verge of departure; so that it is [regarded] as though it had departed, and the vowel of the [second] Hamza were transferred to the [*conj.*] Hamza, the **ج** remaining quiescent; contrary to the **ق** of **قُلْ**, which belongs to the same word as the [elided] **و**; (3) that transfer of the vowel of the Hamza to the preceding [quiescent] is not constant, so that it is as though the vowel were not transferred; contrary to the transfer of the vowel of the **و**, [in **أَقُولُ** the *o. f.*] of **قُلْ** to the preceding [quiescent] (R). But, if the vowel be taken into account, **لَخْبَرُ** must be said, with elision of the [*conj.*] Hamza, because the vowel of the **ج** renders it unnecessary. For the **ج** becomes like part of the *n.*, literally, because it consists of one letter; and ideally, because it alters the signification of the *n.* from indeterminateness to determinateness:

and, since it becomes like part [of the *a*.], the vowel transferred to it [in لَحْمٍ] resembles the vowel [transferred to the *s*] in سَلَّ [below], *orig.* اسَّال [658] (Jrb). When [therefore] the *cat.* of الْأَحْمَرُ is alleviated, the Hamza of the *J* more often remains (SH); while some elide it (MASH): so that الْحَمْرُ is said (SH), the second Hamza [only] being elided, according to the more frequent [method] (MASH); or لَحْمَرُ (SH), the *conj.* Hamza also being elided, according to the rarer [method] (MASH). And apparently the *cat.* of الْاِقْتِدَارُ *ability* and اِلَا سْتِغْفَارُ *asking pardon* is like that, as respects the allowability of [اَلِاقْتِدَارُ and اِلِاسْتِغْفَارُ], or [لِاقْتِدَارُ and لِاسْتِغْفَارُ] (Jrb). And, [when مِنْ or فِي is conjoined with the *cat.* of الْأَحْمَرُ, then (Jrb)] one says, (1) according to the more frequent [method, مِنْ الْأَحْمَرِ pronounced] مِنْ لَحْمَرٍ *from the red*, with Fath of the ن (SH), because, the *J* being quasi-quietescent [above], if the ن were not mobilized, two quietescents would come together (Jrb); and [فِي الْأَحْمَرِ pronounced] فِي لَحْمَرٍ *in the red*, with elision of the ي (SH), lest two quietescents come together, because the *J* is virtually quietescent [above]: (2) according to the rarer [method], مِنْ لَحْمَرٍ, with quietescent of the ن; and فِي لَحْمَرٍ, with expression of the ي (Jrb). As for مِنْ لَانَ *from now, henceforward*

[206], it is [treated] according to both methods :—(1) if you say *لَحْمَرٌ*, taking the vowel [of the *ل*] into account, you say *مِنْ لَانَ*, with quiescence of the *ن* in *مِنْ*, because what follows it is mobile ; and, according to that, *قَالُوا لَانَ* II. 66. [149, 206] is read, with expression of the , , because the *ل* is mobile, so that two quiescents do not come together : (2) if you say *أَلْحَمَرُ*, with expression of the *conj.* Hamza, not taking the vowel of the *ل* into account, but treating the *ل* as quiescent, you say *مِنْ لَانَ*, with Fath of the *ن*, because of the concurrence of two quiescents ; and , according to that, you say *مِلَانَ*, on the principle of the poet's saying

أَبْلَغَ أَبَا دُخْتَنُوسَ مَأْلَكَةً * غَيْرَ الَّذِي قَدْ يُقَالُ مِلْكَدِبِ
Convey thou to Abū Dukhtanūs a message, not that which is sometimes said, consisting of falsehood, the [of *مِنْ* (Jh)] *being elided [by some of the Arabs, in juxtaposition with the art. (Jh)], on account of the concurrence of two quiescents, because it is treated like the unsound letters [663] (IY). But Ks and Fr relate that some of the Arabs convert the Hamza into ʔ in such [formations] as this, [i. e., where an initial Hamza is preceded by a determinative ʔ,] saying أَللَّحْمَرُ for أَلْحَمَرُ the red, and أَللَّأَرْضُ for أَلْأَرْضُ the earth (IY, R); and, in order to preserve the quiescence of the determinative ʔ, do not transfer the vowel [of the Hamza] (R).*

It is as though the speakers of this *dial.* avoided mobilization of this ج; and therefore converted the Hamza [into a ج] homogeneous with the ج, as they say كَرَّ [191, 200, 275, 306, 321], when they treat it as a n., adding a و homogeneous with the و. And [مِنْ أَلْرُضِ] and [مِنْ أَللَّيْضِ] pronounced [مِنْ كَرُضِ] *from the earth* and [مِنْ كَرُضِ] are read, [the former] by throwing the vowel of the Hamza upon the [preceding] quiescent, which is the ج; [and the latter by converting the Hamza into ج]. He that says أَلْخَمَرُ, expressing the [conj.] Hamza, ought to say إِسَل [658] for إِسَّال, when alleviated; and he that says لَخَمَرُ ought to say سَل [above]: except that the conj. ا is more often retained with the determinative ج, and elided with any other [letter]; because this ج is constitutionally quiescent, not being subject to the alternation of mobility, except for an accidental cause [669]; so that the quiescence in it is stronger (IY). But [IH states that] they do not say إِسَل or أَقَل, because the word [containing the letter wherefrom, and the letter whereto, the vowel is transferred (Jrb)] is one (SH), as we have mentioned [above] in the second reason. As for سَل, the vowel of the س is not so constant as the vowel of the ق in قَل [below], nor so transient as the vowel of the ج in أَلْأَخَمَرُ [above], because سَل is like قَل in respect of all the [three] reasons [above

assigned for the constructive quiescence of the *J* in *أَلْخَيْرُ*], except the third, since transfer of the vowel [of the Hamza] in it is not so constant as transfer of the vowel of the *و* in *أَقُولُ* [below]; but, though not so constant [as that], it is more frequent than transfer of the vowel of the Hamza in *أَلْأَخَيْرُ* : so that in *أَلْأَخَيْرُ* retention of the [*conj.*] Hamza is more frequent ; but in *قُلْ* elision of the [*conj.*] Hamza is necessary : while in *سَنُ* a dispute occurs, IH holding elision [of the *conj.* Hamza] to be necessary, as you see [from his words “ they do not say *إِسْنُ* ” above], which is the opinion of S ; whereas Akh allows *إِسْنُ* , as before mentioned [658]. All of this about *قُلْ* *Say thou* [above] is based on the theory that its *o. f.* is *أَقُولُ* derived from *تَقُولُ* , before transfer of the vowel of the *و* to the *ق* ; but, if we say that *قُلْ* is derived from *تَقُولُ* pronounced with Damm of the *ق* , then there is no *conj.* Hamza here [428], to be elided because of the vowel of the *ق* , or retained because of the vowel's being accidental (R).

§. 661. Having finished the single Hamza [658, 660] in the word, [Z followed by] IH begins the explanation of the two Hamzas [659, 661, 662] (Jrb). They are [combined (R)] either in one word, or in two words (R, Jrb). When two Hamzas are combined [in one word (IA), the heaviness increases ; and (IY)] alleviation

is necessary [659] (IY, IA), if they be not in the position of the ع, as سَأَلُ and رَأَسُ [below] (IA). It is always the second of them, not the first, which is changed, because the excess of heaviness is produced by the second. The two Hamzas mentioned [as combined in one word (Tsr)] must be [in one of three states (Tsr)]:—(1) the first mobile, and the second quiescent; (2) the converse, [the first quiescent, and the second mobile (Tsr)]; (3) both mobile (Aud): it being impossible for both to be quiescent together [663] (Tsr). If the first [Hamza] be mobile, and the second quiescent, the second is changed into an unsound letter [697], homogeneous with the vowel of the first, [from dislike to the combination of two Hamzas, together with the difficulty of pronouncing the quiescent second (Tsr)]: so that it is changed into (1) an ا after Fathā, as آمَنْتُ *I believed*, [orig. اَآمَنْتُ (Tsr)]: (a) hence the saying of 'Ā'isha كَانَ يَأْمُرُنِي أَنْ أَتَزَرَ And he, [meaning *the Prophet* (Tsr),] *was wont to enjoin upon me, [when I menstruated (Tsr),] that I should wear a waist-wrapper, with a Hamza [pronounced with Fath (Tsr)], and then an ا*: (b) [MM says that (Tsr)] the generality of Traditionists mispronounce it, reading it with an ا [pronounced with Hamza (Tsr)] and a double ت: but for this [pronunciation] there is no reason [in Arabic (Tsr)], because it is [an aor. v., whose measure is (Tsr)] اَفْتَعَلَ [with Kasr of the ع, derived

(Tsr)] from إِزَارٌ *waist-wrapper*; so that its ف is a quiescent Hamza, after the aoristic Hamza pronounced with Fath [404] (Aud) : (c) [so says IHsh :] but [Kh remarks that] the Bdd allow اِتَّزَرَ from إِزَارٌ, and اِتَّمَنَ *trusted* from اَمَانَةٌ *trust*, and اِتَّهَلَ *took a wife* from اَهْلٌ *wife, family*, by conversion of the second Hamza into ت, and incorporation of it into the ت [of اِتَّهَلَ]; and Z transmits اِتَّزَرَ with incorporation; while IM says that it is confined to hearsay, like اِتَّكَلَّ [689] : and, since it is allowable in the *pret.*, it is allowable in the *aor.*; and in another tradition is اِنْ كَانَ فَصِيرًا فَلْيَتَّزِرْ بِهِ *And, if it be short, let him gird himself therewith*, transmitted in this form by MIA n (Tsr) ; (c) [the author of the KF, however, agrees with IHsh, saying] “ Do not say اِتَّزَرَ : though it occurs in some traditions, being perhaps a mispronunciation of the reporters ” (KF) : (2) اِى after Kasra, as اِيْمَانٌ *belief*, [orig. اِيْمَانٌ (Tsr)] : (a) the reading [of Al A'mash, reported by Abū Bakr, the disciple of 'Aṣim (Tsr).] اِثْلَانِهِمْ CVI. 2. *Their keeping to*, [with the second Hamza] sounded true, is anomalous (Aud) : (b) Ks allows اِئْتِ [659] to begin with two Hamzas [below], this being transmitted from him by IAmb, who says that it is hideous, because the Arabs do not combine two Hamzas, whose second is quiescent (Tsr) : (3) اِ,

after Damma, as أُوتِمِنَ *was trusted*, [in the *pass.*, *orig.* أُوتِمِنَ (Tsr)]: (a) Ks allows أُوتِمِنَ to begin with two Hamzas, this being transmitted from him by IAMB, who refutes it (Aud) by [the argument] that the Arabs do not combine two Hamzas, whose second is quiescent: but IAMB mentions this refutation of Ks in connection with his allowing اِنْتِ بِقُرْآنٍ X. 16. *Bring thou a Kur'an* to begin with two Hamzas [above], not in connection with أُوتِمِنَ (Tsr). If the first [Hamza (Tsr)] be quiescent, and the second mobile, [in which case they are not in the position of the ف, from the impossibility of beginning with a quiescent, but are in the position of the ع or ج (Tsr),] then, (1) if they be in the position of the ع, the first is incorporated into the second, [because of the combination of two likes, and is sounded true (Tsr),] as سَأَلُ [671, 738] (Aud), with the Hamza doubled, [on the measure of] the intensive [paradigm] فَعَالُ [343], denoting the *frequent asker* (Tsr); and رَأَسُ and لَأَلُ (Aud), with their second [*rad.*] doubled, on the measure of the *rel. n.* فَعَالُ [312], denoting the *seller of pearls and of heads* (Tsr): (2) if they be in the position of the ج, the second is changed into ي, unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether it be a final, or not a final (Tsr)]: so that, from قَرَأْ *read*, you say, (a) in the paradigm of قَبِطْرُ [245, 392],

قِرَائِ [301, 302] (Aud), *orig.* قِرَائًا, where two Hamzas, the first of them quiescent, [and the second a final,] come together at the end (Tsr): (a) Mz asked Akh why they do not incorporate in the paradigm of قِمَطْر from قَرَأَ, as they incorporate in سَأَلَ [above]: and he replied [firstly] that the two ع s are only homogeneous [369], contrary to the two ل s, as is proved by دَرَهَم [392] and قَرَدَد [253, 375, 731], meaning that the two ع s are therefore more fit for incorporation than the two ل s; and [secondly] that what is not allowable at the extremity is [sometimes] allowable in the middle, as is proved by the succession of two و s in هَوْرِي, which is disallowed in the *pl.* of وَاقِيَّة [683] (Sn): (b) in the paradigm of سَفَرَجَل [245, 254, 401], قِرَائِيًا, with two Hamzas, having between them a ي substituted for a Hamza (Aud), which is not a final, *orig.* قِرَائِيًا, with three Hamzas, the second of which is changed into ي, while the first and third are sounded true: so says IUK (Tsr). And, if both be mobile, then (1) if they be at the end, [in which case the second is final,] or [if] the second [be not final, but] be pronounced with Kasr, [in either case (Tsr)] it is changed into ي, unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether the first be pronounced with Fath, Damm, or Kasr (Tsr)]: (2) if the second [Hamza (Tsr)] be not

final, but be pronounced with Damm, it is changed into , , unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether the first be pronounced with Damm, Fath, or Kasr (Tsr)] : (3) if the second [be not final, but] be pronounced with Fath, it is changed (a) into , if the first be pronounced with Fath or Damm ; (b) into ى if the first be pronounced with Kasr (Aud). In short, the two mobile Hamzas are either at the end [of the word], or not. In the first case, they are of three sorts, because the first Hamza is pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm : and, in the second case, they are of nine sorts, arising from the multiplication of the three states of the first [Hamza] into the three states of the second. The final [Hamza] is changed into ى in all of its [three] sorts : and the non-final is changed into ى in four of its [nine] sorts, vid. the [one] pronounced with Fath after Kasra, and the [three] pronounced with Kasr after Fatha, Kasra, or Damma ; and into , in five, vid. the [two] pronounced with Fath after Fatha or Damma and the [three] pronounced with Damm after Fatha, Kasra, or Damma (Tsr). The *exs.* of the final Hamza [after one pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (Tsr)] are that you should form, from قَرَأَ, a word like جَعْفَرٌ [392], زَبْرَجٌ, or بُرْثُنْ (Aud), in which case you say قَرَأَ, قَرَيْ, or قَرَيْ, with two Hamzas ; and then change the second Hamza into ى, because the , does not occur as a final in what exceeds three letters [685, 727] ; so that the word

becomes قَرَأَى , قَرِئَى , or قُرِئَى : and then, (1) if the *ي* be preceded by Fatha, as in the first *ex.*, it is converted into ا [684, 719], and the word becomes abbreviated (Tsr), قَرَأَى (R, A), upon the measure of سَلَمَى *Salma* (A), [*du.*] قَرَأَيَانِ , [*pl.*] قَرَأَوْنَ ; and [*fem.*] قَرَأَتْ [*du.*] قَرَأَتَانِ , [*pl.*] قَرَأَيَاتُ (R) : (2) if the *ي* be preceded by Kasra, as in the second *ex.*, its vowel is elided because of the heaviness, and the word is subjected to the same alteration as قَاضٍ [16], becoming defective (Tsr), قَرِئَ , upon the measure of هِنْدُ [18] (A), [but with Kasr of the Hamza, because it is defective, as also is the third [below] (Sn) : (3) if the *ي* be preceded by Damma as in the third *ex.*, the Damma is converted into Kasra, in order that the *ي* may be preserved from conversion into , , and the word is subjected to the same alteration as قَاضٍ [16] (Tsr), [or rather] as أَيْدٍ [243, 290] (A), *orig.* أَيْدَى , like أَنْفُسُ [237] (Sn), it also becoming defective (Tsr), قَرِئَ , upon the measure of جُمْلُ [18] (A) ; [and, with the *art.*,] الْقَرِئَى (MKh), like الْبُرَى (IA) : (a) this [third *ex.*] and that which precedes it are defective, each of them upon this measure [جُمْلُ or هِنْدُ (Sn)], in the *nom.* and *gen.* ; while in the *acc.* the *ي* returns, as رَأَيْتُ قَرِئًا وَقَرِئًا (A) ; (b) the Hamza of قَرِئًا is

pronounced with Kasr, like the Hamza of قَرِيبًا; not, as is fancied, with Damm: this is proved by A's confining himself to the return of the ي; and by [the Kasr of the د of أَيْدِي in] وَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنْكُمْ XLVIII. 20. *And restrained from you the hands of the men* (Sn), of Khaibar and their confederates, [the Banù (B)] Asad and Ghatafān (K, B). The *exs.* of the [Hamza] pronounced with Kasr [after one pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (Tsr)] are that you should form, from أَمَّ [i. g. قَصَدَ directed his course towards (Tsr)], a word like أَصْبَغُ [372, 672] with Fath, Kasr, or Damm of the Hamza, and Kasr of the ب in [all three of] them, in which case you say, in the first [*ex.*], أَمَّ with two Hamzas, [the first] pronounced with Fath, and [the second] quiescent; and then transfer the vowel of the first م, [vid. Kasra (Tsr),] to the [quiescent (Tsr)] second Hamza before it, in order that you may secure an opportunity of incorporating it into the second م; and afterwards you change the [second (Tsr)] Hamza, [to which the Kasra of the م has been transferred (Tsr),] into ي (Aud), because of the preceding [rule] that the [Hamza] pronounced with Kasr after one pronounced with Fath, [Kasr, or Damm] is converted into ي (Tsr): and thus you do in the [two] remaining [*exs.*] also (Aud), saying اُتَمَّ and اَوَمَّ; and then transferring the

vowel of the first م , [vid. Kasra,] to the quiescent Hamza, in order to secure incorporation ; and afterwards changing the second Hamza into ي (Tsr) : so that the word becomes أَيِّم , أَيِّم , or أَيِّم (A). That [action (Tsr)] is necessary [below] (Aud). The regular *pl.* of مَام leader is أَيِّمَة (Tsr), *orig.* أَائِمَّة , like أَحْمَرَة *pl.* of حِمَار ass [246] (Jrb), by conversion of the [second] Hamza into ي . If you say that analogy requires conversion of the second [Hamza] into ا , because it is quiescent, and what precedes it is pronounced with Fath, [the *o. f.* being آَمَّة (Jh),] like آَنِية *pl.* of نَاء vessel, and آَلِهَة *pl.* of إِلَه god (Jh),] I say that, since two likes occur after it, and they intend incorporation, they transfer the vowel of the first م , vid. Kasra, to the preceding Hamza, and incorporate the م into the م , so that it becomes أَائِمَة ; and then they convert the second Hamza into a pure ي (Tsr). And [accordingly] فَقَاتِلُوا IX. 12. *Then fight against the leaders of unbelief* is read (Jh). But, as for the reading of Ibn 'Āmir and the KK, [like 'Āsim, Ḥamza, Ks, KhA, and Al A'mash (Tsr), and of Rauḥ on the authority of Ya'kūb (B),] أَائِمَة IX. 12, [with the two Hamzas (B)] sounded true, [according to the *o. f.* (B), without change (Tsr), it is one to be stopped at, and not exceeded

(Aud, A). Akh says " The [second] Hamza is made a ع because it is in the position of [a Hamza pronounced with] Kasr, while what precedes it is pronounced with Fath; and it is not pronounced as a Hamza, because of the combination of two Hamzas : but", says he, " those who hold with the combination of two Hamzas pronounce it as a Hamza " (Jh). [And Z observes] " If you say 'How should أَيْمَنَ be pronounced?', I say ' With a Hamza followed by a Hamza betwixt and between, i. e., between the outlets of Hamza and ع [732]; and sounding the two Hamzas true is a well known reading, though it is not acceptable to the BB : but, as for making the ع pure, it is not a reading, nor may it be ; and he that makes the ع pure is committing a solecism, and mispronouncing' " (K) : [while B also declares that] to make the ع pure is a solecism (B). IH too says that both softening and sounding true are correct in such as أَيْمَنَ (SH), in reading [the K̤ur] (R), an objection to the saying of the GG that the second Hamza must be converted into ع [below], if either it, or the one before it, be pronounced with Kasr : for, on the authority of the Readers, it is correct to make the second Hamza betwixt and between, in such as أَيْمَنَ ; and also to sound the two Hamzas true (Jrb) : and, in reading [the K̤ur], conversion of the second Hamza into a pure ع , as, in the opinion of the GG, is the best-known [pronunciation],

does not occur; but only sounding [the two Hamzas] true, and softening the second. And we have mentioned [below] that, according to some, these two predicaments are not peculiar to [such as] ^{أَيَّ} but occur in every [case of] two mobile [Hamzas in one word]. According to the GG, however, the best-known [pronunciation] is conversion of the second [Hamza] into a pure ^ي (R). The *exs.* of the [Hamza] pronounced with Ḍamm [after one pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Ḍamm (Tsr)] are (1) ^{أَوْبُ} *pl.* of ^{أَبُ} [255]: (2, 3) that there should be formed from ^{أَمُ} a word like ^{إِضْبَعُ} with Kasr of the Hamza, and Ḍamm of the ^ب, or like ^{أَبْلَمُ} [372], in which case you say ^{أَوْمُ} [below], with a Hamza pronounced with Kasr or Ḍamm, and a ^و pronounced with Ḍamm. The *o. f.* of the first is ^{أَأْبُ}, upon the measure of ^{أَفْلَسُ} [237]; and the *o. fs.* of the second and third are ^{أَوْمُ} and ^{أَوْمُ}: then they transfer, in [all three of] them, [the vowel of the first of the two likes to the preceding quiescent, *vid.* the second Hamza (Tsr)]; and afterwards they change the Hamza into ^و, [because this is homogeneous with its vowel (Tsr)]; and incorporate one of the two likes into the other (Aud), because they are combined (Tsr). The *ex.* of the [Hamza] pronounced with Fath, (1) after one pronounced with Fath, is ^{أَوَادِمُ} [247, 278, 686], *pl.* of ^{أَدَمُ} (Aud), *orig.*

^{كس}أَادِم (Tsr) ; (2) after one pronounced with Damm, is ^{كس}أَايِدِم [278, 686], *dim.* of ^{كس}أَادِم (Aud), *orig.* ^{كس}أَايِدِم : (a) the second Hamza is converted into و, when pronounced with Fath, and not final, whether what precedes it be pronounced with Fath, as in the broken *pl.* of ^{كس}أَادِم ; or with Damm, as in its *dim.* : (b) the exemplification by the *pl.* and *dim.* of ^{كس}أَادِم [above] is based upon [the supposition] that ^{كس}أَادِم is Arabic, about which the language of Z is discordant : for he holds in the K [on K̄ur. II. 29] that it is [a (K)] foreign [name, *Adam*, most probably (K)] upon the measure of فَاعِلٌ, like أَزْرُزْ *Azrr*, [the name of Abraham's father (Jk, K on VI. 74)] ; and in the M [661, 684] that it is Arabic, [*orig.* ^{كس}أَادِم with two Hamzas (IY),] upon the measure of أَفْعَلٌ (Tsr), meaning *tawny* (Jh, KF). The *ex.* of the [Hamza] pronounced with Fath after one pronounced with Kasr is that you should form from ^{كس}أَم [an *ex* (Tsr)] upon the measure of إِضْعُ [372], with Kasr of the Hamza, and Fath of the ب (Aud), in which case you say ^{كس}أِم, with a Hamza pronounced with Kasr, and ا pronounced with Fath, *orig.* ^{كس}أِم ; the vowel of the first م, vid. Fatha, being transferred to the preceding quiescent, as a means for attaining incorporation of the two likes ; and the second Hamza being afterwards changed into ع (Tsr). Akh differs about two of these nine sorts, vid.

the [Hamza] pronounced with Kasr after Damm, which he changes into و, [instead of ي]; and the one pronounced with Damm after Kasr, which he changes into ي [instead of و]; but the correct [mode] is what has been mentioned above (A). If you formed a word like أَكْرَمُ from أَكْرَمَ moaning, you would say أَكْرَمَ; but, according to Akh, أَكْرَمَ, the dispute being like what we mentioned on such as سَوَّلَ [658]. A [Hamza] pronounced with Damm after one pronounced with Kasr is not found in their language, but, if such [a n.] as أَفْعَلُ, with Kasr of the Hamza, and Damm of the ع, occurred from أَمَّ, you would say أَوَّمَ [above], according to S; and أَيْمَ, according to Akh, as we mentioned on مُسْتَهْرَجُونَ II. 13. [658] (R). When the first of the two [mobile (Aud)] Hamzas is [an (Aud)] aoristic [Hamza (Aud), of the 1st pers. sing., whether the v. be trans. or intrans. (Tsr)], as in the aors. of أَمَمْتُ I directed my course towards and أَمَمْتُ I moaned, the second may be [changed, as أَوَّمَ and أَيْمَ; or (A)] sounded true, as أَوَّمَ and أَيْمَ: [firstly] because of the assimilation of the Hamza of the 1st pers. sing. to the interrog. Hamza [below], as in أَوَّمَ أَوَّمَ II. 5. [28] (Aud, A), on account of its indicating an [additional (Tsr)] meaning (Aud, Sn), exceeding the original meaning (Sn) in the word (Tsr,

Sn); and secondly (Sn), because of its interchangeability with [the rest of the aoristic letters (Sn),] the ن , the ت , and the ي [404] (A), after which the two modes are allowable in the Hamza, as in [يُؤْمِنُ or يُؤْمِنُ] *believes* from إِيمَانٌ , and [يُؤْمِنُ or يُؤْمِنُ] *makes safe* from تَأْمِينٌ [below] (Sn). IA [like IHsh and A] is silent as to the case where the second Hamza is pronounced with Fath [after the aoristic Hamza], as in أَلَّتْ aor. of أَلَّتْ تَأْمِينُ *His teeth decayed*, and أُؤْمِنُ aor. from تَأْمِينٌ [above]; nor have I seen it expressly mentioned by any one: but it is covered by the saying of the Aud and the A “when the first of the two [mobile] Hamzas is [an] aoristic [Hamza]”; and so it is covered by the two causes above assigned: and from that the necessary conclusion is that it may be sounded true; or changed into , because of IM’s saying “If pronounced with Fath after Damm or Fath, it is converted into ,”, as أُؤْلُ and أُؤْمِنُ (MKh). That [sounding true] is regular in five *vs.*: so AZ transmits in the Book of the Two Hamzas (Tsr). From this it is understood that change [of the second Hamza into ي or ,], when the first of the two [mobile] Hamzas is not aoristic, is necessary [above], except in an extraordinary case, as [in the reading of IX. 12.] before mentioned (A). They say that, if the second [Hamza (Jrb)] and the one before it be mobile, the

second must be converted into ^اى [above], if either it, or the one before it, be pronounced with Kasr, as ^ااِيْمَةٌ [above] and جَاء [below]; and into و [below] in other cases, as ^ااُوَيْدِمُ and ^ااَوَادِمُ [above] (SH). The o. f. of جَاء [708], according to the opinion of others than Khl, is جَائِي, with two mobile Hamzas, the first being converted, as in ^ابَائِعُ [683], from the ع of the word, which is a ^اى; and the second being the ^ا of the v.: and then the second is converted into ^اى, because the one before it is pronounced with Kasr; so that the word becomes جَائِي, which is afterwards subjected to the same alteration as قَاضٍ [16]. They do not put the second Hamza betwixt and between, because that would involve some regard to the Hamza; so that it would entail a combination of two Hamzas. But, according to the opinion of Khl, that the o. f. is جَائِي by transposition, جَاء does not belong to this cat., [because it contains only one Hamza] (Jrb). And hence خَطَايَا, [which is an instance of the combination of two Hamzas in one word (R),] on the well-founded hypothesis, contrary to the opinion of Khl [below] (SH), because it is pl. of خَطِيئَةٌ *fault, sin*; and the ^اى of فَعِيلَةٌ is converted into Hamza in the ultimate pl. [246], as in كَبِيرَةٌ *crime*, pl. كَبَائِرُ: so that it becomes خَطَائِي,

according to S; and then the second [Hamza] is converted into *ي*, as the rule for two [mobile] Hamzas in one word is conversion of the second into *ي*, when it is final [above]; so that the word becomes *خَطَائِي* [below]. The object of IH here is only [to indicate] the combination of two Hamzas in the *o. f.* of *خَطَايَا* [283], according to S, and the conversion of the second into *ي*: but, as for the conversion of the first into a *ي* pronounced with Fath [below], it will shortly be mentioned. Khl [above] also says that its *o. f.* is *خَطَائِي* [above], with a *ي* after a Hamza; but [in order to arrive at this] he transposes, putting the *ي* into the position of the Hamza, and the Hamza into the position of the *ي* (R). The opinion of S is more agreeable with analogy, and more sound, because of what has been transmitted [by AZ] from Arabs whose Arabic is trustworthy, *اللَّهُمَّ آغْفِرْ آخِ* [below], for which, if *خَطَايَا* were transposed, as Khl mentions, there would be no reason (Jrb). Two other modes [of pronunciation] occur, in the case of two mobile Hamzas in one word, (1) what is mentioned by AZ about some of the Arabs, that they sound the two Hamzas true together: he says "I have heard those who say *اللَّهُمَّ آغْفِرْ لِي خَطَائِي* *O God, forgive me my sins* [above], like *خَطَاعِي*"; and similar is *دَرَائِي* *pl. of دَرِيَّة* tilting-ring; and many, vid. the KK and [among the

Syrians (IY)] Ibn ‘Āmir [alYahṣabī (IY)], read ^{أَنَّمَا} IX. 12. [above], with two Hamzas : (2) alleviation of the second Hamza, just like the alleviation of the mobile Hamza preceded by a mobile, when not a Hamza : so that, for ^{أَيُّمَةً} [above], you say ^{أَيُّمَةً}, putting it between Hamza and ^ي, as in ^{سَيِّمَ} [658] ; and similar are such as ^{أَوَّمَكْ} *I direct my course towards thee*, et cetera. And in these two modes, i. e., sounding the two [Hamzas] true, and softening the second, some add an [!] [below] between the first and second, when the first is initial, from dislike to combining two Hamzas, or the similitude of two Hamzas, in the beginning of the word, the combination of two likes in the beginning of the word being disliked, as you see from their saying ^{أَوَّاصِلٌ} [357, 683] and ^{أَوَّيَصِلٌ} [683]. And, when two Hamzas are combined in one word, but are separated by an [original] [!], neither of them is converted, because the separative is taken into account. Do you not see the method of those who mean to combine them without alleviation, how some of them add the [!] [above] of separation, saying ^{أَوَّيَصِلٌ} [below], in order that there may be no combination? How then should the existing [!] not be taken into account as a separative? (R). With separation [therefore], the combination of two Hamzas, as in ^آ [with a Hamza pronounced with Fath, then a quiescent

1, and then a Hamza, the name of a sort of tree, as in the Dm (Sn),] or [its *n. un.* (Sn)] $\text{آء}^{\text{ة}}$, has no effect (A). And, as for the fact that the [first] Hamza of ذَوَّآئِب [246, 278], [*orig.* ذَآئِب (Jh),] must be converted into , , it is because ذَوَّآئِب is one of the ultimate *pls.*; and because its *sing.*, i. e., $\text{ذَوَّادَة}^{\text{ة}}$ [*lock of hair* (MAR)], has its Hamza, in most cases, converted into , , as is the rule of alleviation [658] in the like thereof, [such as $\text{مُوجَل}^{\text{ة}}$] (R). Elision of the second [Hamza (Jrb)] is obligatory in the *cat.* of أَكْرَم *I honor* [428] (SH), i. e., the 1st *pers. sing.* [of the *aor.*] from إِنْعَال [332] (MASH), another objection to what they say, vid. that conversion of the second Hamza into , [above] is necessary, if neither it, nor the one before it, be pronounced with Kasr. The *o. f.* of أَكْرَم is أَأَكْرَم , with two Hamzas, because the letters of the *aor.* are the letters of the *pret.*, with the addition of the aoristic letters [369, 404]; and, since its *pret.* is أَكْرَم , the *aor.* [in the 1st *pers. sing.*] must be أَأَكْرَم (Jrb). By rule, the second [Hamza] in it should be converted into , , as in أَوَيْدَم [above]: but the word is lightened by elision of the second [Hamza], from frequency of usage, as it is lightened in حَد and كُل [659] by elision; though, by rule, the Hamza [in them] should be converted into ,

(R). And [then (R)] its congeners, [^{تَوَكَّرُمُ} and ^{يَوَكَّرُمُ} and ^{نَوَكَّرُمُ} (R),] are made to accord with it (SH), as ^{يُكْرِمُ} and ^{تُكْرِمُ} and ^{نُكْرِمُ} (Jrb), although two Hamzas are not combined in them (R). They make conversion of the Hamza, when single, into a ^ي pronounced with Fath [above], obligatory in the *cat.* of ^{مَطَايَا} [283, 726]. And hence ^{خَطَايَا} [above], according to the two sayings (SH) of Khl and others (MASH). This predicament is common to (1) what contains two Hamzas, like ^{مَطَايَا}, according to the opinion of S: and (2) what contains a single Hamza, like (a) ^{مَطَايَا}, by common consent; and (b) ^{خَطَايَا}, according to the opinion of Khl: and for that reason IH has postponed it to here (Jrb). If more than two Hamzas were to succeed one another, the first, third, and fifth would be sounded true; and the second and fourth would be changed:—e. g., if you were to form, from Hamza, a word like ^{أَنْجَرَجَّةٌ} *citron*, you would say ^{أَنْجَرَجَّةٌ}, [with a Hamza pronounced with Damm, then a quiescent , , then a Hamza pronounced with Damm, then a quiescent , , then a Hamza pronounced with Fath, and then a ^ة of femininization (Sn),] *orig.* ^{أَنْجَرَجَّةٌ}, (A), with five Hamzas, the second and fourth quiescent, the first and third pronounced with Damm, and the fifth pronounced with Fath (Sn). If the two Hamzas

be combined in two words, then, if the first [Hamza] be inceptive, like the *interrog.* Hamza, their predicament is [the same as] that of two Hamzas in one word, when the first is initial, as in ^{أَوْتِينَ} and ^{أَيِّمَّة} [above]. The first is not alleviated, by common consent : while the second is alleviated in exactly the same way as when they are in one word ; except that here the second is sounded true more frequently than when they are in one word, because the *interrog.* Hamza is an independent word ; though, as respects its being *unil.*, it is like a part of what follows it. Then those who separate the two mobile Hamzas there by an ! , whether both be sounded true, or the second of them be softened, as in ^{آيِّمَّة} [above or ^{آيِّمَّة}], separate them here ; and those who do not separate there do not separate here also (R). The poet (R) Dhu-r-Rumma (M, MAR) says ^{فِيَا طَبِيبَةَ} ^{أَلْوَعَسَاءَ الْحِج} [29] ; and another says ^{حَزَقٌ إِذَا مَا الْقَوْمُ أَبَدُوا فُكَاهَةً * تَفَكَّرَ آيَّاهُ يَعْنُونَ أَمْ قَرَدًا} (M, R), cited by AZ (M) in his *Nawādir*, where he says “The Arabs of the desert have recited it to us,” and by Jh also in his book (IY), (*He is*) *short* [in stature (MAR)] : *whenever the people bring out a jest, he considers whether him they mean or an ape* (IY, MAR) : and Ibn ‘Āmir reads ^{آآ أَنذَرْتَهُمْ} II. 5. [497, 28], and similarly ^{آ تَنَكَّ لَأَنْتَ يُوسُفُ} XII. 90. [581]. Then,

after the entry of the **l** of separation, some, *vid.* the Banù Tamīm, sound the two Hamzas true : while others, *vid.* the people of AlHijāz, alleviate the second ; and this is preferred by IAl (IY). When the first is an *interrog.* Hamza, and the second a *conj.* Hamza, then the latter, if pronounced with Kasr or Damm [668], is elided, as أَصْطَفَى XXXVII. 153. [669] and أَصْطَفَى *Was he chosen?* ; and, if not, is converted into **l** , or softened [656, 663, 669] But, if the first be not inceptive, *vid.* in the case of the *non-interrog.* Hamza, then the first is either quiescent [662] or mobile [below] : and, in either case, says S, those who sound [the Hamza] true, i. e., others than the people of AlHijāz, alleviate one of them, deeming it heavy to sound both of them true, as the people of AlHijāz deem it heavy to sound the single [Hamza] true [658] (R). For (S), says he (R), it is not [a usage] of the language of the Arabs that two Hamzas should meet together, and both be sounded true (S, R). Then, if both be mobile [above] (R), (1) some of them alleviate the first (IY, R), not the second, because the first is the final of a word, and finals are the seat of alteration (R); and this is the saying of IAl (IY, R), who adduces, as proof of that, أَشْرَاطُهَا XLVII. 20. *For already its signs have come* [below] and يَا ذَكْرِيَّاءِ XIX. 7. *O Zachariah, verily we bring thee glad tidings* (IY) : (2) some of them alleviate

the second (IY, R), not the first, because the heaviness comes from the second, as they do in the case of two Hamzas in one word; and this is the saying of Khl [below] (R): S says (IY), We have heard that from the Arabs, vid. in XLVII. 20. and XIX. 7. [above] (S, IY), where he alleviates the second Hamza, putting it betwixt and between (IY); and the poet says

كُلُّ غَرَاءٍ إِذَا مَا بَرَزَتْ * تَرْهَبُ الْعَيْنُ عَلَيْهَا وَالْحَسَدُ
For every fair woman, when she comes forth, the evil eye is dreaded, and envy (S, IY), which is cited by S with the second [Hamza] softened, and put betwixt and between, because it is pronounced with Kasr after Fatha, [like the Hamza in سَتَمَ] (IY), [and] which we have heard so recited by trustworthy Arabs: (a) Khl [above] being wont to affect this saying, I asked him why, and he said "I have seen them, when they meant to change one of the two Hamzas, which meet together in one word, change the last, as in جَاءَ and آدَمَ [above]; and I have seen IAl take the Hamzas in أَنَا and يَأْتِي أَلِدُ, XI. 75. *O my wonder, shall I bear a child, when I am an old woman?*, and sound the first true: and all [of this] is [good] Arabic" (S): (3) sounding both of them true (IY, R) together (R) is allowable (IY); [and] is preferred by many, vid. the Readers of AlKūfa and Ibn 'Āmir, as in the case of two Hamzas in one word: and this is more appropriate here (R), because

the two Hamzas are constructively separate (IY, R), one not being inseparable from the other (IY): (4) the people of AlHijāz alleviate both together (IY, R), as they do with the single Hamza (R), because, if there were only one, it would be alleviated (IY). Those who alleviate the first alone do so in one of the modes before mentioned, vid. elision, conversion, or softening, as was mentioned in the case of the single [mobile] Hamza [658], which should be referred to. And those who alleviate the second alone, treat it like the mobile Hamza after a mobile; so that the nine cases mentioned [658] occur, the rules of which should be referred to, because they are equally applicable here. Thus in *يَشَاءُ إِلَى* II. 136. [*He guideth whom*] *He willeth unto* [*a right way*] three modes occur in the second [Hamza, as in the Hamza of *سُورَ*], vid. the well-known and the strange betwixt-and-between, and conversion of the Hamza into , [658]. But, in the case of two [Hamzas] agreeing [in vowel], (1) elision of the first is transmitted from IAl, as *أُولِيَا أُولَيْكَ* XLVI. 31. [*Nor have*] *protectors* [*against Him*]: *those* [*are in manifest error*], *جَا أَشْرَاطُهَا* XLVII. 20. [*above*], and *مِنَ السَّمَاءِ إِلَى* XXXII. 4. *From the heaven to* [*the earth*]: (2) conversion of the second into a pure letter of prolongation, i. e., into an *l* if the first be pronounced with Fath, a , if it be pronounced with Damm, and a *ى* if it be

pronounced with Kasr, is transmitted from Warsh and Kumbul. And those who alleviate both Hamzas together, vid. the people of AlḤijāz, combine the two modes of alleviation now mentioned [for alleviation of the first alone, and of the second alone] (R).

§. 662. If the first [Hamza] be quiescent [661], as in *اقْرَأْ آيَةً* *Read thou a verse*, *اقْرِئْ أَبَانَ السَّلَامَ* *Make thy father read the salutation*, [i. e., *Deliver to thy father the (written) salutation* (KF),] and *لَمْ يَرُدُّوْهُ* *Thy father was not bad*, then, in this case also, there are four methods:—(1) the people of AlḤijāz alleviate them both; (2, 3) others alleviate either the first alone, or the second alone; (4) many, vid. the KK, sound both of them true: as we mentioned in the case of the two mobiles [661]. And AZ transmits from the Arabs a fifth method, vid. incorporation of the first into the second [738], as in the rest of the letters. Those who alleviate the first alone convert it into *ا*, if the preceding letter be pronounced with Fath; into *و*, if it be pronounced with Damm; and into *ي* if it be pronounced with Kasr. Those who alleviate the second alone transfer its vowel to the quiescent first, and elide it. The people of AlḤijāz, who alleviate both together, convert the first into *ا*, *و*, or *ي*: and soften the second betwixt and between, when it follows the *ا*, because transfer [of its vowel] to the *ا* is impossible; but elide it,

after transfer of its vowel to the preceding letter, when it follows the و or ي, because that [transfer] is possible : so that they say اقْرَأْ آيَةً with the ا in the first, and softening in the second ; اَقْرِيْ بَاكَ with the ي pronounced with Fath, i. e., with the Fatha of the elided Hamza ; and لَمْ يَرُدُّوْا بُرُوكَ with the و pronounced with Fath : and, on the analogy of this, you form لَمْ تَرُدُّوْا مُمَّكَ *Thy mother was not bad*, and لَمْ يَرُدُّوْا بِلَكَ *Thy camels were not bad*, et cetera. Similarly, if the second alone be quiescent, as in مَنْ شَاءَ اٰتَمِنَ *Whoever wills shall be entrusted*, it is regulated by the vowel of the preceding letter, just like the single [quiescent] Hamza [658]. And, if both be quiescent, as in مَنْ يَشَاءُ اٰتَمِنَ *Whoever wills shall be entrusted*, the first must be mobilized [663] ; so that the phrase becomes [an instance] of this last kind (R).

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONCURRENCE OF TWO QUIESCENTS.

§. 663. It is common to the three kinds [625] (M), the *n.*, as زَيْدٌ الظَّرِيفُ *the smart Zaid*; the *v.*, as خُذِ الْعَفْوَ VII. 198. [428]; and the *p.*, as هَلِ الْرَجُلُ فِي الدَّارِ *Is the man* [666] *in the house*? The concurrence of two quiescents is not allowable: nay, is impossible, inasmuch as the quiescent letter is quasi-pausal, and what follows it is quasi-inceptive; while it is impossible to begin with a quiescent [667] (IY). When the first of two quiescent letters is a sound letter, it is not possible for them to concur, unless you put a Kasra slurred, not impleted, upon the first of them. The listener then reckons that the two quiescents concur, and even the speaker shares with him in this notion. But, when either of them is sensitive, he knows that there is a faint Kasra on the first [letter], as in بَكْرٌ *Bakr* [below], بَشْرٌ *Bishr*, and بُشْرٌ *full-grown unripe dates*, where the ع of the three [words] is mobilized with a faint Kasra, otherwise it would be impossible for you to put the quiescent , after it. And similarly, when you assume that the initial of a word, which you mean to articulate, is quiescent, which does not occur in Arabic, at the beginning of a sentence, except with the *conj.*

Hamza [667, 668], though it is found in Persian [667], as *سْتَابْ Hasten* and *سْتَان place*, the initial of which is quiescent, as is proved by *يُسْتَابْ Make haste* and *بُسْتَان flower-garden*, except that they are pronounced with a slurred Kasra (MAR),] you find that, of your own accord, you accomplish the articulation of that quiescent by means of a Hamza pronounced with Kasr, so extremely faint as to be like part of a soliloquy, which the hearer does not catch; and that afterwards you sound aloud the quiescent letter at the beginning of the word. You therefore realize that the employment of Kasra as the means for removing the difficulty of articulating the quiescent, whether that quiescent be at the beginning, end, or middle of the word, proceeds from your own constitution and nature [664], when you leave it to its own devices. And thus appears the reason why they pronounce the *ccnj*. Hamza with Kasr [668]; why they import it [667], and not any thing else; and why they pronounce the first of the two quiescents in *لَمْ يَكُنِ الَّذِينَ إِضْرِبِ أَضْرِبِ* [below] and *XCVIII. 1. [450, 640]* with Kasr [664]. When, however, the first of the two quiescents is a letter of softness, it is possible for them to concur, but with some heaviness. That is possible with the unsound letters because these letters are ties between the letters of the word, connecting one with another: for you take their constituents,

i. e., the vowels ; and, by their means, string the letters of the word together, which, but for them, could not be arranged in order. The matter is lightest when the first of these two quiescents is an ا [646, 658], because of the prolongation contained in the ا, since it is a [letter of] prolongation only ; and, for that reason, such [formations] as مَادَ *contended in pulling* and سَادَ *stopping up* are more frequent than such as تَمُودَ [below]. Next after that [in degree of lightness] is when the first of the two [quiescents] is a و, or ي preceded by a vowel homogeneous with it, as in تَمُودَ آلَثُوبِ [below] : but no similar *ex.* with the ي, as سَارَهُ *was privily spoken to, pass. of سِيرَ* [for سَارَهُ *was privily spoken to, pass. of سِيرَ*], occurs in their language ; [though اِيَّ آللَّه will be found below]. And the last degree [of lightness] is when the first of the two quiescents is a , or ي preceded by Fathā, because of the smallness of the prolongation contained therein : but such [a combination] occurs only in the *dim.*, as خَوَيْصَةً [below] ; so that, in يَكْلُ from اَنْعَلُ [shortness of the upper teeth (MAR)] and وَدٌ *affection*, you do not say اَيْدٌ and اَوْدٌ, with elision of the vowel of the first ل [and و], as in اَصِيْمٌ [below] ; but transfer the vowel of the first of the two similar letters, when incorporation is intended, to the , and ي, as اَيْلٌ *having short upper teeth* and اَوْدٌ *more*

affectionate, as you do in such as أَشَدَّ *harder* and أَمَرٌ *bitterer*: the ي of the *dim.* being exclusively characterized by untransferability of the vowel from the following letter to it, when incorporation is intended, because they constitute it quiescent, and it is inseparable from quiescence [274]. And, in addition to the prolongation contained in the letter of softness, [which, in every real concurrence of two quiescents, forms the first quiescent,] one of two conditions is prescribed for the second quiescent:—(1) that it should be incorporated, provided that the incorporated [letter], together with the [letter that it is] incorporated into, be in the same word as the letter of prolongation: (a) that is because, being incorporated into a mobile [731], it is in the predicament of the mobile, because of the closeness of its adhesion thereto, since the tongue removes the incorporated [letter] and the [letter that it is] incorporated into with one movement; so that they become, as it were, one mobile letter: (b) we stipulate that the incorporated should be in the same word as the letter of prolongation in order to guard against such as خَافَا اللَّهَ *Fear ye two God*, خَافُوا اللَّهَ *Fear ye God*, and خَافِيَ اللَّهَ *Fear thou [fem.] God*, where the letter of prolongation is elided on account of the two quiescents, because, in their concurrence, unrestrictedly, even if all the conditions be realized, there is some difficulty, as we have mentioned;

so that, when the first of them is in a place where elision is suitable, vid. the end of the word, then to lighten the word by eliding it is more appropriate : (2) that the second quiescent should be paused upon with quiescence [640], or be treated like the paused upon : (a) that is because pause is [taken] with the object of resting ; and the approach of rest lightens the pressure of the heaviness upon you. Pause is of two kinds, (1) constitutional, which is [found] (a) in the names of the letters of the alphabet, because they are constituted in order that boys, or those who are in the same condition, vid. the ignorant, may be taught thereby the shapes of the single letters of the alphabet, each of which receives a name beginning with that letter : so that the boy says, e. g., **أَلِفْ** *Alif*, pausing a little, just enough to separate it from the others ; and then says **بَا** *Bà*, and so on to the end : (a) you do not see two quiescents concur in these *ns.*, except when the first is a letter of softness, as in **دَالْ جِيمْ نُونْ** *Dāl-Jīm-Nūn* : (b) similarly in the *ejs.*, as **قُوسْ** [used in *chiding* a dog (MAR)] and **طِيحْ** [200], in which the pause is constitutional, because they are not constituted for the purpose of construction, as has been explained in their *cat.* [200] : (2) not constitutional, but supervening in usage, [which is found] (a) in *ns.* other than the names of the letters of the alphabet and the *ejs.* [640], as **الْمُؤْمِنُونَ** and **الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ** [below],

القُوت *food* and المَيِّت *the dead*; (b) similarly in *ns.* enumerated [159], as زَيْدٌ ثُمُودٌ سَعِيدٌ عِمَادٌ : for they are constituted to be spoken in syntactical construction; and then the user pauses upon them, either in construction with their *op.*, as جَاءَ نَبِيَّ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ *The believers came to me*; or not in construction therewith, as ثُمُودٌ زَيْدٌ *Thamūd-Zaid* (R). The concurrence of two quiescents is pardonable (1) in pause, unrestrictedly (SH), i. e., whether the first be a letter of softness (R, Jrb), as in الْمُؤْمِنُونَ *the male believers*, الْمُؤْمِنِينَ, and الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ *the female believers* [above] (R); or not (R, Jrb), as in بَكَرٌ [above] and عَمْرُو *Amr* [below] (R): and whether the second be incorporated [below], or not: (a) pause upon the letter supplies the place of its vowel, since it strengthens the tone of the letter, and makes its sound full: for, when you pause, e. g., upon عَمْرُو [above], you find that the *ر* has a reiteration, and a fullness of sound, that it has not when you conjoin it with [the initial of] another [word]; and, when you conjoin it, that [fullness of] sound ceases, because your taking to a letter other than the one mentioned diverts you from impletion of the first letter: so that, from what we have mentioned, it is plain that the letter paused upon is more complete in sound, and stronger in tone, than the conjoined; and that supplies the place of the vowel, so

that the letter paused upon may be combined with a quiescent before it, as in عَمَّرُ, because, pause being the place of abbreviating and stopping, that [omission of the vowel] is pardonable in it (Jrb): (b) you already know, however, that in the second [case, where the first of the two quiescents is not a letter of softness,] there is not really a concurrence of two quiescents, since it is impossible when the first of them is a sound letter (R): (c) if the concurrence of two quiescents be in continuous speech, it is not pardonable, except in [the following] cases mentioned by IH (Jrb): (2) in the incorporated [letter], preceded by a [letter of (Jrb, MASH)] softness, [whether it be a letter of prolongation, or not (MASH), provided that both quiescents be (Jrb),] in one word, as خَوِصَّةٌ *dear particular friend*, [dim. of خَاصَّةٌ *particular friend* (R, Jrb),] الضَّالِّينَ I. 7. [539], and تَمُودٌ *The garment, or cloth, was pulled out, or stretched* [above] (SH), *pass.* of تَبَادَدْنَا *We pulled the garment, or cloth, one against the other* (R, Jrb), i. e., *each of us pulled it from the other* (R), and أَتَحَاجُّونِي VI. 80. [170] (M), read with a single ن [405] by Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir, though, as regards the latter, this is disputed on the authority of [his Reporter] Hishām (B); contrary to what happens when they are in two words (Jrb, MASH), as إِذْ قَالُوا اَللّٰهُمَّ VIII. 32.

And when they said "O God", يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ VIII. 65.

[49], and وَمَا جَعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ مِنْ حَرَجٍ XXII. 77.

Nor hath He laid upon you any hardship in the faith, where the [letter of] softness must be elided (MASH), as will be explained [below] : (a) the unsound letter [697], when quiescent, is named "letter of softness"; and this, when the vowel of what precedes it is homogeneous with it, is [named] "letter of prolongation" [below] : (b) the *ا* is always a letter of prolongation : while the *ي* and *و* are sometimes letters of softness, as in قَوْلٌ *saying* and بَيْعٌ *selling* ; and sometimes letters of prolongation, as in يَقُولُ *says* and يَبِيعُ *sells* ; and thirdly are neither letters of softness, nor letters of prolongation, but are equivalent to the sound, vid. when they are mobile, as in وَعَدَ *promised* and يَسَرَ *was gentle* : (c) thus is it mentioned in one commentary on the M ; but they often loosely apply the term "letters of prolongation and softness" to these letters, either because it is attributable to this analysis, or because the thing is named after what it is reducible to : (d) the concurrence of two quiescents is allowable in this case because the letters of prolongation and softness contain that prolongation by means whereof the articulation of the quiescent after it is accomplished : and also because the incorporated [letter], together with the [letter that it is]

incorporated into, is equivalent to one letter, since the tongue is removed from them by one impulse ; and, the [letter] incorporated into being mobile [731], the second of the two quiescents, [i. e., the incorporated letter,] is like the non-quiescent, so that a concurrence of two genuine quiescents is not realized : (e) the concurrence of three quiescents is allowable (Jrb), as [أَصِيْمٌ and دَوَابٌّ] and مَدِيْقٌ (K on III 1.), when these two matters are combined, i. e., in pause upon a word like دَوَابٌّ [256, 646] and أَصِيْمٌ *rather deaf* [274, 281], *dim.* of أَصَمٌ *deaf* (Jrb), and مَدِيْقٌ [274], *dim.* of مَدَقٌ [367] (Jh, KF), where the first quiescent is a letter of softness, and the second is incorporated : (f) the concurrence of four quiescents is disallowed in every *dial.*, and in every case (Jrb) : (3) in such [*ns.* (Jrb)] as عَيْنٌ , قَافٌ , مِيْمٌ , etc. [321], which are *uninfl.* for want of construction, [the concurrence of two quiescents here being pardonable both] in pause (SH), as when you pause upon the ص in كَهَيَّعَص XIX. 1 [18] (R), [in which case the final is quiescent] because of what has been mentioned above [under pause] (Jrb) ; and in continuity (SH), as when you join the ع to the ص in the [foregoing] initial monogram (R), [in which case the final is quiescent] to distinguish what is *uninfl.* for want of the requirer of inflection, *vid.* construction [159, 321], from what is

uninfl. on account of the existence of the preventive [of inflection], vid. resemblance to the *orig. uninfl.* [159] : (a) they do not reverse [the process of distinction, by allowing the concurrence of two quiescents in the latter class of *uninfl. ns.*, instead of the former], because those which are *uninfl.* for want of the requirer are few, while those which are *uninfl.* on account of the existence of the preventive are many ; [and the concurrence of two quiescents, being abnormal, ought to be confined to the few] (MASH) : (b) some assert that, in continuity also (Jrb, MASH), the concurrence of two quiescents is on account of pause (Jrb), [because] the quiescence [of the final] in these *ns.* is on the ground that pause is meant to be understood (MASH) : (c) by “ such [*ns.*] as مِيم , قَاف , عَيْن , etc.,” IH means such as contain a concurrence of two quiescents, the second of which is quiescent for want of the motive for inflection, whether the word be the name of a letter of the alphabet, as in قَاف لَام *Kāf-Lām* ; or something else, as in مَرَصَاد ثَمُودْ عَمِيد *ambush-Thamūd-chief* : and whether the first [quiescent] letter be a letter of softness, as in what we have mentioned ; or not, as in عَمْرُو بَكْر *Amr-Bakr* [159] ; though we have mentioned that this last, while resembling a concurrence of two quiescents, is not really one : (d) the reason why the concurrence of two quiescents is allowable in such words is that they are treated like the

paused upon, as will be explained, even if they be not [actually] paused upon: (e) the quiescence of their finals is not because the latter are [*orig.*] mobile, and afterwards have their vowel cut off on account of pause, but because these words are *uninfl.* upon quiescence [below]: (f) Z says that they are [*orig.*] *infl.*; yet are not [actually] *infl.*, because they are denuded of the cause of inflection: but this [assertion] of his is marvellous, for how can the *n.* be *infl.* without a requirer of inflection? and we say that they are not mobile with any vowel, because the vowel is either inflectional—and how can the inflectional vowel exist without the cause of inflection, vid. construction with the *op.*?—or uninflectional, which is not allowable, because the uninflectedness of that [*n.*] in which the cause of inflection does not exist is stronger than the uninflectedness of that [*n.*] in which a preventive of inflection accidentally arises; and the stronger of the two kinds of uninflectedness ought to be accompanied by the *o. f.* of uninflectedness, vid. quiescence [159], because the *o. f.* of inflection is mobility, and the *o. f.* of uninflectedness is quiescence: (g) we say of these words, whether names of letters of the alphabet [321, 635], or *nums.*, like **وَاحِدٌ** [159, 321, 647], or anything else, like **زَيْدٌ عَمْرٌ** [159], that, even if some of them be literally joined to others, still the final of every one of them is in the

predicament of the paused upon ; that being necessary in their case, because every word of them, as respects the sense, is disconnected from what follows it, even if it be literally joined thereto : and the proof that every one of them is in the predicament of the paused upon is the expression of the *conj.* | in اِثْنَانٍ, when you enumerate the *nums.*; and the conversion of the ة of such as اَرْبَعَةٌ and ثَلَاثَةٌ into ة, as اِحْدٌ اِثْنَانٍ ثَلَاثَةٌ اَرْبَعَةٌ, *One-two-three-four*, by common consent ; whereas the *conj.* | is elided [669] in the interior [of the sentence], and the ة is not converted into ة except in pause [646, 690] : (h) these *ns.* therefore are *uninfl.* upon quiescence [above] : you make the predicament of pause applicable to them, as you pause upon مَنْ and كَمْ [640] and the rest of the words *uninfl.* upon quiescence, the predicament of pause [in respect of quiescence] being made applicable to the final of every one of them, because none of them has any [syntactical] concern with what follows it, as [the auspicious formula] بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ *In the Name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful* has no [syntactical] concern with the beginning of the chapter after it, like قُلْ هُوَ اللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ CXII. 1. [160], so that you pause upon الرَّحِيْمِ ; but you do not become silent upon every one [of these words], as is the property of pause at the end of the complete sentence [640], because that is only

for rest after fatigue, whereas you are not fatigued by pronouncing each word of them : so that, since their finals are treated like the [letter] paused upon, the ة of ثَلَاثَةٌ and أَرْبَعَةٌ is converted into ة [646] ; but, since you join them to what follows them, and do not pause upon them, the vowel of the Hamza in أَرْبَعَةٌ is transferred to the ة [ثَلَاثَةٌ], according to what is transmitted by S [321, 647, 648], as it is transferred in مَسَلَّةٌ [658] and قَدْ أَفْلَحَ XXIII. 1. [16], and similarly in the saying of the poet [Abu-nNajm al'Ijlī (AKB)]

أَقْبَلْتُ مِنْ عِنْدِ زِيَادٍ كَأَلْخَرْفِ * تَخْطُ رِجْلَايَ بِخَطِّ مُخْتَلِفٍ
تَكْتَبَانِ فِي الطَّرِيقِ لَامَ أَلِفٍ

[I advanced from the presence of Ziyād (a friend of his) drunk, my two legs tracing a zigzag line, scrawling on the road Lam-Alif, meaning, says IJ, the letters of the alphabet, not one more than another, or, possibly, (the figure) لا (AKB)], where the vowel of the Hamza of أَلِفٍ is transferred to the م of لَامَ : (i) Mb transmits from Mz that transfer of the vowel of the Hamza in ثَلَاثَةٌ أَرْبَعَةٌ to the [preceding] ة is disallowed ; but S is too trustworthy for his report from the Arabs to be rejected, especially when it is not forbidden by analogy : (j) S makes a distinction between what is constitutionally quiescent [in the final], like the letters

of the alphabet, and what is accidentally quiescent, when enumeration is intended, as **وَاحِدٌ اِثْنَانٌ ثَلَاثَةٌ** and **زَيْدٌ** [159], saying that, in what is *orig. infl.*, the *nom.* may be pronounced with Ishmām [640], as **وَاحِدٌ اِثْنَانٌ** with Ishmām of the Damm [on the **د** of **وَاحِدٌ**], the *nom.* being pronounced with Ishmām because it is the strongest and earliest inflection [24]; whereas in **أَلِفٌ لَامٌ** no vowel is pronounced with Ishmām, because these are more notorious for quiescence [of the final] than the former, since the quiescence of the like thereof is constitutional : (k) Akh disallows Ishmām; but there is no reason for his disallowance, while there is the reason mentioned for approval : (l) according to what S says, there is no harm in pronouncing the *nom.* with Ishmām in the *pre.* [n.] in such as **زَيْدٌ غُلَامٌ** *the manservant of Zaid*, when not constructed with its *op.* (R) : (m) one ought to pause upon the **م** in **آلَهُمُ اللَّهُ** III. 1. [321], as one pauses upon **أَلِفٌ** and **لَامٌ**; and to begin with what follows it, as you say **وَاحِدٌ اِثْنَانٌ** [above] : and this is the reading of ‘Āṣim : (n) as for its Fath [below], this is the vowel of the Hamza thrown upon it, when the Hamza is elided for alleviation [658] (K) : (o) there is a dispute about **آلِهِمُ اللَّهُ** III. 1. [321, 664] :—those who assert that, in continuity also, the concurrence of two

quiescents [in such as مَيْم] is on account of pause hold the vowel on the م to be transferred from the Hamza, because, in that case, [i. e., when the م is paused upon,] the Hamza is not [necessarily] elided [669], since it is not in the interior [of the sentence]; so that the vowel [of the Hamza (B)] is transferred (Jrb) to the م, to indicate that the Hamza is virtually expressed, because it is elided for alleviation [658], not on account of [its being in] the interior [669], since the م is in the predicament of pause; [and thus this reading of the text is] like their saying وَاحِدٍ اِثْنَانٍ *One-two*, by throwing the vowel of the Hamza upon the د (B); and for that reason the م is pronounced with Fatḥh [above]: whereas those who say that, in continuity, the concurrence of two quiescents [in such as مَيْم] is not on account of pause say that the Hamza is elided [because of its being] in the interior [of the sentence]; and, two quiescents [then] concurring, vid. the م and the ج, they mobilize the first, because of what will be mentioned [below]; while they do not pronounce it with Kasr [664], but with Fatḥh, from regard to the solemnity of the Name of God, and because, if they pronounced the م with Kasr, two Kasras and a ع would be combined (Jrb): (p) if you say "Then what is the reason for the reading of 'Amr Ibn 'Ubaïd with Kasr?" I say "This reading is founded upon the notion that the mobilization is because

of the concurrence of two quiescents ; and is not accepted " [664] (K) ; but Akh allows Kasr also in *آلَيْمِ* *اللَّهُ* , which is read by 'Amr Ibn 'Ubaid, on the ground that the vowel is because of the two quiescents, not because of transfer (R) : (4) in such [phrases] as *أَلْكَسْنُ عِنْدَكَ* *Is AlHasan with thee?* and *آيْمُنُ اللَّهُ يَمِينُكَ* *Is the blessing of God thine oath?* [669] (SH), i. e., in every word that begins with a *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Fath, and is preceded by the *interrog.* Hamza : (a) that [combination] is [found] in two cases, firstly with *أَلْ* [599, 667], and secondly with *آيْمُنُ* *اللَّهُ* or *آيْمُ* *اللَّهُ* [650, 667], since the *conj.* Hamza is not pronounced with Fath except in them [668] : (b) they permit the concurrence of two quiescents here, because, if they elided the *conj.* Hamza, saying *أَلْكَسْنُ عِنْدَكَ* and *آيْمُنُ اللَّهُ يَمِينُكَ* , one would not know whether it was an enunciation or an interrogation ; so that they change the [*conj.*] Hamza into *!* (Jrb), because of [that (Jrb)] ambiguity (SH) : (c) IH means that, when the *interrog.* Hamza is prefixed to what begins with a *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Fath, the *conj.* Hamza may not be elided [669], although it occurs in the interior [of the sentence], lest the interrogation be mistaken for enunciation, because the vowels of the two Hamzas are identical, since both [Hamzas] are pronounced with Fath : (d) in [dealing

with] that [combination] the Arabs have two methods, the more frequent being conversion of the second [Hamza] into a pure *!* [497], while the second is softening of the second [Hamza] between Hamza and *!* [656, 661, 669] (R) : [for] some of the Arabs put the *conj.* Hamza, in what we have mentioned, betwixt and between [658] : the poet [AlMuthakḳib al'Abdī (AKB)] says

وَمَا أَدْرِي إِذَا يَبَّتْ أَمْرًا * أُرِيدُ الْخَيْرَ أَيُّهُمَا يَلِينِي
 أَلْخَيْرُ الَّذِي أَنَا أَبْتَغِيهِ * أَمْ الشَّرُّ الَّذِي هُوَ يَبْتَغِينِي

[669] (Jrb) *And I know not, when I intend a matter, meaning good, not evil, which of the two will follow me, whether the good that I seek, or the evil that seeks me* (AKB), where [the second Hamza in *أَلْخَيْرُ* is the *conj.* Hamza, which is alleviated by being softened betwixt and between, since (AKB)], if it were not put betwixt and between, the measure of the verse would not be right ; while it is not said to be sounded true [669], because no one allows that, and the proper way is to explain [the verse] according to what is allowed : and the two modes [of pronunciation] are transmitted from Fr in the texts *آلَانَ* X. 91. *What!*

[dost thou believe (K, B)] *now?* [497, 669] and *الَّذِي* VI. 144, 145. [656, 669] ; but the well-known [mode] is the first (Jrb) : (e) the first is more appropriate, because

the second Hamza ought to be elided [669], on account of its occurring in the interior [of the sentence]; while conversion is nearer than softening to elision, because, like elision [658], it is a removal of the Hamza altogether: but the *Kur* is read in both ways: (f) when the second [Hamza] is converted into *!*, two quiescents concur, irregularly, because, in such as *آلْحَسَنُ* [above], the second [quiescent] is neither incorporated, nor paused upon, as we prescribed [above]; while, in your saying *آللهُ* *Is God*?, though it is incorporated, still the incorporated [letter] is not in the same word as the [letter that it is] incorporated into, [because the incorporated is the *J* of the *art.*, while the incorporated into is part of what the *art.* is prefixed to (MAR)]: (g) the *!* converted from the Hamza is not elided [below], lest the same confusion between interrogation and enunciation, from which they escaped [by refusing to elide the *conj.* Hamza], be entailed upon them; while that [retention of the *!*, notwithstanding the irregularity in the concurrence of the two quiescents,] is facilitated by the *!*'s being more powerful in prolongation than its two fellows (R): (5) in such as *لَا هَا آللهُ* [552, 656] (SH), where the concurrence of two quiescents appears, from their being in two words, not to be allowable; but is allowed (MASH), because *هَآ* is equivalent to part of the word [*آللهُ*], by reason of its being a compensation

for the jurative *p.*, which is like part of the word [that it is prefixed to] (Jrb, MASH) : and [similarly in such as (Jrb, MASH)] إِيَّ اللَّهِ [556, 558] (SH), from dislike that the expression اللَّهُ [52, 262] should occur pronounced with Kasr of its Hamza, so that its meaning should not be recognized : (a) elision of the ا [of هَا] in [such as (Jrb)] لَا هَا اللَّهُ [552], and elision or Fath of the ي in إِيَّ اللَّهِ [558] are allowable (Jrb, MASH), in which case two quiescents do not concur (MASH) ; so that in لَا هَا اللَّهُ and إِيَّ اللَّهِ you are allowed the option of combining, or not combining, two quiescents : and for this reason IH separates them from the preceding cases, in which there is no option, as is obvious in all but آيُنُ اللَّهِ and آلْكَسْنُ ; and [is] likewise [affirmable] in these two, either upon the ground of the well-known method, [vid. conversion of the *conj.* Hamza into ا ,] or because the Hamza betwixt and between approximates to the quiescent [658] (Jrb). And [in other cases than those which we have mentioned the concurrence of two quiescents is not pardonable ; so that their saying (Jrb)] حَلَقَتَا الْبَطَانِ [اِنْتَقَتْ with expression of the ا (Jrb)] is anomalous [228, 610] (SH), analogy requiring elision, as in غُلَامَا آلَامِيرِ *the two menservants of the governor* and ثَوْبَا أَبْنِكَ *the two garments of thy son*, where you

do not pronounce the | : Aus [Ibn Hajar (Mb, Dw)] says

فَأَزْدَحَمَتْ حَلَقَتَا الْبَطَانِ بِأَقْـوَامٍ * وَجَاسَتْ نَفُوسُهُمْ جَزَعًا
*And the two rings of the belly-girth are pressed together in folks, and their hearts heave with impatience ; but, in this prov., they never elide it, in order to describe the event as distressing, by sounding the du. true in pronunciation (Jrb). [since] اِلْتَقَتْ اَلْح is said, as a prov., when the evil is great, because the two rings do not meet except when the camel is extremely emaciated, or when the belly-girth is drawn excessively tight. But IH's saying " And اِلْتَقَتْ اَلْبَطَانِ is anomalous " ought to come after " and يَرْمِي اَلْغَرَضَ " [below], because the | ought to be elided, as in يَخْشَى اَلْقَوْمَ [below]. If the concurrence of two quiescents be [in any case] other than the mentioned, it is of two kinds, the first [quiescent] being either a letter of prolongation or not. And by " letter of prolongation " [above] we mean a quiescent letter of softness, when the vowel of what precedes it is homogeneous with it. If it be [a letter of prolongation], then, (1) if elision of the letter of prolongation would lead to confusion, the second [quiescent] is mobilized, since the [first, being a] letter of prolongation, is not movable, as in مُسْلِمَانِ *Two Muslims* and مُسْلِمُونَ *Muslims*, where the ن [16, 228, 234] is*

orig. quiescent; and, if the *l* and *y* were elided because of the two quiescents, the two [formations] would be confounded with the *acc.* and *nom.*, *sing*, when pronounced with Tanwīn: (a) similarly in *يُسْلِمَانِ* *They two become Muslims*, *يُسْلِمُونَ* *They become Muslims*, and *تُسْلِيَنِ* *Thou [fem.] becomest a Muslim*, if the letters of prolongation were elided, the *v.* would, at first sight, be confounded with the [*v.*] corroborated by the single *n.* [610]: (2) if elision do not lead to confusion, the letter of prolongation is elided, whether the second quiescent be (a) in the same word as the first, as in *خَفْ* *Fear thou*, *قُلْ* *Say thou*, and *بِعْ* *Sell thou* [671, 703]: (b) like part of that word, as being (a) an attached *nom. pron.*, as in *تَخْشَيْنَ* *Thou [fem.] darest*, *تَغْزُونَ* *Ye [masc.] raid*, and *تَرْمِينَ* *Thou [fem.] shootest*: (a) their *o. f.* is *تَخْشَى*, *تَغْزُو*, and *تَرْمِي*; but, when the quiescent [*nom.*] *prons.*, [i. e., the *y* of the *pl. masc.* and the *ي* of the *sing. fem.*] are attached to them, the *l* s are elided because of the two quiescents: (b) the first of the two *corrob.* *n* s, one of which is incorporated into the other, as *أَغْزَنَّ* *Do ye surely raid* and *أَرْمَنَّ* *Do thou [fem.] surely shoot [below]*, where the two *prons.* [*y* and *ي*] are elided, because the quiescent *n* is attached to them [610]: or (c) the initial of a separate word, as in *يَخْشَى*

يَغْزُو الْجَيْشُ *The army raids*, and الْقَوْمُ *The people dread* [above], يَرْمِي الْغَرَضَ *He shoots at the mark* [above]. The reason why the first [quiescent] is elided when it is a letter of prolongation, in the absence of confusion [above], and is mobilized when it is anything else, as in إِذْهَبِ أَذْهَبِ *strike, strike*, [like إِضْرِبِ أَضْرِبِ below], except with a preventive, as in لَمْ يَلْدَهُ [below], as will be explained, while the second, in all the positions [just mentioned], is neither elided, nor mobilized, is only that the second of the two quiescents is the one whose pronunciation becomes impracticable when the first is sound, and heavy when the first is a letter of softness; and, the cause of the impracticability and the heaviness being the quiescence of the first, that bar is removed, either by elision of the first, when a vowel upon it would be heavy, vid. when it is a letter of prolongation [below], or by mobilization of it when that would not be so: whereas you begin with the first of the two quiescents, before the occurrence of the second; so that its quiescence is neither impracticable, nor heavy. Mobilization of the letter of prolongation [above], which is ا, or ي, would be heavy, because the [effect] sought from prolongation is alleviation, by making the letter of softness quiescent, and [the vowel of] what precedes it homogeneous with it, in order to soften its pronunciation: while mobilization of it would be

destructive of this object. But, as for the ا, there is no question about it, because mobilization of it is impossible, since, in that case, it would not remain an ا [683]. And the reason why the و is elided from اُغَزْنَ, and the ي from اِزْمَنَّ [above], though the *corrob.* ن is like part of the preceding word, so that, if the و or ي were left intact, it would be like [the ا in] الضَّالِّينَ I. 7. [above] and [the و of] تُمُودَ آلِثَّوْبِ [above], is that this ن is, in every case, another word ; and is not inseparable, so as, by reason of inseparability, to be given the predicament of part of the word. If any one say “ Then wherefore is it reckoned like part of the word in اِضْرِبَانِ *De ye two surely strike* [below], so that the ا is not elided ?”, I say “ The object is to distinguish between the *sing.* and the *du.* : for the ن, as not being heavy, can have the predicament of part of the word ; but, as being *bil.*, and not inseparable from the word, is not like part thereof : so that, where they have an object in giving it the predicament of part [of the word], i. e., in such as اِضْرِبَانِ [below], they give it that [predicament] ; and, where they have no object, they do not give it that [predicament].” The *nom. prons.* attached to the *apoc.* and *imp.* in such as اُغَزُوا *Raid ye* and لَمْ تَغَزُوا *Ye did not raid*, اُغْزِي *Raid thou* [fem.] and لَمْ تَغْزِي *Thou* [fem.] *didst not raid*, اِزْمِنَا *Shoot ye two* and لَمْ تَرْمِنَا

Ye two did not shoot, اِرْمُوا Shoot ye and لَمْ تَرْمُوا *Ye did not shoot*, اِرْمِي Shoot thou [fem.] and لَمْ تَرْمِي *Thou didst not shoot*, اِرْضِيَا Be ye two pleased and لَمْ تَرْضِيَا *Ye two were not pleased*, اِرْضُوا Be ye pleased and لَمْ تَرْضُوا *Ye were not pleased*, اِرْضِي Be thou [fem.] pleased and لَمْ تَرْضِي *Thou [fem.] wast not pleased*, are affixed to the *v.* after the elision of the *ل* for formation of the *apoc.* [404] or *imp.* [428], as they are affixed in لَمْ تَضْرِبَا Strike ye two and قُولُوا Say ye [below], لَمْ تَقُولُوا *Ye two did not strike* and لَمْ تَقُولُوا *Ye did not say* [below], after the apocopation [404] or quiescence [431]; then the *ل* s are restored on account of their affixion, because with them the apocopation and quiescence are not upon the *ل*; and then the *ل* s are elided with the *و*, or *ي*, on account of the concurrence of two quiescents, after elision of the vowel of the *ل*; but are not elided with the *ا*, as اَغْرُوا [below], اِرْمِيَا, and اِرْضِيَا [above], لَمْ تَغْرُوا *Ye two did not raid*, لَمْ تَرْمِيَا, and لَمْ تَرْضِيَا [above], because of the absence of two quiescents. And the *ل* is not converted into *ا* in اِرْضِيَا [above] and اِخْشِيَا Dread ye two, because they are made to accord with تَرْضِيَانِ *Ye two are pleased* and تَخْشِيَانِ *Ye two dread*, as will be explained [719] (R). And, [should one say

that the ع of خَفَ , vid. the ا converted from the و , and the ل of اِخْشَوْا and اِخْشَى , vid. the ا converted from the ي , are elided only because of the concurrence of two quiescents, while this cause is absent (Jrb)] in such as خَفِ اَللّٰهَ *Fear thou God*, اِخْشَوْا اَللّٰهَ *Dread ye God* and اِخْشَى اَللّٰهَ *Dread thou [fem.] God [below]*, اِخْشَوْنَ *Do ye surely dread* and اِخْشَيْنَ *Do thou [fem.] surely dread*, [so that the elided must be restored, IH replies that in them (Jrb)] the vowel [of the ل , and of the و , and ي (R)] is not taken into account (SH), because it is accidental, put on account of [the occurrence of a quiescent after it in (Jrb)] a separate word, vid. اَللّٰهَ , [which is obvious (Jrb)] ; and [similarly (R)] the [corrob. (Jrb)] ن , which, when attached to the [prominent (Jrb)] pron., is like a separate (R, Jrb) word, according to what IH lays down at the end of the Kāfiya : so that the ا elided on account of the quiescence of the ل , and of the و , [and ي], does not return (R), contrary to [the ا of] such as خَافَا *Fear ye two* and خَافَنَّ *Do thou [masc.] surely fear* (SH), where the vowel [of the ل] is quasi-original, because what follows it is attached to the word in the same way as a part [thereof], which in خَافَا is obvious ; and in خَافَنَّ is [equally true,] because, with the pron. latent, the ن is quasi-attached [to the v.] (Jrb). If, then, it be said “Grant that the ن [of

اِخْشَوْنَ and اِخْشَيْنَ] is like a word separate from the *v.*, because of the intervention of the [prominent] *pron.* between them, is it not quasi-attached to the *pron.*, in the same way as to the ل in خَافَنَّ ? and therefore, since the vowel of the ل in خَافَنَّ is quasi-original, because of what is attached to it, i. e., the ن , and for this reason the ا elided in خَفَ returns [in خَافَنَّ], so ought the vowel of the و and ي in اِخْشَوْنَ and اِخْشَيْنَ to be [quasi-original], so that the ل elided in them, on account of the quiescence of the و and ي attached to them, ought to return ", we say (1) that, between the attachment of the ن to the ل of the word, and its attachment to the [prominent] *pron.*, there is a difference, because the ن , when attached to the *pron.* in letter, is not attached thereto in sense, since it denotes *corroboration* [610] of the *v.*, not *corroboration* of the *pron.* : and (2) that the ل of the word is radically mobile, so that [even] its accidental vowel is taken into account; contrary to the و and ي of the *pron.*, which are radically quiescent. If you say " Is not the ن in such as اِضْرِبَانِ [above] after the [prominent] *pron.* ? Then why is not the ا elided, as in اِضْرِبَا الرَّجُلَ *Strike ye two the man?* ", I say " From fear of confounding the *du.* with the *sing.*, as above explained ". As for the vowel of the ل in خَافَا [above], حَافُوا , and خَافِي , and in خَافَنَّ , it, notwithstanding its

being accidental, becomes quasi-original, because of the attachment of the attached nom. *pron.*, which is like part of the *v.*; and [because of] the attachment of the *corrob.* ن to the *v.* itself: and so in لِيَخَافَا *Let them two fear* and لِيَخَافُوا *Let them fear*. Moreover, in the words mentioned, the vowels of the ج, although accidental, caused by affixion of the *prons.* and the ن, are still permanent, on account of the exclusion of the ج from being constructively quiescent, as it is in قُمْ اللَّيْلَ LXXIII. 2. *Rise thou [to pray (B)] at night [below]* and لَمْ يَقُمْ اللَّيْلَ *He did not rise to pray at night*, since, with the *corrob.* ن attached to the ج of the word, the apocopation [404] and quiescence [431] are totally removed, because, with it, the *apoc.* and *imp.* become *uninfl.* upon the vowel [402, 406, 610, 664], according to the soundest [opinion]; while, with attachment of the prominent *prons.*, as in قُولَا *Say ye two* and لَمْ تَقُولَا *Ye two did not say*, قُولُوا *Say ye* and لَمْ تَقُولُوا *Ye did not say* [above], قُولِي *Say thou [fem.]* and لَمْ تَقُولِي *Thou [fem.] didst not say*, without a *corrob.* ن, the [indication of the mood, which in قُلْ *Say thou* and لَمْ تَقُلْ *Thou didst not say* is effected by] apocopation [404] or quiescence [431], is shifted from the ج to the ن [405, 431], which is after the ج [and the attached *nom. pron.*, in “the five paradigms”, and by elision of which

the indication of the mood is therein effected] : so that in neither case does the *ل* remain constructively quiescent. Inevitably, therefore, the *ع* s return. And, on account of the cessation of the apocopation or quiescence, the *ل* s are retained in *أَغْزَوْنَ* *Do thou surely raid*, *لِيَغْزَوَنَّ* *Let him surely raid*, and *أَغْزَوْا* *Raid ye two* [above]. The reason why the first of the two quiescents, i. e., the *ا* in *رَمَى* and *غَزَا*, [*حُبْلَى* and *أَعْلَى*], is not elided upon attachment of the *ا* of the *du.* in *غَزَوْا* *They two raided* and *رَمَيَا* *They two shot* [719], *أَعْلَيَانِ* and *حُبْلَيَانِ* [229], but is converted into *و* or *ي*, as you see, and mobilized, is fear of confounding the *du.* with the *sing.*, i. e., *غَزَا* *He raided* and *رَمَى* *He shot*, *أَعْلَى زَيْدٍ* *the higher part of Zaid* and *حُبْلَى عَمْرٍو* *the pregnant female of 'Amr* [684]. But the *ل* elided in the like of *رَمَتْ* *she shot* and *غَزَتْ* *She raided* is not restored, although the *ت* is mobilized, in *رَمَتَا* *They two* [fem.] *shot* [607] and *غَزَتَا* *They two* [fem.] *raided*, because, although its vowel is on account of the *ا*, which is like a part [of the *v.*], still the verbal *ت* of feminization is radically quiescent; contrary to the *ل* of [the *v.* in] *قُومَا* *Stand ye two*, [which is radically mobile,] as above mentioned : and also because the *ت*, which ought to come after the *ag.*, because it is the sign of feminization of

the *ag.*, not of the *v.*, debars the | from complete attachment, as we said of [the prominent *nom. pron.* in] *إِخْشَوْنَ* and *إِخْشَيْنَ*, [which debars the ن from complete attachment to the *v.*]. Some, however, allow restoration of the | in the like thereof, citing as evidence the saying [of Imra alKais, describing his mare (Jsh)]

لَهَا مَتْنَتَانِ خَطَاتَا كَمَا * أَكَبَّ عَلَى سَاعِدَيْهِ النَّيْمُ

(R) *Having two sides to her back, that have become thick, as when the leopard crouches down upon his two fore-arms*, where the poet ought to have said *خَطَتَا* (Jsh). If the first of the two quiescents be not a letter of prolongation, it is mobilized, [not elided, whether it be a sound, or an unsound, letter (Jrb),] as *اِذْهَبْ اِذْهَبْ* [above] as *اِذْهَبْ اِذْهَبْ* [below], and *اِذْهَبْ اِذْهَبْ* III. 1. [above]; and [as] *اِخْشَوْا اللَّهَ* and *اِخْشِيَ اللَّهَ* [above] (SH): except when its mobilization would lead to destruction of the object, as in *لَمْ يَلْدُهُ* and *اِنْطَلَقَ* [below], as will be explained. The reason, why, in the absence of this preventive, the first must be mobilized, is that, its quiescence being, as we mentioned, the bar to the pronunciation of the second quiescent, that bar is removed by mobilizing the first, since the mobilization does not lead to heaviness, as mobilization of the letter of prolongation would, according to what we have mentioned. But from this *cat.* are excepted (1) the

single *corrob.* ن , as in لَا تُهَيِّنَ الْفَقِيرَ الْح [537, 614], which is elided, to distinguish it from the Tanwīn [609] : (2) the ن of لَدُنْ [205], which is elided, though anomalously, because, being liable to elision, without a concurrence of two quiescents, as in the saying [of the Rājiz Ghailān (S)]

يَسْتَوِعُ الْبُوعَيْنِ مِنْ جَرِيرِهِ * مِنْ لَدُنْ لَحْيَيْهِ إِلَى مَنْحُورِهِ

It takes full two fathoms of its rope from its two lower jaws to its chest, it may be elided when it occurs in a place where elision of the letter of prolongation would be good, and that because of the resemblance of

the ن to the و [270] : (a) the ن of لَمْ يَكُنْ [450], although it shares with the ن of لَدُنْ in what we have said about resemblance to the و , and allowability of elision without [a concurrence of] two quiescents, is not treated analogously to it, because elision of the ن of لَدُنْ on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents is anomalous, what we have mentioned being a reason for approving it, but not a necessitating cause : (3) the Tanwīn of the proper name qualified by ابْنِ *pre.* to a proper name, as has been explained in its place [50, 609]. But, as for the elision of the Tanwīn, on account of the [concurrence of (K)] two quiescents, in وَحَاتِمُ الطَّائِيَّ [234], and in the reading of CXII. 1, 2. [609, 160],

it is anomalous (R), the approved [course] being to sound the Tanwīn, and pronounce it with Kasr [609, 664] (K). The *o. f.* of [the *v. in*] لَمْ أَبَلِهْ *I did not care* [above] is أَبَالِي : the ي is elided because of the prefixion of the apocopative [لَمْ]; then, لَمْ أَبَالِ being frequently used, abbreviation is required ; and therefore a second apocopation of the word by the apocopative is allowed, through assimilation of أَبَالِ , on account of the mobility of its final, to what has nothing elided from it, like يَقُولُ *says* and يَخَافُ *fears* ; so that the vowel of the ج is elided ; and then the ا , on account of the two quiescents : and then the ة of silence is affixed, as in لَمْ يَرَهُ *He did not see* and لَمْ يَخْشَهُ *He did not dread* [615], because the ج is constructively mobile, since its vowel, being only irregularly elided, is, as it were, expressed ; so that, two quiescents concurring, the first is pronounced with Kasr, as is the rule [664], Kasr being also its original vowel (R). And hence إِخْشَيْنَ and إِخْشَوْنَ [above] are said, because, [says IH,] the [corrob. (Jrb)] ن [here (Jrb)] is quasi-separate (SH) : but the vice of this [argument] is not hidden (Jrb), [since] there is absolutely no reason for his bringing in this clause here, because the first quiescent, when not a letter of prolongation, is mobilized, whether the second be attached, like the ة in لَمْ أَبَلِهْ [above] ; or separate, like

[*in* الله] *إِخْشَوْا* الله and *إِخْشَى* الله [above]; or quasi-separate, like [the ن *in*] *إِخْشَوْنَ* and *إِخْشَيْنِ* : then what sense has his saying “ because the ن is quasi-separate ”, when the predicament of the attached also is the same ? The mobilization of the ج of determination prefixed to the *conj.* Hamza, as in *الْأَبْنُ* the son and *الْأَسْمُ* the name [669], *الْإِنْطِلَاقُ* the departure and *الْإِسْتِخْرَاجُ* the extraction, belongs to the *cat.* of mobilization of the first of two quiescents with Kasr [664], in order that pronunciation of the second may be possible, as in *قَدْ آسْتَخْرَجَ* He has already extracted and *هَلِ آخْتَصَّ* Has he been peculiarly distinguished ?, because the *conj.* Hamza with its vowel is elided [669] in the interior [of the sentence]; so that two quiescents, the determinative ج and the quiescent that follows the *conj.* Hamza, concur. But Ks transmits from some of the Arabs that, when you mean to elide the Hamza in the interior [of the sentence], its vowel may be transferred to what precedes it : so that *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ* In the Name etc. [141], praise etc. [141] is transmitted with Fath of the م in *الرَّحِيمِ*, when you conjoin it with the initial of *الْحَمْدُ* I. 1. ; and similarly *قُمْ أَلَيْدٌ* LXXIII. 2. [above] is anomalously read with Fath of the م (R), by alleviation [658] (B). And,

according to this, the Kasra of the *ل* in *أَلَا بُنْ* and *أَلَا نِطْلَاقُ* [above] may be transferred from the *conj.* Hamza. And similarly the Damm in such as *وَلَقَدْ* and *أَسْتَهْزِي* VI. 10. [540] and *وَقَالَتْ أَخْرِجْ* XII. 31. [664]. But [the authority for] this [transfer] is weak : and, if it were allowable, *لَمْ يَكُنْ آلِدِينَ* XCVIII. 1. [above] and *مَنْ آلَدِي* *Who is he that?*, with Fath of the two *س*, would be allowable (R). The first is mobilized in all cases (Jrb), except (1) when mobilization of the first is avoided for the sake of alleviation, in which case the second is mobilized, as in *إِنْطَلَقَ* [with quiescence of the *ل*, and Fath of the *ق* (MASH),] and *كَمْ يَلْدُهُ* [with quiescence of the *ل*, and Fath of the *د* (MASH)]; and as in *رُدَّ* and *لَمْ يَرُدَّ* in [the *dial.* of] Tamīm [664, 731] (SH) : i. e., in every position where two quiescents are combined by making the first to be quiescent for an object ; so that, if the first were mobilized, the object, for which it was made quiescent, [vid. alleviation (MASH),] would come to nought (Jrb) : (a) IH means that, if the first be not a letter of prolongation, the second is mobilized when destruction of the object would be produced from mobilization of the first : and this is [found] in the *v.* alone, as *إِنْطَلَقَ* *Depart thou, orig.* *إِنْطَلَقَ*, an *imp.* from *إِنْطِلَاقُ* *departure*, where, *طَلِقَ*

being assimilated to كَتِفٌ in the *dial.* of Tamīm [368], the ج is made quiescent; so that two quiescents concur; and, if the first were mobilized, that would be destructive of the object: and so one says of لَمْ يَلِدْهُ (R), and [according to Z] وَيَتَّقُهُ XXIV. 51. [below] (M): the poet says وَلَدِ لَمْ يَلِدْهُ الْحِ [505] (M, Jrb), *orig.* لَمْ يَلِدْهُ, which [also (IY)] is assimilated to كَتِفٌ; so that the ج is made quiescent; and, [two quiescents then concurring (Jrb),] the د is mobilized with Fatḥ [below]: and hence, [as some assert (Jrb),] the reading of Ḥafṣ وَيَخْشَى اللَّهَ وَيَتَّقُهُ XXIV. 51. *And dreadeth God, and is pious* [below], with quiescence of the ق, and Kasr of the ة (IY, Jrb): (b) the second of the two quiescents is pronounced with Fatḥ [above], in préférence to Kasr, which is the *o. f.* in mobilizing [one of] two quiescents [664], in order to purify the *v.* from Kasr, for which reason the *v.* is protected from it by the و of support [170]: (c) as for Damm, one is not reduced to it, in averting [a concurrence of] two quiescents, except for alliteration, as in مُنْدُ [203, 664]; or because the quiescent [to be mobilized] is the و of the *pl.*, as in إِخْشَوْنَ [610, 664]: (d) some say that the second is pronounced with Fatḥ for alliteration to the vowel of what precedes the first quiescent, in addition to Fatḥ's being lighter: (e) the people of AlḤijāz do not incorporate in the

reduplicated [*v.*] whose *J* is quiescent on account of the *apoc.* or *imp.*, as اُرْدُدْ Restore thou and لَمْ يَرْدُدْ He did not restore, because the condition of incorporation [731] is mobilization of the second [letter]: but the Banù Tamīm [664, 731] and many others, seeing this quiescence to be accidental, caused by the formation of the *apoc.* and *imp.*, and to be sometimes replaced by mobility, although the vowel is accidental, as in اُرْدُدْ اَلْقَوْمَ Restore thou the people [664], do not take this quiescence into account, but treat the second [letter] like the mobile; and therefore make the first quiescent, in order that it may be incorporated, and the word be thus lightened by incorporation: so that two quiescents concur; and, if the first were mobilized, that would be destructive of the object [of the incorporation, vid. alleviation (*Jrb*)]: and this [mobilization of the second] occurs in the *Kur*, as وَلَا يُضَارُّ كَاتِبٌ أَوْ شَهِيدٌ II. 282. And let not a scribe or witness do harm, or be harmed (*R*), either [*act.* or *pass.* (*K*)] voice being admissible, as is proved by [the fact] that وَلَا يُضَارُّ is read with Kasr [by ‘Umar (*K*)], and Fath (*K*, *B*) by Ibn ‘Abbās (*K*): (f) all agree upon omitting incorporation in أَفْعَلْ when a [*v.* of] wonder [477], as أَحَبُّ بِهِ How dear he is!, because it is aplastic: (2) sometimes also when the second is the final of an *uninfl.* word, in which case it is

mobilized, since, the two quiescents being, upon this hypothesis, inseparable one from the other, [because the measure is supposed to be **فُعْلُ**,] if the first were mobilized, one measure would be confounded with another, as in **أَمْسِ** [206] and **مُنْذُ** [above], where the **فُعْلُ** and **فُعْلُ** quiescent in the **ع** would be mistaken for the [**فِعْلُ** and **فُعْلُ**] mobile therein : (a) [the mobilization of the second quiescent in] **أَيْنَ** [206, 321, 666], **كَيْفَ** [207, 321, 666], and **حَيْثُ** [202, 664, 666] may be attributed to [fear of] the like [confusion], and to [dislike of] the heaviness of a vowel upon the unsound letter, if the latter be not converted [684, 703]; while, if it were converted, that [conversion] would be a liberty in an *indecl.* [*n.*] (R). But the reading of **Ḥafṣ** **وَيَتَّقُهُ** XXIV. 51. *And feareth Him* [above] does not belong to this [*cat.* (Jrb)], according to the soundest (SH) saying, because the *ʾ* of silence may not be expressed in continuity [615], nor mobilized at all [616]; and, if it might be mobilized here, the [vowel] suitable for it would be **Fath**, as in **اِنْطَلَقَ** [above] (MASH). This is a refutation of Z, who says that **يَتَّقُهُ** is *orig.* **يَتَّقِي**, with the *ʾ* of silence [615] affixed thereto; so that [the termination of] it becomes **تَقَّهْ** like **كَتَفَ** [above]; and then the vowel of [the medial, i. e.,] the **ق** is elided, as is [the practice in] the *dial.* of Tamīm (R), like [the vowel of the , in]

قَالَتْ سُلَيْمَى اشْتَرِ لَنَا سَوِيقًا * وَهَاتِ خُبْزَ الْبُرِّ أَوْ دَقِيقًا

(K) *Sulaima said "Buy thou for us barley-meal ; and give me bread of wheat, or flour (N) ;* so that, two quiescents concurring, the second, i. e., the *س* of silence, is mobilized, lest destruction of the object, [vid. alleviation by quiescence of the medial,] be entailed, if the first should be mobilized. But what he says involves venturing upon mobilization of the *س* of silence, [and expression of it in continuity (Jrb), each of] which is strange [615, 616] : and [Jj, whose opinion is adopted by (Jrb)] IH, says, which is the truth, that the *س* here is [an objective *pron.* (Jrb)] relating to *اللَّهِ* in *يَخْشَى اللَّهَ* [above] ; and that *تَقِيهِ*, being like *كَتِفَ*, is lightened by elision of the Kasr of the *ق* ; and then the *conj.*, i. e., the *ي*, which follows the *س* of the *pron.*, is elided, because it is elided when the *س* follows a quiescent, as in *مِنْهُ* [161], *عَنْهُ*, and *عَلَيْهِ* (R) : so that there is no concurrence of two quiescents, nor any mobilization on account of such (Jrb).

§. 664. The general rule in every concurrence of two quiescents is that the first of them should be mobilized with Kasr, as *بَغَتِ الْأَمَةُ* *The handmaid committed fornication* and *قَامَتِ الْجَارِيَةُ* *The girl stood* (IY). Since you know that, in some cases [663], mobilization [of one quiescent] is unavoidable, IH points out that

(Jrb) the *o. f.* [of mobilization (Jrb)] in a concurrence of two quiescents is [with (Jrb)] Kasr (SH). The reason why the *o. f.* in mobilizing is Kasr, (1) in the case of the first quiescent, is what we have mentioned about one's own nature [663], when one is not forced to [employ] another vowel : (2) in the case of every quiescent whose mobilization is needed, both this [quiescent] that we are discussing [663-666], and the *conj.* Hamza [668, 669], is said to be that quiescence is substituted in the *v.*, i. e., the *apoc.*, for Kasr in the *n.*, i. e., the *gen.* [404]; so that, when a vowel replacing, and annulling, quiescence is needed [in the *v.* or elsewhere], Kasr is substituted for quiescence by way of retaliation : (3) in the case of the first quiescent, is said to be that it occurs only at the end of a word, and therefore likes to be mobilized with a vowel not liable to be mistaken for an inflectional vowel ; so that Kasr is most appropriate, because it is not an inflection except with Tanwīn after it [16], or with a *subst.* therefor, vid. an *art.* or a *post. n.* [17] ; and, when no Tanwīn is found after it, nor any *subst.* therefor, it is known not to be an inflection : whereas Damm or Fath is sometimes an inflection without Tanwīn, or any *subst.* therefor, as جَاءَنِي أَحْمَدُ and رَأَيْتُ أَحْمَدَ [17], يَضْرِبُ [408] and لَنْ يَضْرِبَ [410, 549] ; so that, if the quiescent were mobilized with either of these two vowels, that vowel

would be liable to be mistaken for an inflectional vowel (R). If there be any variation [from this *o. f.* (MASH)], it is on account of an accident (SH), requiring some [vowel] other than Kasr, necessarily, preferably, or allowably (Jrb), like (1) the necessity for Damm in (a) the م of the *pl.* [below] (SH), as لَهُمُ الْمَنُصُورُونَ XXX VII. 172. [252] (Jrb), in order to restore it to its *o. f.* (MASH), since it is *orig.* pronounced with Damm, as is proved by the reading of the people of Makka [with Damm of this م, and (MASH)] with a , after it (Jrb, MASH), as عَلَيْهِمُ (MASH) : (a) IH's saying " in the م of the *pl.*" [above] is not unrestrictedly true, because, when the م of the *pl.* is after a s pronounced with Kasr [161], the best known [pronunciation] is Kasr of the م , as in the reading of IAl بِهِمُ الْأَسْبَابُ II. 161. *The ties between them*, for alliteration to [the Kasr of] the s , and in order to treat the م like the rest of what is mobilized on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents ; though the remainder of the Readers vary from the well-known [pronunciation], as بِهِمُ الْأَسْبَابُ II. 161. and عَلَيْهِمُ الْقِتَالُ IV. 79. [204], with Damm of the م , in order to mobilize it with the original vowel, i. e. Damm : (b) if the م be after a Damma, whether upon the s , as in هُمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ VIII. 4. *They are the believers* and in the reading of Hamza [161] عَلَيْهِمُ الْقِتَالُ IV. 79. [above],

or upon any other [letter], as in **XXXV.** أَنْتُمْ الْفُقَرَاءُ 16. *Ye are the needy*, لَكُمْ الْيَوْمَ VIII. 50. *For you to-day*, and يَأْتِي بِكُمْ اللَّهُ II. 143. *God will bring you*, the well-known [pronunciation] is Damm of the م, in order to mobilize it with the original vowel, and for alliteration to what precedes it; but, in some *dials.*, Kasr of it occurs, because of the [concurrence of] two quiescents, as in the rest of its congeners, consisting of one quiescent before another (R): (b) similarly (Jrb) مُدَّ (SH), as مُدَّ الْيَوْمَ [203, 510] (MASH), because, its *o. f.* being مُنَدَّ, they mobilize [the ذ], in case of need, with the original vowel (Jrb): (a) Damm of the ذ of مُدَّ, on account of two quiescents, is not necessary, as IH mentions: but is more frequent than Kasr, either because its *o. f.* is Damm, since مُدَّ is said to be *orig.* مُنَدَّ; or for alliteration [in the vowel] of the ذ to [that of] the م; or because it is like the finals [201]: (c) نَحْنُ [161], in order that the Damm may indicate *plurality*, as in هُمْ and أَنتُمْ (R): (2) the preference for Fath in such as آتِيَمَ اللَّهُ III. 1. [321, 663] (SH): (a) IH says "preference for Fath" because Akh allows Kasr, according to analogy in the concurrence of two quiescents; and 'Amr Ibn 'Ubaid reads with it; but it is not accepted [663] by the Readers (Jrb): (b) [IH's citation of "such as آتِيَمَ اللَّهُ III. 1." is relevant only on the

assumption that the vowel of the م is imported on account of a concurrence of two quiescents, which assumption is based on the theory that the quiescence of the final in such as مَيْم is not on account of pause; and, on that assumption, the reasons for adopting Fath, in preference to Kasr, as the vowel of the م, have been indicated by H in §. 321, and Jrb in §. 663:] but [R, who maintains the theory that the quiescence of the final in such as مَيْم is on account of pause, says that] the Fathā of the م is transferred from the Hamza, not [imported] because of [a concurrence of] two quiescents; [and in that case the citation is not relevant here]: (c) the Fath [on the final of the v.] in such [formations] as اِضْرَبَنَّ *Do thou surely strike* and لِيَضْرِبَنَّ *Let him assuredly strike* is on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents, according to Zj and Sf (R): [for] what we have mentioned, vid. that the v. [in such formations] is *uninfl.* upon Fath [402, 406, 610, 663], is the opinion of S, Mb, and F: while Zj and Sf say that the vowel is [imported] on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents, whether the v. [before the affixion of the ن] be *infl.*, [as in لِيَضْرِبَنَّ *Let him strike*,] or *uninfl.*, [as in اِضْرَبْ *strike thou*,] because, by affixion of the ن, the v. is estranged from resemblance to *ns.* [404]; and therefore reverts to its *o. f.*, vid. uninflectedness [402], the

o. f. of which is quiescence ; so that it has to be mobilized [in the final], on account of the two quiescents ; and is then mobilized with Fath, to preserve [the final of] the *v.* from being unnecessarily pronounced with Kasr, the characteristic of the *gen.* : [but here the Fath is necessary, not preferable, there being no alternative vowel for the final of the *v.* in these formations :] (R on the Corroborative ِ in IH) : (3) the allowability of Damm when the second of the two quiescents is followed by an original Damma in the same word [with the second quiescent (R, Jrb)], as *وَقَالَتْ أَخْرِجْ* XII. 31. *And she said "Come forth"* [663] (SH), *وَعَدَايْنِ أَرْكُضْ* XXXVIII. 40, 41. [609], *وَعُيُونُنِ آدْخُلُوها* XV. 45, 46. *And springs. Enter ye them* (M), and *قَدْ أَنْظَرُوا* X. 101. *Say thou, Consider ye* [666] (IY), in [all of (IY)] which Damm is [allowable (Jrb)] for alliteration (IY, Jrb), the Damma of the ت in *قَالَتْ* being an alliteration to the Damma of the ر in *أَخْرِجْ*, since there is no barrier between them, except a quiescent letter ; and similarly [the Damma of] the Tanwīn [in *وَعَدَايْنِ*] being an alliteration to the vowel of the ك [in *أَرْكُضْ*], since there is nothing between them, except the quiescent ر : and similarly [as] *أَوْ أَنْقُضْ* LXXIII. 3. *Or deduct* [666, 668], except that the Damma here is for two reasons, one being the same as in XXXVIII. 40, 41.

[above]; and the other being assimilation to the , of the *pron.*, on the principle of لَوِ اسْتَطَعْنَا IX. 42. [below], where Damm is allowable, although the ت after the س is pronounced with Fath (IY): and [similarly (Jrb)]

قَالَتْ أَغْزِي *She said "Raid thou [fem.]"* (SH), because the original vowel of the , is Damma, since the ي is affixed to أَغْزِ with Damm of the , (R): contrary to such as إِنْ آمُرُوا IV. 175. [16, 591] (SH), because the Damm of the , (R, Jrb) is not original (Jrb), [but] is an alliteration to the accidental Damm of inflection, while an alliteration to an accidental [vowel] is accidental (R);

and to قَالَتْ أَرْمُوا *She said "Shoot ye"* (SH), because the original vowel of the م is Kasr, since the , is affixed to أَرِّمِ with Kasr of the م (R); and إِنْ أَلْحَكُم VI. 57. *Judgment belongeth not* [666] (SH), because the Damm of the ح, though original, is not in the same word as the second quiescent, since the *art.* is one word [599],

and حَكْمُ another: (a) the secret of it is that, when the Damm is in another word, it is not inseparable from the two quiescents; and is therefore not taken into account (Jrb): (b) Kasr is allowable [in all of this (IY)], according to the *o. f.* (IY, Jrb); and is read, as

وَعُيُونِنِ أَدْخُلُوهَا XV. 45, 46. [above], and XXXVIII. 40, 41. [609] (IY): (c)

Mb does not approve of Damm (IY, R) of the first

quiescent (R) here (IY), when it follows a Kasra, as in XXXVIII. 40, 41. [and XV. 45, 46.] (R), because it involves a transition from Kasr to Damm [668], which is deemed heavy (IY, R) in their language, and is not found in their speech ; whereas X. 101. and LXXIII. 3. [above] are not like that (IY) : (d) مُرِيْبٍ اَلَّذِي L. 24, 25. *Suspicious* [of God and His religion (K, B)], *who* is read with Fath of the ن, for an escape from the succession of Kasras (M), upon the principle [666] of اَلْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ IV. 97. [89]; but the reading of the majority is مُرِيْبِيْنَ اَلَّذِي with the Tanwin [of مُرِيْبٍ] pronounced with Kasr [609], on account of the concurrence of two quiescents (IY) : (e) sometimes the first of the two quiescents, although the second be not followed by an original Damma, is pronounced with Damm, for alliteration to the Damma of what precedes it, as قَدْ اَضْرَبَ Say thou “Strike”; and قُمْ اَللَّيْلَ LXXIII. 2. [663] is anomalously read (R), with Damm of the م (K, B), for alliteration (B) : IJ says “The object of putting this vowel is to effect thereby an escape from the concurrence of two quiescents ; and, with whichever of the [three] vowels you mobilize [the م], the object is realized” (K) : (f) by analogy to this, the [first quiescent] preceded by a Fatha is pronounced with Fath by some, as اِصْنَعِ اَلْخَيْرَ Do thou good (R) : (4) the preference for

Ḍamm, (a) [in the , (R, Jrb) of the *pron.* (Jrb) of the *pl.*, when preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (R),] in [such as (R, Jrb)] (a) اِخْشَوْا الْقَوْمَ *Dread ye the people* (SH), II. 238. [547, 668], and دَعُوا اللَّهَ XXXI. 31. *They call on God, being sincere* (Jrb), contrary to IX. 42. [below] (SH): (α) [the , of the *pron.* in] اِخْشَوْا الْقَوْمَ [above] is pronounced with Ḍamm to distinguish it from the , in such [words] as كَو and أَ [below], which is a [mere] letter (IY); [for,] whenever the , is a [mere] letter, [forming] part of the word itself, it is mobilized with Kasr, as IX. 42. [below] and LXXII. 16. [525], to distinguish between them: this is the doctrine of Khl: (β) others say that the Arabs prefer Ḍamm in what is a *n.*, [i. e., *pron.*] (IY on §. 663), because Ḍamm, being homogeneous with the , , is related to it more closely than any other [vowel]: and also (Jrb) because a letter, [vid. a ي or و (Jrb),] pronounced with Ḍamm has been elided [here] before the , [of the *pron.*] (IY, Jrb), the *o. f.* being اِخْشَيُوا , and تَنْسَيُوا [and دَعُوا] (IY); so that, [when mobilization of the , is needed (IY),] they mobilize it with the vowel [of the letter (Jrb)] elided, which is more appropriate (IY, Jrb) than importation of a strange vowel; whereas, when the , is part of the word itself, they mobilize it with Kasr, according to the general rule

[above] in the concurrence of two quiescents, since there is then no elided vowel, wherewith it might be mobilized (IY): (b) اِخْشَوْنَ [610, 663], in order that the vowel of the letter preceding the ن may be similar in all *conjugs.*, as اِضْرِبْنَ [610], اُغْزَنَ, اِرْزَمَنَّ, and اِخْشَوْنَ (α) it may be said that they intend to distinguish the و of the *pl.* from any other [و], as in IX. 42. [below]; while the و of the *pl.* is more worthy of Damm, in order that the letter preceding the *corrob.* ن may be made to keep one vowel in all *conjugs.*, as just mentioned (R): (b) similarly in the و of the *pl.*, [when preceded by a letter pronounced with Fathā,] in the *n.* [161] (R); [for] they treat the و of the *pl.*, [when so preceded,] like the و of the *pron.*, because each of them indicates the *pl. masc.*, and has a letter pronounced with Damm, vid. the ج of the word, elided before it (Jrb), as مُصْطَفَوُ اللَّهِ *the elect of God* (R, Jrb), [which is so pronounced] in order that it may correspond with such as ضَارِبُو الْقَوْمِ *the strikers of the people* (R): (α) in other cases, the و [preceded by a Fathā] is pronounced with Kasr (Jrb); [so that] Kasr is preferred in the و of لَوْ [and أَوْ] (R), as لَوْ آسْتَطَعْنَا IX. 42. *If we had been able* (R, Jrb), لَوْ آطَلَعْتَ XVIII. 17. *If thou hadst come suddenly*, [and أَوْ آتَقَضَ LXXIII. 3. above] (Jrb), according to the *o. f.*, because there is no such inducement to Damm as there is in

the , of the *pl.* : (b) the , of the *pl.* is sometimes assimilated to the , of such as **لَوْ** and **أَوْ**, and is therefore pronounced with Kasr; and similarly the , of such as **لَوْ** [and **أَوْ**] is sometimes assimilated to the , of the *pl.*, and is therefore pronounced with Damm (R) : [thus] **وَلَا تَنْسَوِ الْفَضْلَ** II. 238. [above] is read with Kasr of the , [of the *pl.*] (K) : while **لَوْ آسْتَطَعْنَا** IX. 42. [above] is read with Damm of the , [of **لَوْ**], by assimilating it to the , (K, B) of the *pron.* (B) of the *pl.* [*masc.*] in **فَتَمَنُّوا أَلْمَوْتَ** II. 88. *Then wish for death* (K), [and] in II. 15. [403] (B); and [similarly] **لَوْ أَطْلَعْتَ** XVIII. 17. [and **أَوْ أَنْقَضَ** LXXIII. 3. above] [K, B]: but both of these [variations] are rare (R) : (c) as for the **ي**, which is the sign of the *pron.* [161, 402], it, when preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, is pronounced with Kasr in [meeting] the *conj.* **اِخْشَى الرَّجُلَ** *Dread thou the man* said to a woman, because, since they make the vowel of the , homogeneous with the , , they make the vowel of the **ي** homogeneous with the **ي**, which is treated here as the , is treated there; while, if you treat it like [the , in] **وَلَا تَنْسَوِ الْفَضْلَ** II. 238. [above], you [still] pronounce with Kasr: so that in every case it is pronounced with Kasr: (d) the **ي** in **مِنْ مُصْطَفَيْنِ** is [treated] like that in **اِخْشَى**, as **مِنْ مُصْطَفَيْنِ**

اللَّهِ *from the elect of God* (S): (c) in حَيْثُ [202, 663, 666], because it is like the finals [201] (R): (5) the allowability of Damm [for alliteration (Jrb)], and Fath [for lightness, besides Kasr, according to the *o. f.* (Jrb),] in such [*imps.* and *apocs.*] as رُدُّ *Restore thou* and لَمْ يَرُدُّ *He did not restore*, contrary to such as رُدِّ الْقَوْمَ *Restore thou the people*, [where the double letter meets a quiescent after it, in which case Kasr is preferred (Jrb),] according to most (SH), because, if it were not incorporated, and اُرْدِدِ الْقَوْمَ [663] were said, Kasr would be necessary; so that, when they incorporate, the second [د] retains its vowel (Jrb): [or] because, since Kasr is allowable, on account of the concurrence of two quiescents in one word [رُدِّ], and then a [second] concurrence thereof in two words [رُدِّ الْقَوْمَ] supervenes, the cause of Kasr is strong; and the allowable becomes necessary, on account of the strength of its cause (IY): (a) some, [vid. the Banu Asad (M),] pronounce [it (IY, Jrb)] with Fath [with the *art.* (IY)], as دُمَّ اَلْمَنَارِ اَلْحِ [171] (M, Jrb), also related دُمِّ with Kasr (Jrb); and as فَعَصَّ اَلطَّرْفَ اَلْحِ [below] (M): and [Jrb affirms that] some pronounce with Damm [below], which is rare (Jrb): (b) [all of] this is when the *aor.* is [*orig.*] pronounced with Damm of the ع (Jrb, MASH): but, if it be

pronounced with Fatḥ or Kasr, then Kasr [is allowable], according to the *o. f.*; and Fatḥ, for lightness, and for alliteration [also] in the case of the [*aor.*] pronounced with Fatḥ of the ع (MASH): (c) when the Banū Tamīm, and those who imitate them, incorporate, as we have mentioned [663], in such *imps.* and *apocs.* as these, they adopt [three] several methods [of mobilizing the second quiescent]:—(a) some pronounce it with Fatḥ, as in *انْطَلَقَ* and *لَمْ يَلِدْهُ* [663], from regard to its being a *v.*, in which it is more proper to avoid a permanent Kasra; whereas in *أَرْدِدِ الْقَوْمَ* [above] the matter of the Kasra is softened by its being accidental: so that they say *مَدَّ* *draw*, *عَصَّ* *bite*, and *عَزَّ* *be mighty*; and, according to them, the Fatḥ of *عَصَّ* is not for alliteration, otherwise they would say *مَدَّ* with Damm, and *عَزَّ* with Kasr: (b) some flee from Kasr to alliteration, as in *مُنْدُ* [203, 663]; so that they say *مَدَّ*, *عَصَّ*, and *عَزَّ*; and, according to them, the Kasr in *عَزَّ* is not because the [second] quiescent is [properly] mobilized with Kasr, otherwise *عَصَّ* and *مَدَّ* also would be pronounced with Kasr: (c) some, vid. Ka'b and Ghani, keep all [three] pronounced with Kasr, which is the *o. f.* in annulling [a concurrence of] two quiescents; and, according to them, the Kasr in *عَزَّ* is not for alliteration, otherwise alliteration would take place in *مَدَّ* and *عَصَّ* also: (d) the

Arabs, Hijāzīs and others, unite in adopting incorporation, together with Fath, in هَلَمْ [189], because, نَمْ being compounded with هَا, they lighten it by the necessity for incorporation, and the necessity for Fath: (e) if this *apoc.* or *imp.* be contiguous to a quiescent after it, as رَدِّ آبْنَكَ *Restore thy son* and لَمْ تَرَدِّ الْقَوْمَ *Thou didst not restore the people*, then most of those who incorporate are agreed upon pronouncing it with Kasr, by analogy to the rest of what is quiescent before a quiescent like this, as in اضْرِبِ الْقَوْمَ *Strike thou the people*: (f) some of the Arabs leave it pronounced with Fath with this quiescent also: Y mentions that he heard them recite

فَغَضَّ الطَّرْفَ إِنَّكَ مِنْ نُمَيْرٍ * فَلَا كَعْبًا بَلَغْتَ وَلَا كِلَابًا

[above] (R), by Jarīr (IY, Jsh) Ibn 'Aṭīya atTamīmī, addressing 'Ubaid Ibn Ḥuṣain an Numairī, the poet cognominated Ar Rā'ī, *Then lower the eye: verily thou art of Numair; so that neither Ka'b hast thou reached, nor Kilāb* (Jsh), with Fath of the ض (R), as though, says F, they reduced it to the general rule [that Fath is allowable in such an *imp.*, when not followed by a quiescent], saying غَضَّ, and afterwards annexed the *art.* to it (IY); [i. e.,] as though they mobilized it with Fath before the introduction of the *art.*, and then did not alter it when the *art.* was put: (g) from none of them has Ḍamm [above] been heard before the quiescent:

IH [followed by Jrb], in the Commentary [on the SH], allows it; but this is a mistake (R): (6) the necessity for (a) Fath in such as دَّهًا Restore thou her (SH), for affinity to the ا (Jrb): (a) the Arabs are all agreed upon the necessity for Fath when a ʾ followed by an ا is attached to this *imp.* or *apoc.*, as دَّهًا [above], عَضَهَا Bite her, and اسْتَعِدَّهَا Make her ready (R), because the ʾ is faint (R, Jrb); so that the ا, as it were, follows immediately after the [letter] incorporated into; while the ا is not preceded by any [vowel] but Fatha (R): (b) Damm in such as دُّهًا Restore thou him, [for affinity to the , (Jrb),] according to the chastest [usage]; while Kasr [in دَّهًا (MASH)] is a weak *dial. var.*, [heard by Akh from the Banù 'Uḡail (MASH)]; and Th is taxed with error in allowing Fath (SH) in such as دُّهًا [below] (MASH): (a) when the ʾ denoting the *sing. masc.* is pronounced with Damm, all of them pronounce [the letter incorporated into] with Damm, as دُّهًا [above], عَضَّهُ Bite him, and اسْتَعِدَّهُ Make him ready, because the , [161], as it were, follows immediately after the [letter] incorporated into, since the ʾ is faint, as though you said دُّهًا, عَضُّو, and اسْتَعِدُّو; and the Damm in دُّهًا is not for alliteration to that [vowel] which precedes it, otherwise عَضُّو and اسْتَعِدُّو would not be pronounced with Damm (R): (b) IH says “according to the chastest

[usage]" because it is not necessary that the vowel preceding the , should be homogeneous with it ; and, for this reason, the [dialectic] variation [above mentioned] occurs here (Jrb) : (c) Kasr of the [letter] incorporated into occurs in one *dial.*, because, when that letter is pronounced with Kasr, the ة also is pronounced with Kasr, by alliteration to it, as is the custom of the ة in بِه and غَلَامِه [161], so that the , is converted into ي ; whereas, if the ة retained its original vowel, Kasr would be disliked, because the quiescent , would, as it were, follow the Kasra, without separation, since the ة is faint : (d) Th in the Faṣiḥ, without [the authority of] any hearsay, allows Faṭḥ of the [letter] incorporated into, notwithstanding the occurrence of the ة of the 3rd pers. [sing. masc.] after it, as رَدُّ [above], عَضُّ , and اسْتَعِدَّة : but many pronounce this to be an error ; though analogy does not forbid it, because the occurrence of the quiescent , after Faṭḥa is not uncommon, as in قَوْلُ saying and طَوْلُ superiority (R) : (c) Faṭḥ in the ن of مِنْ with the ل [of determination (Jrb)], as مِنَ الرَّجُلِ from the man, Kasr being weak ; contrary to مِنَ ابْنِكَ from thy son [666, 669] (SH), where Faṭḥ is weak (Jrb).

§. 665. Some of the Arabs dislike the concurrence of two quiescents in every case, even if they satisfy the condition on which a combination of two quiescents is

allowable, as in دَابَّةٌ *beast* and شَاةٌ *lass* (IY). Mobilization of the first quiescent occurs in two pardonable [663] sorts of concurrence of two quiescents, because of their dislike to the concurrence of two quiescents, unrestrictedly :—(1) where the quiescence of the second is on account of pause, and the first is not a letter of softness, as in جَاءَنِي عَمْرُو , *Amr came to me* and مَرَرْتُ بِعَمْرُو , *I passed by Amr*, in which case the first is mobilized with the vowel of the second, [as عَمْرُو and بِعَمْرُو ,] because it must have a light vowel, as we mentioned [663] at the beginning of the chapter ; and therefore to mobilize it with a vowel that was [*orig.*] expressed, and whose elision was then intended for an indication of a meaning, [*vid. completion of the purport of the speech,*] is more appropriate : (a) if the second quiescent be the ة of the *masc.* [648], as in اضْرِبْهُ *strike him*, مِنْهُ , and ضَرَبْتَهُ , the vowel of the ة may be transferred to the preceding quiescent, as اضْرِبْهُ [641], مِنْهُ , and ضَرَبْتَهُ ; but some of the Banù Tamīm, *vid.* the Banù 'Adī, elide the vowel of the ة , and mobilize the first [quiescent] with Kasr, as ضَرَبْتَهُ [641] and أَخَذْتَهُ *She took him*, as you say ضَرَبَتِ الْمَرْأَةُ *The woman struck* [607] : (2) when the second quiescent is incorporated, and the first is an ا [below], as in I. 7. [663], in which case the ا is converted into a Hamza [683] pronounced with Fath, as in the

anomalous reading وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ I. 7. [539, 656] transmitted from Ayyūb es Sikhtiyānī; and in دَابَّةٌ [641, 656] and شَابَّةٌ transmitted from him by AZ, who cites

يَا عَجَبًا لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ عَجَبًا * حِمَارَ قَبَّانٍ يَسُوقُ أَرْنبًا
خَاطِمَهَا زَامَمَهَا أَنْ تَذْهَبَا * فَقُلْتُ أَرْدَفْنِي فَقَالَ مَرَحَبًا

[677] (R) *O marvel! Assuredly I have seen a marvel, a woodlouse driving a hare, putting a halter upon her, attaching a nose-rein to her, in order that she might go. Then said I "Let me ride behind", and he said "Welcome!"* (MAR), i. e., زَامَمَهَا, the | being converted [by poetic license (Jh)] into a Hamza pronounced with Fath, since the metre of the verse would not be correct with |, by reason of the combination of the two quiescents; and in the reading of [HB and (K)] 'Amr Ibn 'Ubaid *فَيَوْمَئِذٍ لَا يُسْأَلُ عَنْ ذَنْبِهِ إِنْسٌ وَلَا جَانٌّ* LV. 39. *Then, on that day, man shall not be questioned about his sin, nor spirits,* reported by AZ: (a) Mb says, I said to Mz "Dost thou take that as a precedent?"; and he said "No, nor do I accept it": (b) Z and IH hold that the | is made into a Hamza pronounced with Fath for an escape from the concurrence of two quiescents: (c) it may, however, be said that the conversion of the | in such as دَابَّةٌ into Hamza is not for an escape from the concurrence of two quiescents, but is like what is [found] in النَّبَأُ and الْعَالَمُ [683]; and that, since they convert it

into a quiescent Hamza, which cannot be followed by a quiescent, as the *†* can be, the first of the two quiescents is mobilized, as is the general rule [664], except that it is pronounced with Fatḥh, because Fatha proceeds from the same outlet [732] as the *subst.* and its original, i. e., the Hamza and the *†*, because both are from the throat: (d) if the *†* have an *o. f.* mobile with any vowel, the Hamza is mobilized with that vowel, as in the saying [of the Rājiz (Jh)]

يَا دَارَ مَيِّ بَالِدٍ كَادِيكَ الْبَرْقِ * صَبْرًا فَقَدْ هَيَّجَتْ شَوْقَ الْمُسْتَتِقِ

(R) *O abode of Mayya* (a woman's name) *in the low-lying sands, sands mixed with stones and earth, (give me) patience*, صَبْرًا being governed in the *acc.*

by a *v.* understood, i. e. اَعْطِينِي صَبْرًا, while Jh has the

version سَقِيَا *God send thee rain* [41], *for thou hast excited the yearning of the yearner* (MAR), where,

says S, he pronounces with Hamza [by poetic license (Jh)] what should not be pronounced with Hamza (Jh, MAR):

(e) when the first of the two quiescents in this *cat.* is an *†* [above], one escapes from the concurrence of two quiescents by converting it into a mobile Hamza;

but not when it is a *و*, as in تَمُودٌ [663] and قَامُرُونِي

XXXIX. 64. *Do ye bid me?*, [with incorporation of

the ن (K)]; or a ي, as in دُرَيْبَةٌ [274] and خُوَيْصَةٌ [663]:

because of the frequency of the [concurrence of] two

quiescents when the first of them is an **ا**, not when it is a **و**, or **ي** (R) : (f) they do not alter the **و**, in XXXIX. 64. [above], because, [says Jrb,] the Hamza is remote from it; and because, [if **تَأْمُرُونِي** were said,] the Damm upon the Hamza, together with what precedes it, would be heavy (Jrb) : (g) **تَأْمُرُونِي** is read in XXXIX. 64. [by Ibn 'Āmir, with the two **و** s displayed (B)], according to the *o. f.*; and **تَأْمُرُونِي** [by Nāfi' (B)], with elision of the [second (B)] **و** (K, B), which is often elided [170, 405] (B).

§. 666. The **و** of **مِنْ**, (1) when the **ل** of determination [599] is conjoined with it, is most commonly pronounced with Fath, because the **ل** of determination frequently occurs after **مِنْ**, and the succession of two Kasras is deemed heavy when frequent : (a) that [Fath] is not because the vowel of the [*conj.*] Hamza [in **أَلْ**] is transferred [to the **و**], otherwise **هَلْ أَلْ رَجُلٌ** [663] would be allowable : (b) Ks says that they pronounce [the **و**] with Fath in such as **مِنْ أَلْ رَجُلٍ** [664] because **مِنْ** is *orig.* **مِنَا**, but he produces no argument in [support of] it; and this is as he says that **كَمْ** is *orig.* **كَمَا** : (2) when a quiescent other than the **ل** of determination follows immediately after it, is commonly pronounced with Kasr, according to the *o. f.*, as **مِنْ آبْنِكَ** [664, 669],

the [succession of] two Kasras not being heeded, from rarity of usage (R). But [S says that (R)] some chaste speakers pronounce [the ى (R)] with Fath (S, R) with [a quiescent] other than the ى of determination (MAR), to escape from the [succession of] two Kasras (R); so that they say مِنْ آبْنِكَ, treating it like مِنْ الْمُسْلِمِينَ *from the Muslims* (S). And [they assert that (S)] some of the Arabs [also (R) say مِنْ اللَّهِ *from God*; so that they (S)] pronounce it with Kasr, [which is not common, with the ى of determination (R), treating it (S)] according to the *o. f.* (S, R); and do not heed the [succession of] two Kasras, because the second is accidental. They keep also to Fath of [the final in] أَيْنَ [206, 321, 663] and كَيْفَ [207, 321, 663], in order to escape from the combination of two likes, i. e., the ى and Kasra, [which would ensue] if they pronounced with Kasr, according to the *o. f.*; and because Damma after the ى, if they pronounced with Damm, would be heavy. But حَيْثُ 202, 663, 664] deviates from that [rule]: for they allow [the final in] it to be pronounced with (1) Damm, in the chastest, best-known [usage]; (2) Fath, according to the rule mentioned [for أَيْنَ and كَيْفَ]; (3) Kasr, which is weak: though the last two [pronunciations] are rare. The reason for Damm has been mentioned before [664]: and, as for Kasr, it is [allowable] according to the *o. f.*;

although it varies from the rule mentioned, since the first [quiescent] is a **ي** (R). But **عَنْ** is [pronounced with Kasr of its **ن** (R),] according to the *o. f.* (SH), with whatever quiescent it be [conjoined], since two Kasras are not combined in it, as in **مِنْ** [above] (R). And **عَنْ الرَّجُلِ** *from the man*, [quoted by Akh (R)] with Damm, is weak (SH); and, says he, is bad (R). He likens it to their saying **قُلْ أَنْظِرُوا** X. 101. [664] (IY, R) and **أَوْ أَنْقُصْ** LXXIII. 3. [664, 668] (IY), meaning that the **ن** is mobilized with Damm for alliteration to the Damma of the **ج**, the incorporated, not being taken into account, [so that **عَنْ الرَّجُلِ** is reducible to **عَنْ الْجُلِ**]: but this [explanation] is weak, because Damm is not allowable in VI. 57. [664], notwithstanding the Damma after the second quiescent, without separation. If, then, this quotation were correct, it should not be copied in any other [phrase]; and, even if it were copied, such copying would be allowable only in what is like it, *vid.* where the [second] quiescent is followed by [a letter pronounced with] Damm, as in **عَنْ الْحُكْمِ** *from the judgment*; or by a letter [interposed] between them, as in **عَنْ الْعُضْدِ** *from the upper*

arm (R). But عَنِ الرَّجُلِ with Fath, for alliteration, is not allowable, because alliteration is not an *o. f.*; but is found only in what has come down from them, and is not to be copied (Jrb).

CHAPTER VII.

THE PREDICAMENT OF THE INITIALS OF WORDS.

§. 667. It is common to the three kinds [625] (M), the *n.*, the *v.*, and the *p.*, because each of them may be inceptive [658], as زَيْدٌ قَائِمٌ [24], قَامَ زَيْدٌ [20], and إِنَّ زَيْدًا قَائِمٌ [517] (IY). One begins only with a mobile, as one pauses only upon a quiescent (SH). The inceptive letter is only mobile (IY, Jrb), because the articulate [quiescent] letter is supported either, like the م of عَمْرٌو, *Amr*, upon a neighbouring vowel ; or, like the ب of دَابَّةٌ and the ص of خَوِصَّةٌ [663], upon a preceding letter of softness, which serves instead of a vowel : and, when these supports are missing, speech is impracticable. The proof thereof is experience ; and whoever denies that denies what is visible to the eye, and disputes what is perceptible by the senses. Some allow beginning with a quiescent, because the utterance of the vowel comes to pass only after the utterance of the consonant, and to make a thing depend upon what comes to pass after it is absurd. But the answer is a denial [of the assertion] that the vowel is [uttered] after the consonant ; nay, the vowel is [uttered simultaneously] with it (Jrb). Most [authorities] hold that beginning

with a quiescent is impracticable [368, 640, 663, 668]; but IJ takes the view that it is difficult, not impracticable, saying that it occurs in Persian [663], as شُتْرُ camel and سَتَام saddle-ornaments. Apparently, however, it is impossible; and beginning with a mobile is unavoidable: but, since that mobile in such as شُتْرُ and سَتَام is extremely faint, the word is thought to begin with a quiescent; whereas it is supported, before that quiescent, upon a letter approximate to Hamza, pronounced with Kasr. As for pausing upon a mobile, it is not impossible. By "pausing" we do not mean the technical "pause", which is only upon the quiescent, or its like, vid. that [letter] whose vowel is pronounced with Raum [640]; but we mean "quiescence" and "ending" (R). The initials of words are generally mobile (M, R). But some of them occur quiescent (M), except that they prefix the *conj.* Hamza [668] as a means of effecting the articulation of the quiescent (IY). It being obvious that beginning is not possible, except with a mobile, if the initial of the word be mobile, the matter is plain; but, if it be quiescent, it needs the *conj.* Hamza (Jrb). That [quiescence of the initial] is [found] in (1) *ns.*, [which are (Jrb)] of two kinds (M, Jrb), (a) confined to hearsay (Jrb), vid. [ten (IY, Jrb) *non-inf.* (M)] *ns.*, [limited in number (IY),] i. e., اِبْنُ son, اِبْنَةُ daughter, اِبْنُ [i. q. اِبْنُ (Jrb)], اِثْنَانِ two [masc.], اِثْنَتَانِ two

[fem.], *أَمْرٌ* *man*, *أَمْرَاءٌ* *woman*, *إِسْمٌ* *name*, *أَسْتُ* *rump* or *anus*, and *أَيْمُ اللَّهِ* *God's blessing* (M, Jrb) or *أَيْمُ اللَّهِ* [651] (M) : (b) regular (Jrb), vid. the *inf. ns.* of the [eight (IY), or rather twelve,] *vs.* whose [initial (M)] *is* [in the *pret.* (Jrb)] are followed by four or more (M, Jrb) letters [668], as (a) *أَفْعَل* [332, 482] (M), like *أَنْطَلَقَ* [668] (IY) ; *أَفْعَل* (M), like *أَقْتَدَرَ* *had power* [483, 668, 671] ; and *أَفْعَلَل* , like *أَحْمَرَ* ; these three being of one measure and one paradigm (IY) : (b) *أَسْتَفْعَل* [332, 482] (M), like *أَسْتَخْرِجَ* [332, 432, 493, 668] ; *أَفْعَعَلَل* , like *أَقْعَسَسَ* [432, 496] ; *أَفْعَالَلْتُ* , like *أَشْهَابَبْتُ* [496] ; *أَفْعَوَل* like *أَخْرَوَطَ* [482, 494] ; and *أَفْعَوَعَل* , like *أَخْشَوْشَنَ* [494] ; these five also being of one paradigm, [to which belong three more formations, whose *inf. ns.* are mentioned below, vid. *أَفْعَوَلَل* , like *أَعْتَوَجَجَ* (482) ; *أَفْعَعَلَلِي* , like *أَسَلَنْقَى* (482, 483) ; and *أَفْعَعَلَل* , like *أَحْرَنْجَمَ* (495, 496, 668) : (c) *أَفْعَلَل* , like *أَتَشَعَّرَ* (495), which is a different paradigm] : (α) as for the first three, their initial is made quiescent, because, if they did not do that, more than three mobiles would be combined in one word ; and, as for the following five [or rather nine], it is as though, having added a letter to them, they disliked the multiplicity of consonants, and the multiplicity of vowels, and therefore made their initial quiescent : and,

since that is necessary in these *vs.*, they have recourse to it in their *inf. ns.* (IY): (β) they are eleven [or rather twelve] formations, [the first ten being augmented *trils.*, and the last two augmented *quads.*] (Jrb, Tsr, MASH):—you say (M) اِنْفَعَالٌ [332], اِفْتَعَالٌ, اِنْفَعَالٌ (Jrb, Tsr, MASH), اِسْتَفْعَالٌ (M, Jrb, Tsr, MASH), اِنْفِعِلَالٌ, اِنْفِعِيْعَالٌ, اِنْفِعْوَالٌ, اِنْفِعِلَالٌ (Tsr, MASH), اِنْفِعْنَالٌ (Jrb, Tsr, MASH), اِنْفِعْنَالٌ (Tsr, MASH), اِنْفِعْلَالٌ (Jrb, Tsr, MASH), and اِقْتِدَارٌ, اِنْطِلَاقٌ (Jrb, Tsr, MASH), as اِشْهِيْبَابٌ (IY, Tsr), اِقْعِنْسَاسٌ, اِسْتِنْخَرَاَجٌ, اِحْمِرَارٌ (IY), اِخْشِيْشَانٌ (IY, Jrb, Tsr), اِخْرِيْوَاطٌ (IY), اِقْشَعْرَارٌ (Jrb, Tsr), and اِحْرَنْجَامٌ (Tsr), اِسْلِنْقَاءٌ, اِعْثِيْبَجَاجٌ (Jrb, Tsr): (γ) hence اِطَّايَّرٌ [757], *inf. n.* اِطَّايَّرٌ [332]; اِثَّاقَلٌ, *inf. n.* اِثَّاقَلٌ; and اِدَّارَكُوا *They overtook one another*, *inf. n.* اِدَّارَكٌ; where the initial is quiescent, because they incorporate the ت of تَفَاعَلٌ into what follows it (IY): (2) *vs.* (M, Jrb), (a) of this class (M), i. e., the *vs.* of those *inf. ns.* belonging to the eleven [or rather twelve] formations, [or to the *cat.* of اِطَّايَّرٌ,] whether such *vs.* be in the *pret.*, as اِنْطَلَقَ *departed* [above]; or *imp.*, as اِنْطَلَقَ *depart* [668] (Jrb): (b) the paradigms of the *imp.* [of the 2nd *pers.* (M)] in the [unaugmented (M)] *tril.* (M, Jrb), as اِضْرَبْ *strike* and اِذْهَبْ *go* [428,

668] (M), when neither the **ف** nor the **ع** of its *aor.* is unsound; for, if either of them be unsound, the *conj.* Hamza is not needed, as **عِدْ** *promise* and **قُلْ** *say* [428, 668] (Jrb): (3) *ps.*, the **ج** of determination [599], and its **م** [599, 687] (M, Jrb) in the *dial.* of Ṭayyi (M). The initial of the word is not quiescent, in a regular way, except in *vs.*, and what is connected [330] with them, *vid. inf. ns.*, because *vs.* have much plasticity, and are the principal subjects of [euphonic] transformation [697], such as conversion, elision, and transfer of the vowel; so that it is allowable, in their case, to make the initial quiescent. But that does not occur in the pure *n.*, except a few irregular *ns. vid.* the ten [668] mentioned [above]; nor in the *p.*, except the **ج** and **م** of determination. The Hamza in the ten *ns.* is a compensation for that infirmity which affects them, since they are *trils.*, weak in constitution, their **ج** s having been elided as forgotten, or virtually elided, which is an infirmity upon an infirmity, because the elided as forgotten is like the non-existent. But it is not necessary, in the whole of the *trils.* whose **ج** is elided, that the Hamza should be substituted for it, as you see in **غَدٌ** *morrow* [153, 275], **يَدٌ** [231, 260, 275, 306], and **حُرٌّ** *vulva* [275, 306]. Since, then, these [ten] *ns.* are afflicted with transformation, which ought to be in the *v.*, they resemble *vs.*; so that the *conj.* Hamza [668] is prefixed to them, as a

compensation for the [ج actually or virtually] elided, as is proved by the fact that the two are not combined in such as ^{بَنَوِي} and ^{إِبْنِي} [306]. The finals of ^{إِبْنُمْ} [16, 306], ^{إِمْرُو} [16, 306], and ^{أَيُّمُنْ} [650], are not [actually] elided, the م in ^{إِبْنُمْ} being a *subst.* [687] for the ج, i. e., the و, [which is therefore like the expressed]. But, since the vowel of the ن and the ر, in ^{إِبْنُمْ} and ^{إِمْرُو} respectively, is an alliteration to the vowel of inflection [on the letter] after them, they become like the letter of inflection, [so that the finals are virtually elided] (R). The م of ^{إِبْنُمْ} is, [however, sometimes said to be (R)] *aug.*, [for *corroboration* and *intensiveness* (Jrb, Tsr),] as in ^{زُرْتُمْ} (R, Jrb, Tsr) and ^{سُتْهُمْ} [below], the ج being [actually] elided. And, as for ^{أَيُّمُنْ آلِلَهْ} [650], since the ن is often elided, as ^{أَيُّم آلِلَهْ} [651], and the oath is the position of abbreviation, the expressed ن becomes like the non-existent, [so that it too is virtually elided] (R). The *o. f.* of ^{إِبْنْ} [275, 277] is [^{بَنِي} or (KF)] ^{بَنُو} (IY, R, Jrb, A, Fk), [since] the measure of ^{إِبْنْ} is [*orig.*] ^{فَعْلٌ} with two Fathas (Tsr), like ^{قَلَمٌ} *pen* (A), with Fath of the ف and ع (IY, R, Fk), because its [broken (Jrb, Fk)] *pl.* is ^{أَبْنَاءٌ} [307] (IY, R, Jrb, Fk), upon the measure of ^{أَفْعَالٌ} (Fk), as ^{نَحْنُ أَبْنَاءُ آلِلَهْ} V. 21. *We are the sons of God* and

[28] (IY), **أَفْعَالٌ** being regular in **أَبْنَاءُ** **الرِّجَالِ** **الْحَيِّ** (R, Jrb) with Fath of the ع, like **أَجْمَالٌ** [237]; and [not] in **فَعْلٌ** quiescent in the ع, [except] when **فَعْلٌ** is hollow [237], like **أَثْرَابٌ** and **أَبْيَاتٌ** [242]; while **أَبْنَاءٌ** may not be like **أَقْفَالٌ** *pl.* of **قُفْلٌ** [237], nor like **أَجْدَاعٌ** *pl.* of **جَذْعٌ** *trunk*, because **بَنُونَ** indicates Fath of [the ف in] its *sing.* [307] (R), for which reason they say in the *rel. n.* **بَنَوِيٌّ** [306], with Fath of its ف (IY). The proof of the Fath of the ف is its *pl.* **بَنُونَ** and its *rel. n.* **بَنَوِيٌّ**, with Fath thereof (A) in the *pl.* and the *rel. n.* "But," says the author of the Msb, "its *o. f.* is said [by some] to be **بَنُوٌّ**, with Kasr of the ب, like **حِمْلٌ** *load*, as is proved by **بِنْتُ** *daughter* [234, 263, 277, 307, 689], the alteration, according to this saying, being small; and the smallness of the alteration being evidence of originality", meaning "the alteration" of **بِنْتُ** (Sn). And the proof of the mobilization of the ع is its *pl.* **أَبْنَاءٌ** [above], **أَفْعَالٌ** being *pl.* of **فَعْلٌ** with mobilization of the ع; while the proof of the vowel's being Fatha is that **أَفْعَالٌ** is more frequent in [the *pl.* of] the [**فَعْلٌ**] pronounced with Fath of the ع than in [the *pl.* of] the [**فَعْلٌ**] pronounced with Damm of the ع, like **أَعْضَادٌ** *pl.* of **عَضْدٌ** *upper arm*, or with Kasr of it, like **أَكْبَادٌ** *pl.* of **كَبِدٌ** *liver* [237] (A). Its ل [below] is elided (Jrb, Tsr,

Fk), for lightness (Fk); and its ُ made quiescent (Jrb, Fk), in order that the Hamza may be [put as] a compensation for the elided (Fk); and [then (Fk)] the Hamza is prefixed (Jrb, Fk) to it (Fk), in order to accomplish the articulation of the quiescent (Fk). The [elided (IY)] ِ is [said to be (Tsr)] (1) a , (IY, R, A, Tsr), which is correct (Tsr), not a ى [below] (A), (a) because the ِ of those *ns.* in which the ِ is elided, [and the Hamza made a compensation for it (Tsr),] is a , (A, Tsr), in most cases (A), [i. e.] in the case of all but [اِثْنَانِ , اِثْنَتَانِ , and] اِسْتُ [below] (Tsr), not a ى (A); (b) because they say in the *fem.* بِنْتُ [above] (IY, R, A), substituting the ت for its ِ (IY, A), and substitution of the ت for the , is more frequent than for the ى [689] (IY, R, A); (c) because of [their saying (A)] بُنُوَّةٌ *sonship* [below] (R, A), while فُتُوَّةٌ *youthfulness* [243] from فَتًى *a youth* is irregular (R): (2) a ى (A, Tsr), as ISh reports to be held by some, who derive اِبْنٌ from بَنَى بِأَمْرَاتِهِ *He went in to his wife, aor.* يَبْنِي (A), because the *son* is the effect of the father's *going in* to the mother (Sn); [or] from بَنَيْتُ *I built*, because the *son* is *built* upon the father, as the wall is built upon the foundation (Tsr). But there is no evidence in بُنُوَّةٌ [above], because of فُتُوَّةٌ , which is from the ى (IY, A), since they say فُتَيَان in the *du.* [229, 326], and فُتَيَّةٌ and

فَتَيَّانٌ in the *pl.* [243, 246, 257] (IY). And Zj allows both the modes [of representing the ج] (A). The *o. f.* of ابْنَةٌ [below] is بَنَوْتُ [234] (R, Jrb, Fk, Sn), like شَجَرَةٌ tree (Jrb, Fk), because it is *fem.* of ابْنٌ (R, Jrb, Fk); and its predicament is [like] that of ابْنٌ (Jrb). As for ابْنٌ [above], it is ابْنٌ augmented by the م [668] for *intensiveness* (IY, A, Fk) and *corroboration* (IY), as in زُرْتُ intensely blue (IY, A) and سَتُّهُمْ big in the rump [671, 676] (IY). It has been heard (Fk), as وَهَذَا لِي أُمٌّ غَيْرُهَا إِنْ ذَكَرْتُهَا * أَبَى اللَّهُ إِلَّا أَنْ أَكُونَ لَهَا ابْنًا (IY, A, YS), by AlMutalammis, *And have I any mother other than her, if I mention her? God forbid but that I should be a son to her!* (MN); and is therefore to be remembered, but not copied (Fk). The م is not a *subst.* for the ج (IY, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk) of the word (IY, Jrb, Tsr), as [it is for the ع (Fk)] in فَمٌ [16, 275, 278, 306, 687] (IY, Jrb, Fk), because that would require the Hamza to be dropped (Fk): for, if the م were a *subst.* for the ج, [it would virtually be the ج; and (IY)] the ج would be like the expressed, so that [prefixion of (IY)] the *conj.* Hamza would be unnecessary (IY, Jrb, A, Tsr), since it is [prefixed as] a compensation [for the ج] (Fk). The *o. f.* of اِثْنَانِ [16, 313, 314] is ثَنَيَانِ (IY, R, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk), with Fath

of the ف and ع (A), like فَتَيَانِ [above] (R), (1) because it is from ثَنَيْتُ [313] IY, A, Fk), an explanation of the reason for the ل 's being اى (Sn): (2) because they say in its *rel. n.* ثَنَوِيَّ [295] (R, Jrb, A, Tsr), with two Fathas (Jrb, Tsr, Sn), an explanation of the reason for the Fath of the ف and ع (Sn); whereas, if the ث were pronounced with Damin or Kasr, that would appear in the *rel. n.*; and, if the ع were quiescent, they would say ثَنِيَّ with quiescence, like ظَبِيَّ [302] (Jrb): but this is open to the objection that their saying ثَنَوِيَّ does not prevent quiescence of the ع in the *o. f.*, because, in the *rel. n.* of اِسْمُ [below], you say سَمَوِيَّ [306], with Fath of the ف and ع, according to the correct [opinion as to Fath of the ع, when *orig.* quiescent, in such *ns.*] (Sn). The ل is elided, the ف made quiescent, and the [*conj.* (Tsr, Fk)] Hamza put (Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk). And the *o. f.* of اِثْنَتَانِ [below] is ثَنَيْتَانِ (Jrb, Tsr, Fk, Sn), like شَجَرَتَانِ *two trees* (Jrb, Tsr, Fk). The *o. f.* of اِمْرُو [and اِمْرَاةٌ (below) (Fk, Sn)] is مَرءٌ (A, Fk) and مَرَاةٌ (Fk, Sn), which are another *dial. var.* (Fk). اِمْرُو is a complete *n.*, nothing being elided from it, except that, since its Hamza [in the *o. f.* مَرءٌ] may be elided by transfer of its vowel to the quiescent [ر] before it with the *art.* [below], as اَلْمَرْ the man, they transform it

because of that, and from frequency of usage. And ^{اَمْرًا} is ^{اِمْرًا} with the addition of the ʔ (Tsr). Their initial is made quiescent, and then the *conj.* Hamza is added to them, although they are of three letters, because their ʔ is a Hamza, and they are subject to abbreviation, as ^{مَر} and ^{مَرَّة} [658]; so that they are treated like ^{اِبْن} and ^{اِبْنَة} [above] (Fk). For ^{مَرَّة} is abbreviated by transfer of the vowel of the Hamza to the ʔ; then the Hamza is elided, and the *conj.* Hamza put as a compensation therefor, [the ʔ being made quiescent, as in its congeners (Sn)]; and afterwards, upon restoration of the [final] Hamza, the *conj.* Hamza is retained, because alleviation [658] of the Hamza [which is the ʔ, by transfer of its vowel to the quiescent before it with the *art.*, as in the Tsr (above), and then by elision of it (Sn),] is always permissible, so that the expected [alleviation (Sn)] is treated like the occurring. As for the *fems.* of ^{اِبْن} [above], ^{اِثْنَان}, and ^{اِمْرًا}, [i. e., ^{اِبْنَة}, ^{اِثْنَتَان}, and ^{اِمْرًا} (Sn),] the discourse on them is like the discourse on their *mascs.* [668]: and the ʔ in ^{اِبْنَة} and ^{اِثْنَتَان} is for femininization [263], like the ʔ of ^{اِمْرًا} [264]; contrary to the ʔ in ^{بْنْت} and ^{ثِنْتَان} [277, 295, 307], which is a *subst.* for the ʔ of the word [689] (A). The *o. f.* of ^{اِسْم} [275, 277, 306] is, (1) [according to the BB (Jrb, Tsr, Fk),]

فَعَلَّ (IY, R, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk), upon the measure of قُنُو, with Kasr of the ف (IY), as S says (IY, A), like قُنُو *bunch of dates* (Jrb, A, Fk), or سُمُو, [as is said (A),] like قُفْل (R, A), as is proved by their also saying سُم without a *conj.* Hamza, whence

بِاسْمِ الْإِلَهِ فِي كُلِّ سُورَةٍ سُمُّهُ * قَدْ وَرَدَتْ عَلَى طَرِيقٍ تَعْلَمُهُ
أَرْسَلَ فِيهَا بَارِزًا يَقْرُمُهُ * فَهَوَّيَهَا يَنْكُحُ طَرِيقًا يَعْلَمُهُ

(R), by Ru'ba Ibn Al'Ajjāj (N), *By the Name of Him whose Name is in every chapter of the K̤ur'an, they (the camels) have arrived upon a path that they know, He [the herdsman (MAR)] has turned loose among them a nine-year-old he-camel, that he reserves for covering; and he (the nine-year-old) will follow with them a path that he knows, because he is accustomed to that work (N, MAR), i. e., covering (N), related by AZ, says AHS in the commentary on the M, with Kasr and Damm of the س (MAR), meaning اسْمُهُ (AZ) : [and by other evidence also,] because its [broken (Fk)] pl. is اسْمَاء (Fk, Sn), اسْمَاء being a pl. for these two measures, like جَذَع, pl. أَجْدَاع, and قُفْل, pl. أَقْفَال [above] (Jh); and its dim. is سُمِّي [277] (Fk, Sn); and its v. is سَمَيْتُ I named [below]; orig. سُمِيو, اسْمَاو, and سَمَوْتُ, where the canons of etymology require conversion*

of the , into Hamza in the first [683], and into *ي* in the two last [685, 723, 727] (Sn): whereas, if its *o. f.* were *وَسَمٌ*, [as the KK say (Sn),] its *pl.* would be *أَوْسَامٌ*, and its *dim.* *وَسَيْمٌ*, [and its *v.* *وَسَمْتُ* (Sn),] the assertion of inversion [below] being improbable (YS, Sn): (a) A's phraseology necessarily implies that its *o. f.* is not said by anybody to be *سَمٌ* with Fath of the *س*, the reason being that *فَعَلٌ* with Fath does not form the *pl.* *أَفْعَالٌ* [237] (Sn): (b) it is derived from *سَبَا* *was elevated*, because it *elevates*, and *gives notoriety* to, its named, which, but for the *name*, would be obscure (R): (c) its measure is *إِنْفَعٌ* (Jh, IY), the [letter] gone from it being the , (Jh): (d) its *ل* (A, Tsr, Fk), the , (IY, Jrb), is elided (IY, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk), for lightness (IY, A), as in *إِبْنٌ* and *إِبْنَةٌ* [above] (IY), because the alternation of the inflectional vowels upon it is [deemed (Jrb)] heavy (Jrb, Fk): and [its initial is made quiescent (A), i. e., is so constituted, by secondary, not primary, constitution (Sn); or, as is said (A),] the quiescence of the *م* is transferred to the *س* (Jrb, A, Fk), because of the alternation of those vowels upon it (Jrb, Fk): and [then (Fk)] the [conj. (Jrb)] Hamza is put (Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk) at its beginning (Fk), as a means of accomplishing [the articulation of the quiescent]; and (A) as a compensation (A, Tsr) for the [elided (Sn)] *ل* (Tsr, Sn), for which

reason they do not combine the two, [i. e., the J and the Hamza (Sn),] but express one of them, saying in its *rel. n.* ^{سَبَوِي} or ^{اِسْبِي} [306] (A), with Kasr or Damm of the س , and, in either case, with Fath, though some allow quiescence, of the م (Sn) : (e) others than S transmit ^{اُسْم} [668] with Damm of the *conj.* Hamza (R) : (2) according to the KK, ^{وَسْم} (R, Jrb, A, Tsr, YS), with Fath of the , (YS), meaning ^{عَلَامَة} *mark* (Jrb), because the *name* is [like (R)] a *mark* upon the named (R, Jrb, A) : (a) its ف is elided (R, Tsr); and the ع remains quiescent, so that the *conj.* Hamza is put (R) : [or] it is inverted, its ف being put last, after the J; and its variations occur in accordance with that (A) : (b) according to what they say, there is no precedent for it, since one does not elide the ف , and put the *conj.* Hamza; and, though, as respects the sense, what they say is more probable than the saying of the BB, because the *name* is very like the *mark*, still its variations, vid. the *dim.* and broken *pl.*, like ^{سُبَي} and ^{اَسْبَاء} [above], and others, like ^{سَبِي} *namesake* on the measure of ^{حَلِيف} *confederate*, and ^{تَسَمَيْتُ} *I was named* and ^{سَمَيْتُ} [above], refute that; unless they say that the *n.* is inverted by putting the ف into the position of the J, when they intend to lighten the *n.* by elision, since the [usual] position of elision is the J; and that then the , is elided as forgotten; but is restored in its variations,

vid. the *dim.*, broken *pl.*, *etc.*, in the position of the ج , since it was elided in that place (R): (c) the preferable opinion is the first (Jrb). As for اسْت , it is orig. سَتَّ (IY, R, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk), upon the measure of فَعَلَ (IY), with Fath of its first and second (Tsr, Fk), like جَمَلَ *he-camel* (Jrb, Tsr); and is curtailed of the ج , i. e., the س (IY), as is proved by (1) [its *pl.* (IY, Jrb, Fk)] اسْتَا [260] (IY, R, Jrb, A, Fk), which may not be like اَتَقَالَ and اَجْدَاع [above], because of the *rel. n.* سَتَيْ [306] (R); (2) [its *dim.* (IY, Fk)] سَتَيْه [275, 277] (IY, A, Fk); (3) their saying زَيْدٌ اَسْتُهُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو *Zaid is bigger in the rump than 'Amr* (A). Its ج , i. e., the س , is elided; its initial is made quiescent; and the Hamza is put (A, YS), because of what has been mentioned [under اِسْم] (A). And it has two other *dial. vars.*, سَه [275, 306], with elision of the ع , its measure being فَلَ; and سَت , with elision of the ج , its measure being فَع (A, YS). The proof that the *o. f.* is سَتَّ , with Fath of the ف , is the Fath thereof in these two *dial. vars.*; and the proof of the mobilization, and Fath, of the ع is what has been mentioned under اِبْن [above]. And, as for the اَيْنُ [650] peculiar to the oath, [which is a *n.* so constituted, with Damm of the م and ن , for the oath (Jh),] its ا is *conj.* according to the BB, but *disj.*

according to the KK, because, according to them, it is *pl.* of *يَمِينٌ* *oath* ; whereas, according to S [and the other BB (Sn)], it is a *sing. n.* from *يُمِّنُ*, i. e., *بَرَكَتٌ* *blessing* (A). The BB hold that [the *pre. n.* in] *أَيُّنُ* *اللَّهِ* [650] is a *sing.*, upon the measure of *أَفْعُلُ* [372], upon which the *sing.* does sometimes occur, like *أَجْرُ* [256, 628] and *أَنْكَ* [255, 256], as in the tradition *مَنْ آسْتَبَعَ إِلَى قَيْنَةٍ صَبَّ فِي أُذُنَيْهِ آلَانُكَ* *Whoso listeneth to a singing female slave, into his two ears shall lead be poured* (Jrb). And, since its *ن* is elided, as *أَيُّمُ* *اللَّهِ* [651], they put the Hamza at its beginning as a compensation for the *ن* ; but, when they restore the *ن*, they do not elide the Hamza, because the *ن* has a tendency to elision (A). It has twelve *dial. vars.* [650, 651, 653], collected by IM in these two [mnemonic] verses

هَمْزُ أَيُّمٍ وَأَيُّنٍ فَانْتَحِ وَأَكْسِرْ أَوْ إِمُّ قَدْ

أَوْ قَدْ إِمُّ أَوْ مِنْ بِالتَّثْلِيثِ قَدْ شَكَلَا

وَأَيُّنَ أَخْتِمُ بِهِ وَاللَّهُ كَلَّا أَصِفُ * إِلَيْهِ فِي قَسَمٍ تَسْتَوِفُ مَا نَقَلَا

The Hamza of (1, 2) *أَيُّمُ* and (3, 4) *أَيُّنُ* [with Damm of the *م* (YS, Sn) in both (Sn)] then pronounce thou with Fath and Kasr ; or say (5) *إِمُّ* [with Kasr of the Hamza, and Damm of the *م* (Sn)] ; or say (6-8) *إِمُّ* or

(9-11) مِنْ [with Damm of the م, and (Sn)] *with triple vocalization* [of the م (Sn), referring to مٌ and مِنْ (YS, Sn)], *when it is furnished with diacritical mark; and* (12) اَيُّنْ [with Kasr of the Hamza, and Fath of the م (YS, Sn),] *do thou finish off with: and postfix الله everywhere to it in an oath—so wilt thou exhaust what has been transmitted* (A, Fk). The result is that, if the Hamza of اَيُّنْ be pronounced with Fath, the م must be pronounced with Damm [below]; but, if the Hamza [of اَيُّنْ] be pronounced with Kasr, the م may be pronounced with Damm or Fath (YS, Sn). So in YS on the Fk, with some addition (Sn); and [YS adds that] our exposition of these two verses is what is indicated by the language of IM's son [BD] in the C (YS). But our Master, the Sayyid, [says Sn,] transmits (13) اَمْ with Fath of the Hamza, and Damm of the م [651, 668]; and (14) اَيُّنْ with Fath of the Hamza and م, instead of اَيُّنْ with Kasr of the Hamza, and Fath of the م [above]. And, according to this, the م need not be pronounced with Damm [above] in the اَيُّنْ pronounced with Fath of the Hamza. From that aggregate, fourteen *dial. vars.* result (Sn). It is mentioned in the FB that they are twenty-two: and that is imported by the language of the KF, the text of

which is “ And [the *pre. n.* in] (1-4) **أَيُّنُ ٱللّٰه** and **أَيُّمُ ٱللّٰه**, the initial in both of which is also pronounced with Kasr; and (5, 6) **أَيَّمَنُ ٱللّٰه** with Fath of the م and Hamza, [the latter of] which is also pronounced with Kasr; and (7) **أَيِّمُ ٱللّٰه** with Kasr of the Hamza and م; [the ا (in all) of which is said to be a *conj.* ا (KF):] and (8) **هَيِّمُ ٱللّٰه** with Fath of the ه, and Damm of the م; and (9-11) **أَمُّ ٱللّٰه** with triple vocalization of the م; and (12, 13) **أَمُّ ٱللّٰه** with Kasr of the Hamza, and Damm or Fath of the م; and (14) **مُنِ ٱللّٰه** with Damm of the م, and Kasr of the ن; and (15-17) **مِنْ ٱللّٰه** with triple vocalization of the م and ن; and (18-20) **مُ ٱللّٰه** with triple vocalization; and (21, 22) **كَيِّمُ ٱللّٰه** and **كَيِّنُ ٱللّٰه**; is a *n.* constituted for [use in] the oath, the full phrase being **أَيُّمَنُ ٱللّٰه قَسَمِي** *Gods' blessing is mine oath*” (YS). The summary [of the foregoing observations on the compensatory character of the *conj.* Hamzas in these ten *ns.*] is that these Hamzas are a compensation for (1) a ل [elided], (a) ا و, vid. in **أَبْنُ**, **أَبْنَةُ**, **أَبْنَمُ**, [and **أَسْمُ**]; (b) ا ي, vid. in **إِثْنَانِ** and **إِثْنَتَانِ**; (c) sound, i. e., ا ه, vid. in **أَسْتُ**: (2) an imaginary elision, vid. in **أَمْرُو** and

أَيُّمُنْ : (3) an elision occurring at times, vid. in إِمْرَأَةٌ (Tsr). The Hamza in the *du.* also of such of these *ns.* as are dualized, vid. ابْنَانِ , ابْنَتَانِ , ابْنَمَانِ , اِمْرَآنِ , اِمْرَآتَانِ , اِسْمَانِ , and اِسْتَانِ is a *conj.* Hamza (Jrb). The Hamza of اَلْ is similar [668] (IM), i. e., is a *conj.* Hamza, whether اَلْ be determinative [599], conjunct [176], or *red.* [599]. The determination is by the *J* alone, the Hamza being *aug.* [672], because, if the Hamza were intended, it would not be elided in continuous speech [669], as the Hamza of اَمَّ [541] and اَنَّ [571] is not elided : and because the Tanwīn [608], which indicates *indeterminateness* [262], is a single letter ; so that the indication of *determinateness* also must be a single letter, in accordance with its *opp.* : this is the opinion of S [668]. But Khl holds that اَلْ is a *bil. p.* importing *determination*, because it is peculiar to *ns.* [2], and imports a meaning in them ; so that it is equivalent to اَلَّ [575] in the case of *vs.* ; and, that being *bil.*, so is this : and because there is no [other] *p.* constituted of a single quiescent letter ; so that this must be made to accord with what has been, not with what has not been, authorized (Jrb). The opinion of Khl [668] is that the Hamza of اَلْ is *disj.* (A), contrary to the saying of IM [above] (Sn) ; but that it is made *conj.* from frequency of usage : and this is preferred by IM

elsewhere than in the *Alfiya* (A), in which he does not distinctly express a preference for either saying (Sn). And like ج is ح in the *dial.* of *AlYaman* [599, 668, 687] (A). These initials, then, are quiescent, as you see, being pronounced as such in the interior [of the sentence] (M), because you conjoin the preceding word with the quiescent (IY). But, when they occur in the inceptive [658] position, then mobile *aug.* [671, 672] Hamzas [668] are put before them, because, in their language, there is no beginning with a quiescent, as there is no pause upon a mobile (M). From Z's saying "in their language", it is sometimes understood that this [predicament] is peculiar to the language of the Arabs, beginning with a quiescent being allowable in other languages : whereas the matter is not so ; but, on the contrary, this [predicament] is caused by the impracticability of articulating the [inceptive] quiescent, and is not peculiar to one language more than another (IY).

§. 668. These Hamzas [667] are named *conj.* Hamzas (M), because they are dropped [below] in the interior [of the sentence], so that they *conjoin* what precedes with what follows them ; and do not disjoin the former from the latter, as the other letters do (IY). The Hamzas at the beginning of words are of two sorts *disj.* Hamzas and *conj.* Hamzas. And they are also named *disj.* †s and *conj.* †s, because the Hamza and †

are approximate in outlet [732], for which reason, when they need to mobilize the **ا**, they convert it into Hamza [683]: Jh says "The **ا** is of two kinds, soft and mobile, the soft being named **ا**, and the mobile being named Hamza". The *disj.* Hamza is retained in the interior [of the sentence]; so that, by the utterance of it, what precedes is disjoined from what follows it, as **فَرَّ أَحْمَدُ** *Aḥmad took fright*, where the Hamza of **أَحْمَدُ** forms a barrier between the **ف** and the **ح**, disjoining one of them from the other. And for this reason it is named **هَمْزٌ قَاطِعٌ** *Hamza of disjunction*, [commonly rendered as if it were **هَمْزٌ قَاطِعَةٌ** *disj. Hamza*, which also occurs]. But the *conj.* Hamza is dropped [below] in the interior [of the sentence], so that it conjoins what precedes with what follows it, as **كَتَبْتُ اسْمَكَ** *I have written thy name*, where the Hamza of **اسْم** is dropped, so that the **ت** is conjoined with the **س**. And for this reason it is named **هَمْزٌ وَصْلٌ** *Hamza of conjunction*, [commonly rendered as if it were **هَمْزٌ وَصْلَةٌ** *conj. Hamza*, which also is used] (Jrb). The *conj.* Hamza is every Hamza expressed at the beginning, and dropped in the interior [of the sentence]. And what is expressed in both [positions] is a *disj.* Hamza. The *conj.* Hamza is [orig.] constituted as a Hamza, because IM says "For conjunction there is a Hamza", [and does not say "an

ا" (Sn)]. This is the correct [opinion]; but it is said that possibly its *o. f.* may be the ا, since it is expressed as an ا in such as اَلرَّجُلُ in interrogation [497, 669], when one is not constrained to have recourse to a vowel. The *conj.* Hamza is only prosthetic, because it is put as a means of beginning with a quiescent [below], since beginning therewith is impracticable [667] (A), i. e., impossible, in every language, by common consent, in the case of the ا; and in the case of any other [consonant also], according to what IJ and AB declare; while SJj and Kfj hold that it is possible; except that it is deemed heavy: so says Syt (Sn). The property of the *conj.* Hamza is to be expressed in the beginning, and dropped in the interior [of the sentence] (IA), where, however, it is sometimes expressed by poetic license, as in اِذَا جَاوَزَ اَلْحَجَّ [669] (MKh). Expression of it in the interior [of the sentence] is disallowed, except for poetic licence, as in

أَلَا لَا أَرَىٰ اِثْنَيْنِ اَحْسَنَ شَيْمَةَ

عَلَىٰ حَدَثَانِ اَلدَّهْرِ مِثِّي وَمِنْ جُمْلٍ

[669] (A) *Now I shall not believe any two to be better in temper against the mishaps of fortune than me and than Juml, the name of a woman* [18] (MN). It is [therefore defined by IHsh and Fk as] a prosthetic Hamza [at the beginning of the single word (Tsr)],

found in the beginning, lost in the interior, [of the sentence] (Aud, Fk). The cause of its being named *هَمْزَةُ الْوَصْلِ* *Hamza of conjunction*, [commonly rendered *conj. Hamza*,] notwithstanding that it is dropped in *conjunction*, [so that it should properly be named *inceptive Hamza* (Sn),] is disputed (A). It is [said to be (IY, Jrb, A)] so named, (1) because, by its means, the articulation of the quiescent *is accomplished* (IY, Jrb, A, Tsr, Fk) by the speaker (A, Fk): (a) so says Shl (Tsr); and this is the saying of the BB (A): (b) for that reason (Jrb, Fk) Khl names it *سُلَّمُ الْلِسَانِ* *ladder of the tongue* (Jrb, A, Fk): (c) it is sometimes said that this [cause] would be [more] obvious if it were named *Hamza of accomplishment* (YS): (2) because it is dropped [above] (A, Tsr, Fk) upon *conjunction* of the word with what precedes it (Tsr, Fk), so that what precedes it is *conjoined* with what follows it (A, YS), the prefixion [of *هَمْزَةُ* to *الْوَصْلِ*] being because of a very little connection [119]: (a) so says Shl's pupil IDa (Tsr); and this is the saying of the KK (YS): but, *وَصَلَّ* being the *inf. n.* of the *trans. وَصَلَ* *conjoined*, if one said "so that the speaker *conjoins* what precedes with what follows it", this would agree with the name *هَمْزَةُ الْوَصْلِ* (Sn): (3) by extension (A, YS), i. e., by a trope, apparently because of the connection of the antithesis (Sn).

Since the *disj.* Hamza occurs in speech more often than the *conj.* Hamza, the positions of the *conj.* Hamza ought to be delimited, in order that one may know that what goes beyond the limit is a *disj.* Hamza (Jrb). The *conj.* Hamza is not peculiar to any class [of words]; but is prefixed to the *n.*, *v.*, and *p.* [667] (A). It is not [found] (1) in any *aor.*, unrestrictedly (Aud, A, Fk), whether [its *pret.* be] *tril.* [482] or *quad.* [495], unaugmented or augmented, because the *aor.* begins with the aoristic letter [404], which is always mobile, so that the *conj.* Hamza is not needed (Tsr): (a) for this reason they say that incorporation is not allowable in such as *تَتَذَكَّرُ* [657], because it would necessitate importation of the *conj.* Hamza (YS): nor (2) in any *p.* other than [the determinative (Fk, Sn) or *red.* (Sn)] *جِئ* (Aud, A, Fk), according to [the opinion of] S [667] (Tsr): (a) like the *J* of determination are (a) its *م* in the *dial.* of Tayyi and Himyar [599, 667, 687]; and (b) the conjunct [176] and *red.* [599] *ج* (Fk): (b) as for the conjunct [*جِئ*], it is a *n.* [below], according to the preponderant [opinion]; and for this reason A says "so that the *non-inf. ns.* are twelve" [below] (Sn): (c) Khl [667] says that the Hamza [of *جِئ*] is *rad.*, being made *conj.* from frequency of usage (Fk): nor (3) in any *pret.*, [either] *tril.*, [like *أَمَرَ* *commanded* and *أَخَذَ* *took* (Aud)]; or [numerically (Tsr)] *quad.* [483, 488] (Aud, A, Fk), like *أَكْمَرَ*

honored and ^{أَعْطَى} gave (Aud); the Hamza in all of that being a *disj.* Hamza (Tsr): but [it is (Tsr) found] (a) in [the *pret.* of] the *quin.* [*v.*, which is what contains two *augs.* (Tsr)], like ^{انْطَلَقَ} [667] (Aud) and ^{اِئْتَدَرَ} (Tsr): or the *sex.*, [which is of two sorts, the *tril.* containing three *augs.* (Tsr),] like ^{اِسْتَخْرَجَ} [667] (Aud); and the *quad.* containing two *augs.*, like ^{اِحْرَنْجَمَ} [667] (Tsr): and (b) in their *imp.* (Aud), *quin.* and *sex.*, like ^{اِنْطَلَقَ} [428, 667], ^{اِسْتَخْرَجَ}, and ^{اِحْرَنْجَمَ} (Tsr): and (c) [in (Tsr)] the *imp.* of the *tril.*, [the second of whose *aor.* is literally quiescent (Tsr),] like ^{اِضْرَبَ} [428, 667] (Aud); contrary to such as ^{اِعْذَرَ} *grant*, ^{عَدَّ}, and ^{قَلَّ} [428, 667], the second of whose *aor.* is mobile, so that it does not need a *conj.* Hamza (Tsr): nor (4) in any *n.* (And, A, Fk) other than what will be [now] mentioned (Fk), because the initial of the *n.* is mobile (Tsr), except (a) [in Aud]) the *inf. ns.* of the *quin.* and *sex.* (Aud, A) *v.* (Tsr), like ^{اِنْطَلَقَ} and ^{اِسْتَخْرَجَ} [332, 667] (Aud), in imitation of their *vs.*: (a) the formula for them is “every *inf. n.* the 1 of whose *pret. v.* is followed by four or more letters” [667] (Tsr): and, [say they, in (Aud)] (b) [the (A)] ten *ns.* (Aud, A) mentioned [667] (A), preserved in the memory, vid. ^{اِسْمٌ}, ^{اِسْتٌ}, ^{اِبْنٌ}, ^{اِبْنَمٌ} [i. q. ^{اِبْنٌ} (Tsr)], ^{اِبْنَةٌ}, ^{اِمْرُو}, ^{اِمْرَاةٌ}, ^{اِثْنَانِ}, ^{اِثْنَتَانِ}, and the ^{اَيُّمُنُ}

peculiar to the oath (Aud); while they ought to add [the conjunct أَل and (Aud)] أَيُّم a *dial. var.* of أَيُّن (Aud, A), so that the *non-inf. ns.* are twelve [above] (A), vid. the ten *ns.*, إِسْم , etc. [above], the conjunct أَل included in IM's saying "The Hamza of أَل is similar" [667], and أَيُّم (Sn): (a) if they say [of أَيُّم (Tsr)] that it is أَيُّن with the ل elided [651], we say "And إِبْنَم is إِبْن with the م added" [667] Aud, A), so that whatever is their answer is our answer (Tsr): (b) they may escape [from this dilemma] by drawing the distinction that, by the addition of the م , alliteration of the ن to the م in the vowels [of inflection], according to the *ops.*, accrues to إِبْنَم [16], which therefore becomes so like an original word that the KK even say that it is *infl.* in two places; contrary to أَيُّم , which does not undergo this process: and moreover there is no special appropriateness in the mention of إِبْنَم for [the purpose of] comparison, since the *fems.* of these *ns.* are their *masc.* [667] with the ة added (Tsr, Sn): (c) so in the Tsr: but, in my opinion, this distinction, if they do establish it, requires consideration, because the placing of the inflection upon the م accrues to أَيُّم also by reason of the defectiveness; so that, in both إِبْنَم and أَيُّم , the place of the inflection is altered; but in the first because of

the addition, and in the second because of the defectiveness; and their difference, in this respect, is immaterial :

(d) اَيْمٌ , not اِمٌ [651, 667], is exclusively specified by [IHsh and] A as to be added ; and this suggests the notion that the Hamza of the latter is a *disj.* Hamza (Sn):

(e) since IHsh looks at the *dial. vars.* of the word, he ought to say “ And اِمٌ , a *dial. var.* of اَلٌ , according to Tayyi,” who change the determinative ل into a م

[above], saying اَمْرَجُلٌ for اَلرَّجُلُ the man [599, 667, 687]:

(f) [in case of doubt] reference should be made to the rule, vid. that every Hamza, if retained in the *dim.* [277, 283], is a *disj.* Hamza; and, if not, is a *conj.*

Hamza: (g) they omit the conjunct اَلٌ [176] because of the dispute as to its being a *n.* [345], and because of its resemblance to the determinative اَلٌ [599] in form (Tsr).

It has been made known that the *conj.* Hamza is put only as a means of beginning with the quiescent. When, therefore, that quiescent [initial] becomes mobile, the Hamza is dispensed with, as in اِسْتَتَرَ became hidden,

when the ت of اِفْتَعَالَ is intended to be incorporated into what follows it, its vowel being transferred to the ف [756]; so that سَتَرَ [with Fath of the س , and doubling of the ت (Sn)] is said, [the difference between this and the

سَتَرَ hid from تَسْتِيرُ being apparent in the *aor.* and *inf. n.*, because you pronounce the aoristic letter from

this with Fath, and from the second with Damm; while you say سِتَارٌ, with Kasr of the س, in the *inf. n.* of this, and تَسْتِيرُ in the *inf. n.* of the second (Sn): except [in the case of] the determinative ج, when the vowel of the Hamza in such as أَلَا حَمْرُ [660] is transferred to it, in which case the preferable [method] is retention of the [*conj.*] Hamza, as أَلَحْمَرُ قَائِمٌ *AlAhmar is standing*; while لَحْمَرٌ قَائِمٌ is weak: the difference [between this case and that of سَتَر] being that incorporative transfer [of a vowel] is more frequent than non-incorporative transfer (A); so that, with incorporation, that [*conj.* Hamza] which was before the transfer is not regarded (Sn). There is a dispute [among the BB (Sn)] as to whether the *conj.* Hamza be *orig.* quiescent or mobile, the first being the opinion of F, which is adopted by Shl; and the second the opinion of S, which is apparently correct, because every inceptive *p.* must be mobilized, like the ج of inception [604] (Tsr). The opinion of the majority is that the *conj.* Hamza is added quiescent, because this involves less addition; and that, when its mobilization is needed, it is mobilized with Kasr, as is the *o. f.* [664]. But the opinion of S appears to be that it is added mobile with Kasra, which [opinion] is more just, because we need mobility of the quiescence in the initial of the word [667]; so that there

is no reason for adding the Hamza quiescent; so says Sd (Fk). According to this [opinion], the original vowel of the Hamza is Kasr [663], as in **إِضْرِبْ** and **إِذْهَبْ** [428, 667]; while, in such as **أُخْرِجْ** [428], the Hamza is pronounced with Damm from dislike to the transition from Kasr to Damm [664]. But, according to the first [opinion], the vowel of the Hamza is regulated by the vowel of the penultimate: so that the Hamza is pronounced with Kasr in **إِضْرِبْ**, and Damm in **أُخْرِجْ**; while, Fath being disallowed in **إِذْهَبْ** because of the liability to confusion with the *aor.* [below] in the state of pause, the Hamza is pronounced with Kasr, because this is lighter than Damm [below] (Tsr). The opinion of the BB is that the *conj.* Hamza is *orig.* pronounced with Kasr; but that in some positions it is pronounced with Fath for lightness, and in some with Damm for alliteration. The KK, however, hold that its Kasr in **إِضْرِبْ**, and Damm in **أُسْكُنْ** *dwell* are for alliteration to [the vowel of] the third [letter]. The absence of Fath in **إِغْلَمْ** *know* is adduced as an objection [to the saying of the KK (Sn)]; but it is replied that, if the Hamza were pronounced with Fath in the like thereof, *command* would be liable to confusion with *enunciation* (A), i. e., [the *imp.* would be liable to confusion] with the *aor.* [above] in the state of pause: so in the Tsr; but there is

no restriction to the *aor.*, because the *imp.* would be sometimes liable to confusion with the *pret.* also, when made *trans.* by the Hamza [433], as in A's *ex.*, where Fath of the Hamza in **أَعْلَمَ** would, in pause, produce confusion with the *aor.* [**أَعْلَمُ** *I know*], and with the *pret.* [**أَعْلَمَ** *he notified*] made *trans.* by the Hamza (Sn). The *conj.* Hamza, in reference to its vowel [in the *n.*, *v.*, and *p.* (Tsr)], has seven states, (1) necessity for Fath, [vid. (A)] in the *n.* beginning with **أَلْ** [663] (Aud, A), like **الرَّجُلُ** *the man* (Tsr), from frequency of usage (Tsr, Sn): (2) necessity for Damm, [vid. (A)] in (a) such passives as **أُنْظِرَ** and **أُسْتَخْرِجَ** [436]: (b) the *imp.* of the *tril. orig.* pronounced with Damm of the **ع**, as **أَقْتُلْ** *kill* and **أَكْتُبْ** *write*, [from dislike to the transition from Kasr to Damm, because the quiescent barrier is not insuperable (Tsr, Sn)]; contrary to **امْشُوا** *walk ye* (Aud, A) and **اقضوا** *judge ye* (Aud), where the Hamza is pronounced with Kasr, because the **ع** is *orig.* pronounced with Kasr, the *o. f.* being **امشيوا** (Tsr, Sn) and **اقضيوا** (Tsr): (a) sometimes the Hamza is pronounced with Kasr before an original Damma: this is transmitted by IJ from some of the Arabs; and the reason of it is that Kasr is the *o. f.* [664], while the Kasr and Damm do not [actually] meet, because of the separation by the quiescent between them: (b) the two

pronunciations are referable to taking, and not taking, the quiescent [barrier] into account (Tsr, Sn): (c) so in the Tsr; but Kasr is said to be a corrupt *dial. var.* (Sn): (3) preponderance of Ḍamm over Kasr, [vid. (A)] where the Ḍamm of the ع is accidentally made Kasr, as in أَغْرَى [428]: so says BD [in the C, following his father in the Kāfiya and the CK (Tsr)]: (a) F says in the Takmila that (a) the letter before the ع of the 2nd *pers. sing. fem.* must be pronounced with Ishmām (Aud, A), which here means what, according to Fr, is named Raum [640], vid. *that the Ḍamma should be inclined towards Kasra* [428], not what has been previously mentioned [640], vid. *compression of the lips, without any sound*, that [Ishmām of the letter before the ع] being necessary (Sn) for a notification of the original Ḍamm (Tsr, Sn); and (b) the Hamza [must be pronounced] with pure Ḍamm, [without Ishmām (Tsr)]: (b) IM says in the Tashīl that the *conj.* Hamza is pronounced with Ishmām before the Ḍamma pronounced with Ishmām (Aud, A), meaning that, if you pronounce the third [letter] with Ishmām, you pronounce the Hamza with Ishmām; and, if not, not: so that this differs from the language of F in both respects, the necessity for Ishmām [of the third letter], and [the necessity] for pure Ḍamm of the Hamza (Tsr, Sn): so in the Tsr (Sn): (4) preponderance of Fath over Kasr, [vid. (A)] in أَيْمُنْ

and اَيُّم [663] (Aud, A), because of the heaviness of the transition from Kasr of the Hamza to Damm of the م , and afterwards of the ن (Tsr): (5) preponderance of Kasr over Damm, [vid. (A)] in the word اُسْم [667] (Aud, A), because Kasr is lighter than Damm, since Kasr brings one muscle, and Damm two muscles, into operation (Tsr): (6) allowability of Damm, Kasr, and Ishmām, [vid. (A)] in such as اِخْتَارَ and اِنْقَادَ when put into the *pass.* [436] (Aud, A), as اُنْقُودَ and اُخْتُورَ with Damm, and (Tsr) اِنْقِيدَ and اِخْتِيرَ with Kasr or Ishmām (Tsr, Sn), of the first and third, says Dm (Sn): (7) necessity for Kasr in what remains [of the ten *ns.*, the *inf. ns.*, and the *vs.* (Tsr)], it being the *o. f.* [664, 669] (Aud, A). When a sound or quāsi-sound [below] quiescent [final] is conjoined with [a quiescent initial, which, at the beginning of a sentence, would be preceded by] the [*conj.* Hamza] pronounced with Damm, it may be pronounced with Kasr or Damm, as اَنْ اَنْ اَقْتُلُوا IV. 69. [below] and اَوْ اَنْ اَنْ اَقْتُلُوا LXXIII. 3. [664, 666] (A). In اَنْ اَنْ اَقْتُلُوا اَنْ اَنْ اَقْتُلُوا اَوْ اَوْ اَخْرُجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ IV. 69. *Saying, Kill yourselves, or go forth from your homes*, IAl and Ya'kūb read اَنْ اَنْ اَقْتُلُوا with Kasr of the ن , according to the *o. f.* of mobilization [664]; and اَوْ اَوْ اَخْرُجُوا with Damm of the , , for alliteration, and [for] assimilation

to the , of the *pl.* in such as II. 238. [547, 664]: while ‘Āṣim and Ḥamza read with Kasr of both, according to the *o. f.*; and the remainder [read] with Damm of both, by treating them like the [*conj.*] Hamza conjoined with the *v.* (B). By a “quasi-sound [quiescent]” is meant an unsound quiescent, treated like the sound, because the vowel of what precedes it is not homogeneous with it; so that such [an unsound quiescent] as [the , of قَالُوا أَتَقْتُلُوا in] XL. 26. *They said, Kill* is excluded (Sn).

§. 669. Expression of any of these [*conj.*] Hamzas in the interior [of the sentence] is a departure from the speech of the Arabs, [and the analogy of their usage (IY)]; and is a gross solecism (M). But it occurs anomalously in metric exigency (SH), as إِذَا جَاوَزَ آخِ [below] (R, Jrb). The *conj.* Hamza, when preceded by what is not good to pause upon, must, in a case of choice, be elided: unless you stop your first speech, even if you do not pause [640], observing the rule of pause; [and begin again] after the time of the stoppage of the breath, or similar [interruption]. The poets sometimes do that, [i. e., make a stop] in [the beginnings of] hemistichs [below], because they are positions of separation; and begin [again] only after a stop, as

وَلَا يُبَادِرُ فِي الشِّتَاءِ وَلَيْدَنَا * أَلْقَدَرُ يُنْزِلُهَا بِغَيْرِ جَعَالٍ

(R) *Nor does our boy hasten, in winter, with the cooking-pot, putting it down from the fire without a piece of rag to take it off with* (MAR). Then do not say *الْأَسْمُ* the name [663], *الْإِنْطِلَاقُ* the departure, *الْإِسْتِغْفَارُ* the begging pardon, *الْإِقْتِسَامُ* the partition, *عَنْ إِسْمِكَ* [664, 666], and *from thy name*. And the saying [of K̄ais Ibn AlKhaṭīm (IY, MN)]

إِذَا جَاوَزَ الْآثْنَيْنِ سِرٌّ فَإِنَّهُ * بِنَشْرِ وَإِنْشَاءِ الْكَدِ يَثْقِينُ
[When the secret goes beyond the two, then verily it is liable to publication, and disclosure of the story, or, in one version,

بَنْتٌ وَتَكْثِيرِ الْوَشَاةِ قَمِينُ

is liable to dissemination, and multiplication by the tale-bearers (MN),] is a poetic license [below] (M). And like it is the saying of the other *لَا نَسَبَ آلِ يَوْمِ الْحِجْرِ* [105], where he expresses the Hamza of *إِتَّسَعَ* in the state of conjunction, by poetic license, which is easier here, because it is in the beginning of the second hemistich [above]; for the Arabs sometimes become silent after the [first] hemistich, and begin [again] with the second; so that the Hamza occurs, as it were, inceptively (IY). But the Hamza of the *art.* alone [below], when it occurs after the *interrog.* Hamza [581], is not elided [661], being [usually] converted into *!* [below]

(M), as VI. 144, 145. [656, 663] and اللَّهُ خَيْرٌ أَمَّا يُشِيرُ كُونَ XXVII. 60. *Is God better, or what they associate [with Him]?* (IY), because its elision would lead to confusion (M) of inquiry with announcement, since both [Hamzas] are pronounced with Fath; so that, if it were elided, one would not know whether the Hamza [sounded] was the *interrog.* [Hamza] or that [*conj.* Hamza] which accompanies the determinative ل [667]. For that reason, then, it is retained, [though in a modified form]; and is assimilated to the ا of أَجِيرُ red [658], because of its permanence : the poet says أَلْخَيْرُ الَّذِي أَلَحَ [below]. The case of this Hamza is contrary to the general rule that we have laid down [above], since the *conj.* Hamza, when the *interrog.* ا is prefixed to it, is [generally] dropped, as in II. 74. [543] and أَصْطَفَى الْبَنَاتِ عَلَى الْبَنِينَ XXXVII. 153. *What ! hath He chosen daughters above sons?* [661], because independence of the *conj.* Hamza is realized by means of the *interrog.* Hamza, [which satisfies the condition of beginning with a mobile]; while its elision does not lead to confusion, since the *interrog.* Hamza is pronounced with Fath, and the *conj.* ا [generally] with Kasr [664, 668] (IY). [Conversion into ا is not, however, the sole alternative to elision, as Z implies, in the case of the *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Fath : for] it has been mentioned that, in such a case, the Arabs have two methods, the chaster

of which is making the Hamza an **ا**, while the second is putting it betwixt and between, as in **أَلْخَيْرُ الَّذِي آلَحَ** [663] (R). [Nor is this treatment of the *conj.* Hamza confined to “the Hamza of the *art.* alone”, as Z states above : for] in interrogation, [when the *interrog.* Hamza is prefixed to it (Aud), the *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Fatḥ (663,668) (Aud, A), which is (Sn)] the Hamza of **أَلْ** [and its *subst.* **أَمْ** in the *dial.* of Ḥimyar (Sn), and of **أَيُّنْ** and **أَيُّمَ** (Tsr, Sn)] is (1) changed into a [letter of] prolongation (IM), i. e., an **ا** [497,668] (Aud), which is the more approved [method] (A): (a) IHKh says that F and many, [among whom are Z and IY,] do not mention any other than change; and that nothing contrary to it is read [in the *Kur*], or occurs in their speech: (b) Shl transmits from IAl that this [**ا** is not a modification of the *conj.* Hamza, but] is an [extraneous] **ا** imported for separation, like the **ا** of **أَضْرَبْنَا** [497, 610]; and that he declares that those who hold it to be substituted for the [*conj.*] Hamza are in error, because it is not a *disj.* Hamza: but Shl replies that, since it resembles the *disj.* Hamza in some ways, there is nothing extraordinary in its being retained, and in the alteration of its form by change [into **ا**], for a distinction between announcement and inquiry; and that this is preferable to the importation of an extraneous Hamza: and he argues that it is sometimes combined with a

quiescent, as in **عِنْدَكَ** [below], which, but for the regard paid to its original vowel, would not be allowable, contrary to **أَضْرِبَنَّ** [above] (Tsr): or (2) [sometimes (Aud)] softened (IM) between Hamza and I (A), with abbreviation (Aud, A), which, [though less approved (Sn),] is agreeable with analogy, because change [into a letter of prolongation (Sn)] is the property of the quiescent (Tsr, Sn) Hamza [684-686]: (a) so in the Tsr, [where it is intended to account for the use of this inferior method in the readings cited below]: but our master the Sayyid says “It should not be imagined, from softening’s being less approved, that it is not used in reading, since there is no incompatibility between its being less approved and its being chaste; while Sd distinctly declares, in the Glosses on the K, that the Readers sometimes agree upon a less approved, strange mode, as in LXXV. 9. [21]” (Sn): (b) IBsh says that this [method] is easy in comparison with what the school of S mention by “change” [above]. There is no difference in that [respect] between the Hamza of **أَلْ** and the Hamza of **أَيُّنْ** (Tsr). You [therefore (A)] say **أَلْحَسَنُ** **عِنْدَكَ** and **أَيُّنْ** **أَللَّهِ يَبِينُكَ** [663], with prolongation, [by change (Aud),] more approvably; and with softening, less approvably, [but agreeably with analogy, as before mentioned (Sn),] whence

أَلْحَقُّ إِنْ دَارَ الرَّبَابِ تَبَاعَدَتْ * أَوْ آتَبَتْ حَبْدُ أَنْ قَلْبَكَ طَائِرُ

(Aud, A), by Ḥassān Ibn Yasār at Taghlabī (MN), *Is it the truth, if the abode of ArRabūb (the name of a woman) be distant, or a cord of love be severed, that thy heart is flying away* (MN, J) (*with thy beloved, named ArRabūb*)? (J). And both modes are read [among the Seven (Tsr)] in [various passages of the K̤ur (A),] such as VI. 144, 145. [above] and X. 91. [497, 663]. It is not elided [656, 661, 663], as the [conj. (Tsr) Hamza (Aud)] pronounced with Kasr, [which is the *o. f.* (664, 668) (Aud),] is elided, as أَتَّخَذَ نَاهُمْ اَتَّخَذَ XXXVIII. 63. *What ! did we make of them a mockery?*, [in the reading of others than IAl and the Two Brothers (Tsr), this text being read with the *interrog.* Hamza by the two H̤ijāzīs and Ibn ‘Āmir and ‘Āṣim (B)]; and [as (Tsr)] اَسْتَغْفَرْتَ لَهُمْ LXIII. 6. [581, 543] (Aud, A), in the reading of all [the Seven]: the *o. f.* being اَتَّخَذَ نَاهُمْ and اَسْتَغْفَرْتَ; with an *interrog.* Hamza pronounced with Fath, and then a *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Kasr; but the *conj.* Hamza being elided, because the *interrog.* Hamza enables it to be dispensed with (Tsr): and as the [conj. Hamza] pronounced with Damm is elided, as اَضْطَرَّ الرَّجُلُ *Was the man constrained?* (A, Tsr), the *o. f.* being اَضْطَرَّ with a Hamza pronounced with Damm, which is elided when the *interrog.* Hamza is prefixed: the course required by analogy being abandoned, in the case of the [conj.

Hamza] pronounced with Fath (Tsr), in order that interrogation may not be confounded with enunciation (Aud, A), the reason for A's saying "It is not elided" [above] (Sn). Nor is it [preserved intact, i. e.,] sounded true [656,663], because the *conj.* Hamza is not expressed in the interior [of the sentence], except by poetic license [above] (Aud, A), as before stated (A), like *أَلَا لَا أَرَى الْآخِ* [668] (Aud).

§. 670. When preceded by something spoken, no mobile initial of a word, besides the *conj.* ا [669], is elided or altered, except the ؤ of هُوَ and هِيَ [161], which, when preceded by a و, or ف, or by a ل [of inception], is [often made] quiescent, as هُوَذَا هَبْ *And he is going*, لَهْوَ خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ *Assuredly he is better than thou*, and فَهْوَ قَائِمٌ *Then he is standing*, and similarly with هِيَ [319]. But many of the Arabs leave the ؤ with these *ps.* in its [original] state. And they do the like of that to the *imp.* ل with the ف and و, as in your saying فَلْيَنْظُرْ *Then let him look* and وَلْيَضْرِبْ *And let him strike*; while those who leave the ؤ of هِيَ and هُوَ in its [original] state leave the Kasra of the ل in its [original] state (S). As for the quiescence of the ؤ in هُوَ and هِيَ [above], لَهْوَ and فَهْوَ, and لَهْيَ and فَهْيَ, it is accidental, [but] elegant (SH), i. e., used by elegant speakers, contrary

to II. 282. [below], and to such as مُنْتَضِبًا [below], from the frequency of its usage in the first [set of *exs.*] (R). And so is [the quiescence of] the *imp.* ل , as وَلْيُوفُوا XXII. 30. *And let them pay their vows* [below]. And هُوَ and أَهَى and لَيَقْضُوا XXII. 30. [603] are assimilated to the foregoing. But such as أَنْ يُبَدِّلَ هُوَ II. 282. *That he himself should dictate* [above] is rare (SH). If it be said "The initials of these words are quiescent, as in the texts هُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ II. 213. [464, 539], لَهُوَ خَيْرٌ الرَّازِقِينَ, فَهِيَ كَالْحِجَارَةِ II. 69. [543], لَهُىَ الْكَيَّانُ 57. *Assuredly He is the Best of Providers*, فَلْيَنْفِقْ XXIX. 64. *Assuredly it is life*, LXV. 7. *Let him expend*, II. 282. [above], and in the saying of the poet فَقُلْتُ أَهَى سَرَتْ أَلْحَ [543]; so that, according to what you have mentioned [667], the *conj.* Hamza must be put, whereas it does not occur here," IH answers that their quiescence is accidental, as is proved by your saying هُوَ and هِىَ [161], and لِيَنْفِقْ LXV. 7. [419, 603]: but that, هُوَ and هِىَ being treated as on a par with عَضُدٌ and كَتِفٌ [368], quiescence [of the medial] is allowed as elegant with the , and ف and ل [of inception], because they become like part [of the *pron.*], in addition to [their] frequency of usage; while what contains the [*interrog.*] Hamza is assimilated to [what contains] the

[three *ps.*] mentioned, because, though not so frequent, it is *unil.*; and similarly what contains **ثُمَّ**, because it is copulative, like the **و**, and **ف** [538]: but that such as II. 282. [above] is rare, for want of both the quality of part and the frequency of usage (*Jrb*). *IH* means that the initials of **هُوَ** and **هِيَ** with the copulative **و**, and **ف**, and [with the *ل* of inception and] the *interrog.* Hamza, and similarly the *imp. ل* that is preceded by **ا**, or **ف**, are made quiescent, so that analogy requires the *conj.* Hamza to be imported for them; but that it is not imported for the sole reason that the quiescence is accidental. This answer, however, is not satisfactory, because this quiescence is founded upon the assimilation of the initials in these words to medials, such as **هُوَ** and **فَهِيَ** being assimilated to **عَضْدٌ**, and such as **وَهِيَ** and **فَهِيَ** to **كَتِفٌ**; and so is it said of [the *imp. ل* in] **وَلْيُفُوا** XXII. 30. [above]: so that they are made quiescent only because they are treated like the medial of the word; and how should a *conj.* Hamza be imported for what is like the medial of a word [667]? And grant that it be not like the medial, is it not non-inceptive? And is not the *conj.* Hamza imported for accidental quiescence also, in the initial of a word, when it is inceptive [658, 667], since you say **إِسْمٌ** notwithstanding that **سِمٌ** occurs, and similarly **إِسْتٌ** and **سَتْ** [667]? He ought therefore to say

that the Hamza is not imported [in **وَهُوَ**, etc.,] because it is imported only when that word is inceptive, as we mentioned [667]; whereas this quiescence, in these words, is [found] only when they are preceded by something. The reason for their assimilation of the initials in these words to the medial is the want of independence in what precedes them, and the impossibility of pausing upon it. But **وَهُوَ** and **فَهُوَ** are less used than **أَهُوَ** and **فَهُوَ**; and **وَهِيَ** and **فَهِيَ**; and, for this reason, the alleviation [of the *ء* by elision of its vowel] is rarer in their case: while **لَهُوَ** and **لَهِيَ** are like **وَهُوَ** and **وَهِيَ**, alleviation of the *ء* being allowable in them, according to what is read in the Kur (R). As for **فَلْيَنْظُرْ أَلْحَ** XVIII. 18. [1] and **وَلْيُؤْفُوا أَلْحَ** XXII. 30. [above], this is the *imp.* **لُ** [419, 429, 603]: it is *orig.* pronounced with Kasr, as is proved by the fact that, when you begin, saying **لَيَقُمْ زَيْدٌ** [603], you pronounce it with Kasr, not otherwise; but, when you prefix the **و**, or **ف** to the phrase containing it, the **لُ** may be made quiescent (IY). But in such as **وَلْيَفْعَلْ** And in order that he may do, with the **لُ** of **كُنِيَ** [411, 599], alleviation is not allowable, from the rarity of its usage (R). If **تُمْ** occur instead of the **و**, or **ف**, quiescence is not as good as with the **و**, or **ف**, because **تُمْ**, being of more than one letter, is, as it were, detached from what

follows it: and, for that reason, most of the Readers are agreed upon mobilization in *ثُمَّ هُوَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ* XXVIII. 61. *And who afterwards, on the day of resurrection, shall be one of the persons summoned to attend (IY) (for reckoning), or (for chastisement);* while Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir in one version, and Ks read *ثُمَّ هُوَ* with quiescence of the *ه*, by assimilation of the detached to the attached [*con.*] (B). But Ks and others read *ثُمَّ لِيَقْضُوا تَفَثَهُمْ* XXII. 30. *Then let them fulfil [603] their purification,* with quiescence of the *imp.* *ل*, by assimilation of *ثُمَّ* to the *و* and *ف*, because it is a *con.*, like them; while the BB deem that inelegant, because *ثُمَّ* is independent, [susceptible of being] paused upon (R). Those who say *ثُمَّ لِيَقْضُوا* XXII. 30. [above], with quiescence of the *ل*, assimilate the second *م* of *ثُمَّ* to the *ف* and *و*, treating *ثُمَّ لِيَقْضُوا* as on a par with *فَلْيَقْضُوا*; and this is like their saying *أَرَأَيْكَ مُتَنَفِّخًا* *I see thee puffed up*, meaning *مُتَنَفِّخًا*, the *تَفَخَّ* of *مُتَنَفِّخًا* being assimilated to *كَتَفَ*, and the *ف* therefore made quiescent; and like it is

فَبَاتَ مُنْتَصِبًا وَمَا تَكَرَّدَسَا

Then it passed the right erect, and did not contract [above] (IY). And II. 282. [above] is read anomalously, with quiescence of the *ه*, by treating *لَهُوَ* [in *هُوَ*]

like عَصْدٌ : but it is inelegant, because يُبِلُّ is an independent word, and cannot be assimilated to the *con.*, as ثَمَّ is ; and the saying فَبَاتَ مُنْتَضِبًا أَحْمَ [above] is superior to the like of this, because it is in one word (R). The quiescence in all of this is only a matter occurring accidentally, for a kind of alleviation ; and is therefore not reckoned as a [distinct] formation (IY). Mobilization of the *z* in هُوَ and هِيَ after the ل [of inception], and after the , and ف , as likewise mobilization of the *imp.* ل after the two [latter *ps.*], is the *o. f.* : S says "It is excellent, superlative" (R).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AUGMENTATIVENESS OF LETTERS.

§. 671. It is common to the *n.* and the *v.* (M). As for the *ps.*, there is no augmentation in them, because it is a kind of plasticity, which is not [found] in *ps.* [497]. The meaning of augmentation is adjoining to the word some letters that do not belong to it, either to import a meaning, like the ا of ضَارِبٌ and the و of مَضْرُوبٌ [369]; or for a kind of extension in the vocabulary, like the ا of حِبَارٌ [374, 401], the و of عُبُودٌ [246], and the ي of سَعِيدٌ [369, 673, 674] (IY). Augmentation is sometimes for co-ordination with an *o. f.*, and sometimes not (R). The meaning of [augmentation for (MASH)] co-ordination is that the augment is added only for the purpose of making a paradigm to be on [the measure of] a paradigm exceeding it [in number of letters] (SH), the *aug.* letter in the augmented [paradigm] being put as a representative of the *rad.* letter [occupying a corresponding position] in the standard [paradigm] (Jrb), in order that the former [paradigm] may be treated like the latter (SH) in the formation of its *dim.* and broken *pl.* [below], etc. (Jrb). Therefore such as قَرْدَدٌ [a rugged place (Jrb)] is co-ordinated [375, 731] (SH) with جَعْفَرٌ.

[392], for which reason they say قَرَادُ [253] and قَرِيدُ [274], as they say جَعَاظُ [245] and جَعِيفُ [274] (Jrb). But such as مَقْتَلُ [333, 361, 372, 676] is not co-ordinated, [although مَقَاتِلُ and مُقَيِّنُ may be formed from it (Jrb),] because the augment is proved to be regularly put for another purpose (SH), vid. indication of the *inf. n.* [333], or of the *time* or *place* [361]; and because a co-ordinative letter does not occur at the beginning (Jrb). And similarly [also (Jrb)] such as أَفْعَلُ [488], فَعَلُ [489], and فَاعَلُ [490] (SH) are not co-ordinated [483] (Jrb), for the same reason (SH), vid. that the augment is proved to be regularly put for a purpose other than co-ordination, i. e., to denote the meanings mentioned for these *conjugs.* [488-490] (Jrb); and because their *inf. ns.* occur different (SH) from the *inf. n.* of دَحَرَجُ [483], being اِفْعَالُ, تَفْعِيلُ, and مُفَاعَلَةٌ, not فَعْلَلَةٌ [332] (MASH). The meaning of co-ordination [673] in the *n.* and *v.* is that you add one or two letters to a combination—not regularly, in importing a [particular] meaning [below]—in order that such combination, by means of that addition, may become like another word in (1) the number of letters: (2) the special vowels and quiescences, each in the same relative position as [its counterpart] in the standard [word]: (3) its variations vid. (a) the *pret.*, *aur.*, *imp.*, *prohib.*, *inf. n.*,

act. part., and *pass. part.*, if the standard be a *quad. v.* [482, 492]; (b) the *dim.* and broken *pl.* [above], if the standard be a *quad. n.*, not a *quin.* [245, 274]. The use of co-ordination is that, in the case of that word, such a combination is sometimes needed in verse or rhyming prose. We do not lay down that there is no alteration of meaning by reason of the co-ordinative augment—how [can we] when the meaning of حَوَقَلَ *aged, impotent* is different from that of حَقَلَ *corn in the blade*, and the meaning of شَمَلَ [483] is different from that of شَبَلَ *included*, and similarly كَوَثَرَ [below] is not i. q. كَثَرَ *pith of a palm-tree?*—but it suffices that, in similar positions, that augment should not regularly import a [particular] meaning [above], as the *aug.* Hamza in أَكْبَرُ *greater* and أَفْضَلُ [351] denotes *superiority* [354]; and the *aug.* م in مَفْعَلٌ denotes the *inf. n.* [333], or the *time* or *place* [361], and in مَفْعَلٌ the *instrument* [366]. And hence we do not say that these *augs.* are co-ordinative, even though, by their means, these words become like the *quad.* in the special vowels and quiescences, and in the *dim.* and [broken] *pl.*, because the appearance of these letters as *augs.* is to denote the meanings mentioned; so that we do not refer them to the *lit.* purpose, while it is possible to refer them to the *id.* purpose (R). Augmentation is for [one

of (A)] seven causes:—(1) indication of a meaning, as in the aoristic letter [369, 404] (A, Tsr), and the ا of مُفَاعَلَةٌ [332, 490] (A): (2) co-ordination, as in (a) [the و of (A)] كَوَثَرٌ [below] (A, Tsr) and جَدَوَلٌ [369, 374, 675], the ی of صَيَّرَفٌ [373] and عَثِيرٌ [374], the ا of أَرْطَى and رَعَشَنٌ [673], and the ن of جَحَنَفَلٌ [below] and مِعْرَى [375, 677] (A): (a) co-ordination [above], as [defined by IM] in the Tashīl, is making a *tril.* or *quad.* to be commensurable with what is above it [in number of letters]: and what is meant, says Dm, is commensurability in appearance, since, in reality, the measure is different; for the measure of جَعْفَرٌ [above], e. g., is فَعَلٌ [392], while the measure of كَوَثَرٌ [283, 675] is فَوَعَلٌ [373]: (b) أَلْكَوَثَرُ is applied to denote several meanings, among them *much good* and *a river in Paradise* (Sn): (3) prolongation (A, Tsr), as in كِتَابٌ *book* [673] (Tsr); and hence the ا of رِسَالَةٌ [246], the ی of صَحِيفَةٌ [246], and the و of حَلَوْبَةٌ [267] (A): (4) compensation, as in [the ة of (A)] زَنَادِقَةٌ [265] (A, Tsr) and إِقَامَةٌ [265, 338], the س of يُسْطِيعُ [680], and the م of اَللَّهُمَّ [52, 56] (A): (5) magnification of the sense, and (Sn) multiplication (A, Tsr) of the letter (Sn), as in the م of سَتُّهُمْ and زُرُّهُمْ and اِبْنُ [667, 676, 681. A], which is added to denote *magnification of the sense*, and *multiplication*

[of the indicator (Sn)] thereof (A); and hence [the ʾ of (A)] قَبَعَثَرِي [272, 401, 673] (A, Tsr) and كَمَثَرِي [401, 673] (A): (6) making [articulation (Tsr)] possible, as in (a) the conj. ʾ [667] (A, Tsr), because it is not possible to begin with a quiescent (A); (b) the ʾ of silence in [such as عَمَ and (A)] نَمَ [615, 644, 679] (A, Tsr), because it is not possible to begin with, and pause upon, a [single] letter (A): (7) making [the vowel (Tsr) or the ʾ] plain (A, Tsr), as in سُلْطَانِيَّة LXIX. 29. [615, 648] (Tsr); and hence the ʾ of silence in such as مَالِيَّة LXIX.

28. [648, 679] and يَا زَيْدًا [48, 55, 679], which is added to make the vowel plain [in the former (Sn)], and the ʾ [perfectly (Sn)] plain (A) in the latter (Sn): so says IU (Tsr). The letters of augmentation (IY, SH), [i. e.] the *aug.* letters (M), are [ten letters, vid. the Hamza, the ʾ, the ʾ, the ى, the ن, the ت, the س, the م, the و, and the ل (IY), comprised in the (mnemonic) phrases (M, Jrb)] (1-3) [يَا أَوْسُ هَلْ نِمْتَ] and لَمْ يَأْتِنَا سَهْوٌ and (Jrb)] أَلْيَوْمَ تَنْسَاهُ [369, 401] (M, SH), which somebody has combined in a verse, vid

يَا أَوْسُ هَلْ نِمْتَ وَلَمْ يَأْتِنَا * سَهْوٌ فَقَالَ أَلْيَوْمَ تَنْسَاهُ

O Aus, hast thou slept, when negligence has not overcome us? Then said he, "To-day thou dost forget it"

(Jrb): (4) وَأَتَاهُ سُلَيْمَانُ, *And Solomon came to him* (M),

which is not good, because it contains a duplication of the ا (IY) : (5) سَأَلْتُمُونِيهَا [370] (M, SH) : (a) it is said that a pupil asked his master about the letters of augmentation, and he said سَأَلْتُمُونِيهَا *Ye have asked me about them*; whereupon the pupil thought that his master had not answered him, referring to his former answer; so he said "We have not asked thee save this once", on which the master said اَلْيَوْمَ نَنْسَاُ *To-day thou dost forget it* [above], and the pupil said "By God, assuredly I do forget it": and then the master said "I have answered thee twice, O stupid" (R) : (6) اَلسِّمَانُ هَوَيْتُ (M, SH) : (a) it is said that Mb asked Mz about the letters of augmentation, and he recited

هَوَيْتُ اَلسِّمَانَ فَشَيَّبَنِي * وَقَدْ كُنْتُ قَدْ مَا هَوَيْتُ اَلسِّمَانَ

[*I loved the plump (women); and they turned me hoary, when I had of old loved the plump (women)* (MAR)]; whereupon Mb said to him (IY, R) "[Give me] the answer" (IY); "[for] I asked thee about the letters of augmentation, and thou recitest poetry to me" (R); and he then said "I have answered thee twice" (IY, R), meaning هَوَيْتُ اَلسِّمَانَ : (b) Z [followed by IH] says اَلسِّمَانَ هَوَيْتُ, making اَلسِّمَانَ precede, in order that the [conj.] Hamza may not be elided [669], in the interior [of the phrase], in which case the number of the letters of augmentation would be deficient; whereas,

when he begins with it, the Hamza is expressed: (7) *أَلْمُوتُ* *He left me, and lost his way*: (8) *أَسْلَمَنِي وَتَاةَ* *Death forgets him* (IY): (9) *هُمْ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ* *They question one another*: (10) *مَا سَأَلْتَ يَهُونُ* *What thou hast asked is light*: (11) *إِلْتَمَسْنَ هَوَايَ* *They [fem.] sought, or Seek ye [fem.], my love*: (12) *سَأَلْتُمْ هَوَانِي* *Ye have asked my abasement*. IKh has collected more than twenty [such] combinations, reported or unreported; and says that the best of them, in letter and sense, is

سَأَلْتُ الْكُرُوفَ الْزَّائِدَاتِ عَنِ اسْمِهَا
فَقَالَتْ وَلَمْ تَبْخُلْ أَمَانٌ وَتَسْهِيلٌ

(R) *I asked the augmentative letters about their name; and they then said, nor begrudged saying, "Those letters are collected in تَسْهِيلٌ وَأَمَانٌ [below]" (Jsh).* The meaning of their being letters of augmentation is not that they are only *aug.*, since there is no letter among them that is not *rad.* in many positions; but the meaning is that, when a letter is added to a word, then that added [letter] is only one of these letters, unless the added letter be reduplicative, whether the reduplication be co-ordinative, as in *قَرَدَدٌ* [above]; or non-co-ordinative, as in *عَبَّرَ* interpreted [489]; where the *د* and *ب* are not letters of augmentation. The reduplicative

letter, notwithstanding its augmentativeness, is [taken] from all the letters of the alphabet, [except the **ا**, as shown below,] whether letters of augmentation, as in عَلَّمَ [433, 482] and جَمَعَ *amassed*; or others, as in قَطَعَ [489] and سَرَّحَ *set free*: and is co-ordinative, as in قَرَدَدُ and جَلَبَبَ [731]; and non-co-ordinative, as in عَلَّمَ [above]. But that [*aug.* letter] which is co-ordinative, yet not reduplicative, is [taken] only from the letters of أَلْيَوْمَ [above], as in جَدَوُلُ [369, 374, 675], زُرْزَمُ [above], and عَبْدُلُ [681] (R). The *aug.* is of two sorts, (1) repetition of a *rad.*, and (2) not so. The first sort, [vid. repetition of a *rad.* (Tsr),] is not peculiar to any letters in particular (Aud); but is [found] in all the letters, whether letters of سَأَلْتُمُونِيهَا [above] or not, except the **ا** [above], which is not susceptible of reduplication (Tsr). And its condition is that it should resemble (1) the **ل**, as in جَلَبَبَ [above] and جَلَبَابُ [385]: (2) the **ع**, (a) with union, as in قَتَّلَ *slaughtered* [489]; (b) with separation by an *aug.* [between them (Tsr)], as in عَقَتَقَلَّ [384, 677]: (3) the **ف** and **ع**, as in مَرْمَرِيْسُ [370]: (4) the **ع** and **ل**, as in صَمَحَحَمُ [370, 385] (Aud). When two letters are repeated in a word, which has another *rad.*, then one of the two duplicates is judged to be *aug.*; but, as to the specification of the *aug.*, there is a dispute. IM mentions

in the Tashīl that, in such as ⁵صَحَحَ [above], the second and third of the [four] similars, i. e., the first ح and the second م, are judged to be *aug.*; and, in such as ⁵مَرَمَرِيسَ [above], the third and fourth, i. e., the second م and the subsequent ر: and some adduce as evidence of the augmentativeness of the first ح in ⁵صَحَحَ, and of the second م in ⁵مَرَمَرِيسَ, their elision in the *dim.*, as ⁵صَيَّيَحَ and ⁵مَرَمَرِيسَ [283]. But it is transmitted from the KK that the measure of ⁵صَحَحَ is ⁵فَعَلَّلَ, its *o. f.* being ⁵عَمَحَّحَ, where they change the middle ح into م (Tsr). As for that [duplicate] which resembles the ف alone, as in ⁵قَرَّتَفَ [wine (Tsr)] and ⁵سُنْدَسَ [thin silk brocade (Tsr)], or the ع separated [from its duplicate] by a *rad.*, as in ⁵حَدَرَدَ *Hadrad*, [a man's name (Jh, Tsr), whence Abū Ḥadrad alAslamī, a Companion (KF), while no other ⁵فَعَلَّعَ, with repetition of the ع, occurs (Jh, KF, Tsr), and ⁵أَلْحَدَرَدَ meaning *the short*——so in the CT (KF),] it is *rad.* And, when the *quad.* is formed of two letters, then, (1) if its third be not omissible, the whole are *rad.*, as in ⁵سِسِمَ [311, 674, 677] (Aud), the measure of which is ⁵فَعَلَّلَ [392], because the radicalness of the two letters is certain, and there must be a third to complete the [number of] *rad.s.*; while neither of the remaining two is superior to the other, so that both are

judged to be *rad.*: (a) it is transmitted from Khl and the KK that its measure is ³فَعْفَلٌ, it ف being repeated; but this is improbable (Tsr): (2) if its third be omissible, as in لَبَلَمَ i. q. لَمَّ reunited it, that third is, (a) as the KK say, an *aug.* substituted for a letter resembling the second (Aud), the *o. f.* of لَبَلَمَ, according to their saying, being لَمَمَ, where, the succession of three similars being deemed heavy, they substitute for one of them a letter resembling the ف: but this is refuted by the fact that they say فَعْلَلَةٌ for its *inf. n.* [332]; whereas, if لَبَلَمَ were *orig.* [a *tril.*] reduplicated [in the medial], its *inf. n.* would occur on [the measure of] تَفْعِيلٌ [332] (Tsr): (b) as Zj [among the BB (Tsr)] says, an *aug.* not substituted for anything: (c) as the rest of the BB say, a *rad.* (Aud): (a) the opinion of the KK is preferred by BD, who says that it is better than making لَبَلَمَ a repeated [formation] agreeing in sense with the reduplicated *tril.*, as the BB say of its similars, like تَضَقُّضْتُ *I crushed*, كَفَكَفْتُ *I restrained*, and كَبَكَبْتُ *I overturned* (Tsr). The second sort, [vid. what is not added for repetition (Tsr),] is peculiar to the letters collected by IM four times in one verse

هَنَاءٌ وَتَسْلِيمٌ فَلَا يَوْمَ أَنْسِهِ * نِهَآيَةُ مَسْئُولٍ أَمَانٌ وَتَسْهِيلٌ
(Aud), i. e. (1) in هَنَاءٌ وَتَسْلِيمٌ *Congratulation and*

salutation (are a matter that), (2) in فَلَا يَوْمَ أَنْسِهِ has followed the day of his friendliness, (3) in نَهَائِهِ an utmost craving (of desire), and (4) in أَمَانٍ protection and facilitation [above] (Jsh). And they ought to reckon the ش in such as أَكْرَمْتُكَش I honored thee [617, 680], in the 2nd pers. fem.; for, if they say "This is peculiar to pause", we say "And so is the ة of silence" [615, 644, 679] (Tsr). Mb omits the ة from the letters of augmentation; but the refutation of his opinion will be given [679] (A). These [ten (Jrb)] letters, exclusively of others, are peculiar to augmentation, because the most suitable augments are the letters of prolongation and softness, since they are the lightest [and least troublesome (Jrb)] of the letters (Jrb, Tsr). As for the saying of the GG that the , and ى are heavy, it is [said of them] in relation to the ا [643]; while, in relation to the other letters, they are light (Jrb). And the rest of the ten letters are assimilated to them:—for (1) the Hamza is adjacent to the ا in outlet [732], and is convertible into a soft letter upon alleviation [658]: (2) the ة also is adjacent to the ا in outlet [732] (Jrb, Tsr), while Akh asserts that their outlet is one; and it is faint; and is sometimes substituted for the , in هَنَاءٌ [690], and for the ى in هَذِهِ [171, 174, 275, 648, 690] (Jrb); (3) the م is [uttered]

from the outlet of the و [732], vid. the lip; and contains a nasality [akin to the softness of the soft letters (Jrb)]: (4) the ن [also (Jrb)] contains nasality [270]; and is prolonged in the upper part of the nose, like the ا in the throat: (5) the ت is a surd [734] letter; and is substituted for the و in نُجَاءٌ (Jrb, Tsr) and تُرَاثٌ [689] (Jrb): (6) the س is a sibilant [734], surd, letter, [whose surdity is akin to the softness of the soft letters (Jrb)]; and its outlet is near to that of the ت [732] (Jrb, Tsr), for which reason they substitute it for the latter, saying اِتَّخَذَ for اِسْتَخَذَ [759], the converse of which is سِتٌّ , orig. سِدْسٌ [307, 316, 689, 758] (Jrb): and (7) the ل , though a vocal [734] letter, resembles the ن ; and is near to it in outlet [732] (Jrb, Tsr), for which reason the ن is incorporated into it [749, 751], as مِّنْ لَّدُنْهُ XVIII. 2. [205], and the ن of protection is sometimes elided with it in لَعَلِّي [170], as with its like in اِنِّى and كَانِى (Jrb). Measurement [of words] is also named exemplification (Aud), from the resemblance of the letters of the measure to the letters of the measured in number and conformation. The use of measurement is to explain the states of the formations of words in eight matters, (1) vowels, (2) quiescences, (3) *rad*s., (4) *aug*s., (5) priority, (6) posteriority, (7) elision, and (8) absence of elision. And the measure is the crude form of فَعَلَ

[below] (Tsr). There must be a measure, whereby the *aug.* may be differentiated from the *rad.*; while it is not possible for the word to be measured by itself; and therefore they constitute, for that [purpose], the crude-form of فَعَلَ [below], because it is the most general of the *vs.* in sense, and may be employed for every *act*, as فَعَلَ النَّصْرَ *He did striking* and فَعَلَ الْضَرْبَ *He did helping*, whence وَالَّذِينَ هُمْ لِلزَّكَاةِ فَاعِلُونَ XXIII. 4. *And who are doers of almsgiving*, i. e., مُزَكِّونَ *almsgivers* (Jrb), where الزَّكَاةُ is meant to be an abstract *n.* [3], vid. the *deed of the almsgiver*, i. e., التَّزْكِيَةُ *almsgiving* (K). What is intended is the crude-form of فَعَلَ [above], not its conformation, since the measure does not always keep to this conformation (Sn). The *rad.*s. are represented [in the measure] by the ف, [then (Aud)] the ع, and [then (Aud)] the ج [368, 369,] (SH, Aud), in the order imported from the word "then" (Tsr); and such [*rad.*s. (R, Jrb)] as exceed [three (R, Jrb)] by a second or third ج (SH); the letters of the measure being (Tsr) given such [original (Tsr)] mobility or quiescence as belongs to their measured (Aud). This means that, when you want to measure a word, [in order to know its *rad.* and *aug.* (A),] you represent its *rad.*s. by [the letters of فَعَلَ, the first by (A)] the ف, [the second by (A)] the ع, and [the third by (A)] the ج (R, A), i. e.,

you put, in the measure, these three letters in place of the *rad.* letters (R), making the measure and the measured equal in vowel and quiescence [253] (A), as you say “فَعَلَ *struck* is on the measure of ضَرَبَ” [below] (R). You, therefore, say (1) فَعَلَ [with quiescence of the ع (Tsr)] for [the measure of (Tsr)] فَلَسَ [368] (Aud, A), among *ns.* (Tsr): (2) فَعَلَ (Aud, A), with Fath of the [ف and (A)] ع (A, Tsr), for [the measure of (Tsr)] ضَرَبَ [above] (Aud, A), among *vs.* (Tsr); and similarly for [the measure of (Tsr)] قَامَ [403, 482] (Aud, A), in the hollow (Tsr), and شَدَّ [482] (Aud, A), in the reduplicated (Tsr), because their *o. f.* [before conversion or incorporation (Tsr, Sn)] is قَوَّمَ [403, 684, 703] and شَدَدَ [731]: (3) فَعَلَ [with Kasr of the ع (Tsr)] for [the measure of (Tsr)] عَلِمَ [432, 440, 482]; and similarly for [the measure of (Tsr)] هَابَ [in the hollow (Tsr)] and مَلَّ (Aud, A) in the reduplicated (Tsr), because their *o. f.* is هَيَّبَ [403, 684, 703] and مَلِلَ *loathed, was weary of* [731] (Tsr, Sn), with Kasr of their second (Sn): (4) فَعَلَ [with Damm of the ع (Tsr)] for [the measure of (Tsr)] ظَرَفَ [331, 432, 482]; and similarly for [the measure of (Tsr)] طَالَ [432] and حَبَّ [476] (Aud, A), because their *o. f.* is طَوَّلَ [403, 684, 703] and حَبَبَ [731] (Tsr, Sn), with Damm of their second (Sn). And

by that means the explanation of the original vowels and quiescences is effected (Tsr). Then, if any of the *rad*s. of the word remain, you add (1) a second ج in [the measure of (Tsr)] the *quad.*, saying نَعْلَلٌ for [the measure of (Tsr)] جَعْفَرٌ [392]: (2) a second and third [ج (Tsr)] in [the measure of (Tsr)] the *quin.*, saying نَعْلِلٌ for [the measure of (Tsr)] جَحْمَرٌ [245, 401] (Aud). What IHsh mentions as to the measurement of the *tril.* is agreed upon. But what he mentions as to the measurement of the *non-tril.* is disputed, there being two opinions, (1) what he mentions, which is the saying of the BB, founded on [the theory] that the whole [of the letters in the *quad.* and *quin.*] are *rad*s.; and is correct: (2) that whatever [letter] exceeds three is *aug.*, which is said by the KK, being founded upon their theory that the extreme number of *rad*s. is three [368]. Then they diverge into three opinions, (1) that the *non-tril.* is not measurable, because the mode of measuring it is not known; (2) that it is measurable, but that its final is represented by its own letter; (3) that it is measurable, but that its penultimate is represented by its own letter: which [divergence between the second and third opinions] is founded upon the question whether the *aug.* [in the *quad.*] be the final or the penultimate, the first [opinion] being held by Fr, and the second by Ks [368]. Thus, as to whether [the

measure of] جَعْفَر be فَعْلَل [392], as the BB say, or فَعْلَر with the , *aug.*, or فَعْلَل with the ف *aug.*, or what it is be not known, there are four [different] sayings (Tsr). And the *aug.* is represented by its own [original] letter, [in order that it may be differentiated from the *rad.* (Tsr),] so that one says (1-3) أَفْعَل , فَيَعَل , and فَعُول for [the measure of (Tsr)] أَكْرَم [332], يَيْطَر [332, 482, 674], and جَهْوَر [482, 675] (Aud), with the *aug.* Hamza, ي , and و , respectively (Tsr): (4) اِفْتَعَل for [the measure of (Tsr)] اِقْتَدَر [667] (Aud), with the *aug.* Hamza and ت (Tsr); and similarly for [the measure of (Tsr)] اِضْطَبَرَ [692, 756] and اِذْكَر [693, 756], because the *o. f.* is اِضْتَبَرَ and اِذْكَر : (5) اِسْتَفْعَل for [the measure of (Tsr)] اِسْتَنْخَرَج [332, 482, 483, 493] (Aud), where the numbers of the *augs.* and *rads.* are equal (Tsr). When, however, the *aug.* is a repetition of a *rad.*, [whether co-ordinative or not (Tsr),] it is represented, (1) according to the majority, by what that *rad.* is represented by (Aud), because, repetition of the *rad.* in the science of etymology being on a par with *lit.* corroboration [132] in the science of syntax, as that [*lit. corrob.*] is given the predicament of the *ant.*, and therefore imitates it in its inflection, so this [repetitive *aug.*] is measured by the same measure as the *rad.*, in order to make known that

this is a repetition of what precedes (Tsr), as in your saying *فُعْلُوْ*, *فُعْلُوْ*, and *اِنْفَعَوْعَلْ*, for [the measure of (Tsr)] *حِلْتِيْتُ* [385], *سُخْنُوْنُ* [*beginning of rain and wind* (Tsr, Sn)]—so says SBd (Sn)], and *اِغْدُوْدَنَ* [482, 483, 675] (Aud), respectively, the [second] ت in *حِلْتِيْتُ* and ن in *سُخْنُوْنُ* being for co-ordination with *قِنْدِيْلُ* [253, 396, 674, 677] and *غُضْرُوْفُ* *cartilage* [396], respectively; while the [second] د in *اِغْدُوْدَنَ* is non-co-ordinative: (2) according to some, by its own letter, unrestrictedly, even though it is a repetition of a *rad.*; so that one says *فُعْلُوْ*, *فُعْلُوْ*, and *اِنْفَعَوْدَلْ* for the measure of *حِلْتِيْتُ* [above], *سُخْنُوْنُ*, and *اِغْدُوْدَنَ* respectively (Tsr). The *aug.*, (1) when it is not one of the letters of *اَمَانٌ* وَتَسْهِيْلٌ [above], is a duplicate of a *rad.*, like the ب in *جَلْبَبَ* [above]; (2) if it be one of them, is (a) a duplicate, as in *سَأَالٌ* [661, 738]: (b) not a duplicate; but having the semblance of a duplicate, though some evidence, [like the extraordinariness of *فَعْلَالٌ* without repetition of the ف and ع (Sn),] indicates that reduplication is not intended by it, in which case it is represented in the measure by its own letter, as in *سَبْنَانُ* *Samnān*, a [*place wherein is* (Sn)] *water* belonging to the Banū Rabi'a, the measure of which is *فَعْلَانُ*, not *فَعْلَالٌ*, because *فَعْلَالٌ* is an extraordinary measure,

no instance of which occurs without repetition [of the ف and ع (Sn)], as in زَلْزَالٌ [273, 332, 396], except خَزَعَالٌ [396] and فَهْقَارٌ denoting [*hard* (Jh, KF)] *stone*, [to which the KF adds قَسْطَالٌ *dust* and خَرْطَالٌ *oats* (Sn),] while بَهْرَامُ *Bahrām* and شَهْرَامُ *Shahrām* are foreign (A) proper names: (c) not a duplicate, nor in the semblance of one, like the Hamza in أَكْرَمُ [above] (Sn). What is considered in measurement is the form to which the measured was entitled before alteration [by incorporation, or conversion, of one letter into another]: so that one says فَعْلٌ and مَفْعَلٌ for the measure of رَدٌ [331] and مَرْدٌ *repelling*, respectively, because their o. f. is رَدٌ and مَرْدٌ (A); and similarly, as before mentioned, قَامٌ and مَرْدٌ, because their o. f. is قَوْمٌ and شَدَدٌ; and so هَابٌ and مَلٌ, and طَالٌ and حَبٌ [above] (Sn). But, when there is, in the measured, a transfer [from one place to another, which is named transposition (Tsr)], or an elision [of some of the *rads.*], you put the like [transfer or elision] in the measure, saying (1) فَلَعٌ for [the measure of (Tsr)] نَاءٌ [pret. of يَنَاءٌ (Tsr), a *dial. var.* of نَأَى i. q. بَعُدَ *was far away* (Jh)], because it is from نَأَى (Aud), the o. f. being نَأَى; but the ل, vid. the ي, being transferred to the position of the ع, vid. the Hamza, so that it becomes نَيْأٌ; and the ي then converted into ا [684, 703], because mobile, and preceded by a

letter pronounced with Fath ; so that it becomes نَاء with prolongation (Tsr): (2) عَالِفٌ for [the measure of (Tsr)] اَلْحَادِي [210, 324], because it is from وَحْدَةٌ *unity* (Aud), the *o. f.* being اَلْوَحْدُ ; but the ف , vid. the و , being transferred to the position of the ل , vid. the د ; and the ح then made to precede the ا , with which it is impossible to begin, so that it becomes اَلْحَادِوُ ; and the و then converted into ي [685, 721], because occurring as a final after Kasra ; so that it becomes اَلْحَادِي (Tsr): (3) يَعْلُ for [the measure of (Tsr)] يَهْبُ [482, 699] (Aud), the ف of which is elided, the *o. f.* being يَوْهَبُ , because it is *orig.* يَفْعَلُ with Kasr [of the ع], and is afterwards pronounced with Fath because of the guttural letter ; so that the elision is from يَفْعَلُ with Kasr : so says Sd on يَطَأُ [482] and its congeners (Tsr): (4) فُلٌ for [the measure of (Tsr)] بَعُ [703] (Aud), *imp.* of بَاعَ , the *o. f.* being بَيْعُ , but its ع being elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents [663] (Tsr): (5) فَاعٍ for [the measure of (Tsr)] قَاضٍ [16] (Aud), the ل of which is elided, the *o. f.* being قَاضِيٌ , but its ل being elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents [663]. The measurement of some words is impracticable, like

أَطَاعَ [680] and أَهْرَاقَ [382, 679, 680], because we consider the original vowel and quiescence; and, the ف in those [words] being *orig.* quiescent, while the س and ه [also] are quiescent, a concurrence of two quiescents would ensue in the measure; so that the right course is to say أَفْعَلْ for their measure, because they are *orig.* أَطَوَعَ and أَزَيَّقَ, the س and ه being *aug.* (Tsr). IM says (Aud), in the Alfīya (Tsr), The letter, if it be inseparable [from the word in all its variations (A)], is a *rad.*; while that which is not inseparable, [but is elided in some of the variations (A),] is the *aug.*, like the ت of أُحْتَذَى [below] (IM). Thus he defines the *rad.* letter as being that which is inseparable in all the variations, and the *aug.* as being that which is not inseparable in all the variations; while he exemplifies the latter by the ت of أُحْتَذَى, which is *aug.*, because it is elided in some of the variations (Tsr), since you say حَدَا حَدُّوْهُ (A, Tsr), i. e., as in the KF (Sn), *did as he did* (KF, Sn); so that, by the elision of the ت [in حَدَا and حَدُّوْهُ], you know that it is *aug.* in أُحْتَذَى *was imitated*, or *was put on* or *worn* (A). اِحْتَذَى is *imitation*; or *putting on*, or *wearing, sandals* (Tsr). One says اِحْتَذَى بِهِ *imitated him* (A), [and] اِحْتَذَى مِثَالَهُ *imitated his example* (Jh, KF), i. e. اِتْتَدَى بِهِ (Jh, KF, A); and

[also (A)] اِخْتَدَى put on, or wore, sandals, i. e., اِنتَعَلَ, whence

كُلُّ اَلْحَدَّآءِ يَخْتَدِي اَلْحَاوِي اَلرَّقِيعُ

The foot-sore barefooted man puts on any sandal, حَدَّآءُ being a sandal [329] (Jh, A). But [both (Tsr)] the definitions require consideration :—the first [definition, vid. that of the *rad.* (Tsr),] because the و of كَوَّبٌ [253, 373] and the ن of قَرْنَفٌ [392, 395] are *aug.*, as you will [soon (Tsr)] recognize [675, 677], notwithstanding that they are not elided [in all the variations (Tsr)]; and the second [definition, vid. that of the *aug.* (Tsr),] because the ف of وَعَدٌ, the ع of قَالَ, and the ل of غَزَا are *rad.*s., notwithstanding that they are elided in يَعِدُ [482, 699], قُلُ [663, 703], and كَمْ يَغْزُ [404, 719] (Aud). Thus the definition of the *rad.* is not inclusive, and the definition of the *aug.* is not exclusive (Tsr) : [or rather] neither of the two definitions is inclusive or exclusive :—the definition of the *rad.*, because such as the و of وَعَدٌ is excluded [from it], while such as the ن of قَرْنَفٌ is included [in it]; and the definition of the *aug.*, because the second is excluded from it, while the first is included in it (Sn). And the accurate formula for recognition of the *augs.* would be “ Know that a letter is not judged to be *aug.*, unless the remaining letters of the word exceed two *rad.*s. (Aud). But [IUK replies that (Tsr)] the

rad., when elided for unsoundness, [like the , of يَعْدُ (A),] is constructively present, [contrary to the *aug.* (Tsr)]; while the *aug.*, when inseparable, [like the ن of قَرَنْفَل and the , of كَوَّكَب (A),] is constructively elided. And therefore the *aug.* is said to be what is elided, really or constructively, in the original constitution (A, Tsr). The indications of the augmentativeness of a letter are ten :—(1-3) elision from (a) an *o. f.*, like the elision of the ا of صَارِب [343, 369, 373] in its *o. f.*, i. e., the *inf. n.* [331]; (b) a *deriv.* form, like the elision of the ا of كَتَاب [above] in its *pl.* كُتُب [246, 256]; (c) a counterpart, like the elision of the ي of أَیْطَل [674] in اِیْطَل [368], [which is like أَیْطَل in sense and crude-form (Sn)] : (a) the condition requisite, in order that elision of the letter from an *o. f.*, a *deriv.* form, or a counterpart, may be adducible as an indication of its augmentativeness, is that its elision should not be for unsoundness ; for, if its elision be for unsoundness, like the elision of the , of وَعَد in يَعْد [above], or in عِدَّة [401, 482, 699], it is not a indication of augmentativeness : (4, 5) the letter's occupying, in the *non-deriv.* [word containing it (Sn)], a position wherein it is *aug.* in the *deriv.*, (a) invariably, like the ن [673, 677], when it occurs as a quiescent, unincorporated, third, and is followed by two letters, as in رَقَّتْ [675, 677], which is *an evil*, [*a calamity*, and

a great matter (KF),] شَرَنْبَتْ^s [677], which is *thick in the hands and feet*, and عَصَنْصَرْ^s 'Aṣanṣar, which is a *mountain*, the ن in these [words] and the like being *aug.*, because it occupies a position wherein it is only *aug.* in the *deriv.* (A), even though [the derivation be] from a concrete *n.* [3], as is proved by what follows, derivation [here] being in the sense of mere taking (Sn), as جَكَنْفَلْ^s [393, 395,] from جَكَنْفَلَّة^s [677], which in the solid-hoofed [animal] is like شَفَّة^s *lip* in man, جَكَنْفَلْ^s being *big in the lip*, and also *a great army*: (b) frequently, like the Hamza [672], when it occurs as an initial, and is followed by three letters, in which case it is judged to be *aug.*, even if the derivation be not known, since it is frequently *aug.* when it occurs similarly [situated] in a word whose derivation is known: thus the Hamza of أَرْنَبْ^s [18, 249] and أَفْكَلْ^s [249, 372] is judged to be *aug.*, because made to accord with [the Hamza of] a word whose derivation is recognizable, as أَحَبَّرُ^s [249, 372]: (6) its being peculiar to, [i. e., found in (Sn),] a position wherein only a letter of augmentation occurs, like the ن of [such as (Sn)] كَنْتَأْ^s (A), with which كَنْتَأْ^s [380] is synonymous (Sn); and of such as حَنْطَأْ^s [301, 380], سِنْدَأْ^s, and قِنْدَأْ^s, the last two meaning the *light, active, man*: (7, 8) that, by the assumption of radicalness, unprecedentedness would be entailed

in [the formation of] (a) that word [to which the letter belongs], as in تَتَغَلُّ [372, 678] with Fath of the first ت , and Damm of the ف , meaning the *young of the fox*; for its [first] ت is *aug.*, because, if it were held to be *rad.*, the measure of تَتَغَلُّ would be فَعَلُّ [392], which is not found: (b) the counterpart of the word to which that letter belongs, as in تَتَغَلُّ [372], according to the *dial.* of those who pronounce the [first] ت and the ف with Damm; for its [first] ت is *aug.*, according to this *dial.* also, because, although unprecedentedness would not ensue [in this *dial. var.*] from the assumption of radicalness, since, if the ت were held to be *rad.*, the measure of تَتَغَلُّ would be فَعَلُّ , which is found, as بُرُنِّي [392], still unprecedentedness does ensue in its counterpart, i. e., the *dial. var.* with Fath; so that the ت , when its augmentativeness is established in the *dial. var.* with Fath, is judged to be *aug.* in the *dial. var.* with Damm also, since the rule [in *dial. vars.*] is identity of crude-form: (9) the letter's indicating a meaning, like the aoristic letter [369, 404] and the † of the *act. part.* [343, 369]: (10) inclusion [of the word] in the wider of two *cats.* upon [its] exclusion from [the formations sanctioned by] precedent, vid. in كَنَهَبُلُّ [394, 677], [according to the *dial.* of those who pronounce the ب with Damm, as is proved by what follows (Sn),] since its measure, upon the assumption of the radicalness of the ب , is فَعَلُّ

[with Damm of the second J (Sn)], like سَفَرُجٌ with Damm of the ج, which is not found [401]; and, on the assumption of its augmentativeness, is فَنَعَلٌ [394, 677], which also is not found; but the formations of the augmented [*quad.*] are more numerous [than those of the unaugmented *quin.*], and it is one of their principles, [i. e., rules (Sn),] to have recourse to the numerous: (a) this [indication] is mentioned by IAz and others; but IUK says that it is implied in the seventh (A), i. e., that, by the assumption of radicalness, unprecedentedness would be entailed [above] (Sn). Augmentation has certain conditions, [by which its use is restricted] (Tsr). I have previously set out, in the Parts of the Noun [368-401] and Verb [482-496 A], when mentioning the augmented formations, a portion of the discourse upon these letters; and I shall mention here [672-681. A] what serves to differentiate between the places where they occur *rad.* and the places where they occur *aug.* (M).

§. 672. The Hamza is judged to be (1) *aug.*, when it occurs as an initial, and is followed by three *rad.* letters, [*ns.* and *vs.* being alike in that respect (IY),] as in اَرَبٌ (M) and اَذْهَبُ [249], اَصْفَرُ [671] and اَحْمَرُ [671], اَفْكَلُ [671], *I go* and اَجْلِسُ *I sit* (IY), and اَكْرَمُ [671] (M): (a) that is because the Hamza, when initial, is prevalently

and frequently *aug.* in those words whose derivation is recognizable, as in أَحْمَرُ ^أ [above], أَصْفَرُ ^أ, and أَخْضَرُ ^أ [249], أَذْهَبُ and أَجْلَسُ ^أ [above], إِجْفِيلُ and إِخْرِيْطُ ^إ [379], from حُمْرَةٌ ^ح redness, صُفْرَةٌ ^ص yellowness, and خُضْرَةٌ ^خ greenness, [جَفَلٌ ^ج went and جَلَسَ ^ج sat,] جَفَلٌ ^ج taking fright and fleeing, and خَرْطٌ ^خ defoliation; and is therefore decided to be *aug.* in those words of that class which are uncertain [in derivation], as أَرْنَبٌ ^أ and أَفْكَلٌ ^أ [above], أَيْدَعٌ ^أ [below], أَبْلَمَةٌ ^أ (IY), *n. un.* of أَبْلَمٌ ^أ [372] (Jh), and إِصْبَعٌ ^إ [372], by making them accord with the more numerous [division of the class], which is making the unknown to accord with the known (IY): (b) some of the ancients differ from that, saying that what we do not know, by derivation, to be *aug.* we judge to be *rad.*; so that أَفْكَلٌ ^أ is said by them to be like جَعْفَرٌ ^ج [392]: but S refutes them by the argument that أَفْكَلٌ ^أ [18], if used as a name, would necessarily be diptote; whereas, if it were فَعْلَلٌ ^ف [392], it would be triptote: and also that, if it were فَعْلَلٌ ^ف, a formation whose initial is Hamza would be allowable in the *conjug.* of فَعْلَلٌ ^ف, *aor.* يُفْعِلِلُ ^ي, *inf. n.* فَعْلَلَةٌ ^ف (R): (c) thus the Hamza is judged to be *aug.* in all of that [class] (IY), except when something intervenes, which requires (*a*) that the Hamza should be *rad.*, as in إِمَّعَةٌ ^إ [374] and إِمَّرَةٌ ^إ weak-minded (M), because there is no *ep.* like إِفْعَلَةٌ ^إ; while, if we judged

the Hamza in them to be *aug.*, the word would be of the *cat.* of كَوَّكَبٌ and دَدَنٌ [357, 674], which is rare, not to be acted upon (IY): (b) that both matters should be allowable, as in أَوَّلَقُ [below] (M): (α) the Hamza, if accompanied by a letter that may be *aug.*, as in أَيْدَعُ [249, 674] and أَيْصَرُ *a short tent-rope, with which the lower part of the tent is fastened to the peg*, is not judged to be *aug.* [below], except upon proof: for the Hamza is one of the letters of augmentation, and so is the ي; except that the [usual] way is to judge the Hamza to be *aug.*, because the Hamza, when first, is prevalently *aug.*, in comparison with the ي when second: so that in أَيْدَعُ the Hamza is *aug.*, because of what we have mentioned; and because they say يَدَّعَتْهُ *I dyed it with* أَيْدَعُ, *inf. n.* تَيَّدِعُ, [with elision of the Hamza,] this being a proof that the Hamza is *aug.*: while in أَيْصَرُ, if we were left to analogy, the Hamza would be *aug.*, because of the prevalence of [augmentativeness in] the Hamza when initial; but they say in the *pl.* إِصَارُ, as

وَيَجْمَعُ ذَا يَيْنَهُنَّ الْإِصَارَا

And this unites between them the short tent-ropes; so that the elision of the ي is an indication that it is *aug.* (IY): (β) the language of [IY and] IM intimates that, when the Hamza precedes three [letters], of which the whole are not certainly *rad.*, but one is

ambiguous, the Hamza is not judged to be *aug.* [above], except by reason of some indication : but this is contrary to what IM decisively asserts in the Tashil, which is the well-known [rule], vid. that, when the Hamza precedes three letters, one of which admits of being *rad.* or *aug.*, the Hamza is judged to be *aug.*, and that ambiguous [letter] to be *rad.*, unless some indication exists to the contrary, for which reason the Hamza of أَفْعَى [673] and أَيْدَعُ [above] is judged to be *aug.*; but that, if some indication shows the Hamza to be *rad.*, and that ambiguous [letter] to be *aug.*, one judges accordingly, as the Hamza of أَرْطَى and أَوْلَقَ [below] is judged to be *rad.*, according to those who say أَدِيمُ مَأْرُوطٌ [673] and أَلِقَ, *pass. part.* مَأْلُوقٌ [below] : (γ) such as أَرْطَى [673] is excluded [from the presumption that the Hamza in such a position is *aug.*], since مَأْرُوطٌ and مَرْطَى have been heard for *dyled with* [the leaves of (Jh on رطى)] : أَرْطَى : he that says مَأْرُوطٌ makes the Hamza *rad.*, and the ا *aug.*; while he that says مَرْطَى makes the Hamza *aug.*, and the ا a *subst.* for a *rad.* ي : and, according to the first, the measure of أَرْطَى is فَعْلَى, its ا being *aug.* for co-ordination; so that, if used as a name, أَرْطَى [18] would be diptote, because of the quality of proper name and [the ا of (Sn)] quasi-femininization, [which is the ا of co-ordination (Sn)] : while, according to the second, its

measure is **أَفْعَلٌ** ; so that, is used as a name, it would be diptote, because of the quality of proper name and the measure of the *v.* [18] : but the first saying is more obvious, because the variations of **مَأْرُوطٌ** are more numerous [than those of **مَرْطِيٌّ**], since they say **أَرَطْتُ** *I dyed the hide with [the leaves of]* **أَرَطِيٌّ**, and **أَرَطْتُ** *The camels ate* **أَرَطِيٌّ**, [act. part. **آرِطٌ**, as our Master has written after it (Sn),] and **أَرَطَتِ الْأَرْضُ** *The land produced* **أَرَطِيٌّ**; while **أَرَطَتِ الْأَرْضُ** *The land produced* **أَرَطِيٌّ**, [inf. n. **أَرِطَاءٌ**, as in the KF (Sn),] is also said : (δ) similarly **أَوْلَقَ** [above] (A) : as for **أَوْلَقَ** [674], which is a kind of *madness* (IY), it is said that (A) the Hamza [in it (IY)] is *rad.*, [and the *, aug.* (A),] because they say **أَلِقَ الرَّجُلُ** *The man was demented*, [a *pass.* formation (Sn), i. q. **جُنَّ** (A),] *pass. part.* **مَأْلُوقٌ** *demented* (IY, A), upon the measure of **مَفْعُولٌ** (Jh), which is a proof that the Hamza is *rad.*, and the *, aug.* (IY); and its measure then is **فَوَعَلٌ** (IY, Sn), like **جَوَهَّرَ** [369]; so that, if used as a name for a man, it would be triptote: this is the opinion of S; and the [conclusive] evidence is in **مَأْلُوقٌ** [above]; while in **أَلِقَ** the Hamza may be *orig. a ,*, which is converted into Hamza because pronounced with *Damm*, as in **أُجُوهٌ**

for ^{وَجُرْهُ} [683] (IY): and [it is said that (A)] ^{أَوْ لَقَى} may be [^{أَفْعَلُ} (IY)] from ^{وَلَقَى}, [an *act.* formation (Sn),] i. q. ^{إِذْ تَلَقَوْنَهُ بِأَلْسِنَتِكُمْ أَسْرَعَ} hastened (IY, A), whence XXIV. 14. *When ye were speaking it hastily with your tongues*, [so read by 'Ā'isha (Jh),] and the saying of the poet [Al Kūlākh Ibn Ḥazn (TA, MAJh)]

جَاءَ بِهِ عَنْسٌ مِنَ الشَّامِ تَلَقَّى

A strong she-camel has brought him from Syria, hastening (IY); and, according to this, the Hamza is *aug.*, and the ^و, *rad.* (IY, A), its measure being ^{أَفْعَلُ} (A); so that, if used as a name for a man, it would be diptote [18]: moreover they say ^{وَلَقَى} and ^{أَلَقَى} for *a swift charge*, which shows that its ^ف is sometimes Hamza, and sometimes ^و, as in ^{أَوْصَدْتُ أَلْبَابَ} *I shut the door* and ^{آصَدْتُ} (IY); but the first is preferable: (ε) similarly ^{أَوْ تَكَى} denoting *a bad sort of date*, [the ^ا of which is decidedly *aug.*, the discussion not being about it, but only about the Hamza and ^و, (Sn),] oscillates between two measures, ^{أَفْعَلَى}, like ^{أَجْفَلَى} [381]; and ^{فَوَعَلَى}, like ^{خَوَزَلَى} [380] (A): (2) *rad.*, (a) when it [occurs as an initial, but] is followed by two *rad.* letters, as in ^{إِتْبُ} [*a shirt without sleeves* (IY)] and ^{إِزَارُ} *a waist-wrapper*, [the paradigms of which one ^{فَعْلُ} and ^{فِعَالُ}, like ^{حِمْلُ} and ^{حِمَارُ}, respectively (IY)]; or by four, as in ^{إِصْطَبَلُ} *stable*

[283], [which, IAl says, is not of the language of the Arabs (Jh),] and *إِصْطَاخُرُ* *Iṣṭakhr* (M), the name of a territory (Jk, MI) in Persia (MI), which also is foreign (Jk), the paradigm of both being *فَعْلَلٌ*, like *جَرَدَ خُلٌ* [401]; and hence *إِبْرَاهِيمُ* and *إِسْعِيلُ* [283, 291], the measure of which is *فَعْلَالِيْلٌ* (IY): (b) when it occurs as non-initial, and nothing intervenes to necessitate its being *aug.*, as in (a) *شَمَالٌ* [374] (M), where the Hamza is *aug.*, because they say *شَمَلَتِ آلَ رَيْحٍ* [373, 681. A] from *شَمَالٌ* *north wind* [below] (IY); (b) *نَيْدَلَانٌ* [or *نَيْدَلٌ*] *nightmare*, where the Hamza is *aug.*, because they say *نَيْدَلَانٌ* with the *ي*, and Damm of the *د*, the elision of the Hamza being an indication of its augmentativeness (IY)]; (c) *جَرَّ آفُصٌ* [384] (M), i. e., *a bulky camel*, where the Hamza is *aug.*, because they say, in the same sense, *جَمْدٌ جَرَّ رَاضٌ* *a strong he-camel*, i. e., *شَدِيدٌ* (IY); (d) *ضَهْيَاءٌ* (M), i. e., *that does not menstruate*, where the Hamza is *aug.*, because they say *إِمْرَأَةٌ ضَهْيَاءٌ* *a woman that does not menstruate*, without Hamza (IY). The language of [Z and] IM intimates that the Hamza, when medial or final, is not judged to be *aug.*, except by reason of some indication, as in (1) *شَمَالٌ* [681. A], where the indication is elision of the Hamza in some of its *dial. vars.*, of which there are ten, (a) *شَمَالٌ* [374]; (b) *شَامَلٌ*

[373]; (c) شَمَالٌ [above], upon the measure of قَدَالٌ [246]; (d) شَمُولٌ, with Fath of the ش; (e) شَمْدٌ, with Fath of the م; (f) شَمْدٌ, with quiescence of the م; (g) شَيْمِدٌ, upon the measure of صَيْقِلٌ [253]; (h) شِمَالٌ, upon the measure of كِتَابٌ [246]; (i) شَيْيِدٌ, upon the measure of طَوِيلٌ [246]; (j) شَمَّالٌ, with [Fath of the ش, quiescence of the م, Fath of the Hamza, and (Sn)] reduplication of the ل (A): while the KF adds (k) شَوْمَلٌ, like جَوْهَرٌ [369] (Sn): (a) IU and others adduce, as evidence that the Hamza of شَمَّالٌ is *aug.*, their saying شَمَلَتْ الرِّيحُ [above], meaning *blew northerly*; but it is objected that شَمَلَتْ admits of being *orig.* شَمَّالَتْ, [the vowel of the Hamza (Sn)] being transferred [to the م, and the Hamza afterwards elided (Sn)], in which case it is not adducible as evidence: (2) أَحْبَنْطَأٌ [he was swollen in his belly (Sn)], where the indication is the elision of the Hamza in حَبِطٌ [681. A], as حَبِطٌ بَطْنُهُ *His belly was swollen* [482]. But from that [rule] is excepted the final Hamza after an | preceded by more than two *rads.*, as will [now] be explained (A). The final [Hamza (Tsr)] is made *aug.* upon two conditions [677], vid. that it be preceded by an |, and that this | be preceded by more than two *rads.* [below], [whether the initial of its word be pronounced with Fath, Kasr, or Damm (Tsr),] as in

حَرَآء [385], عِلْبَاء [385], and قَرْفَصَاء [40, 273, 332],
 contrary to [the Hamza of (Tsr)] such as مَا and شَاء [326, 683] (Aud), where the ا is preceded by one *rad.*
 (Tsr); and بِنَاء *a building* [683] and أَبْنَاء [667] (Aud),
 where the ا is preceded by two *rads.*, not by more : and
 contrary to such as نَبَأٌ *tidings*, where the Hamza is not
 preceded by an ا (Tsr). [See §. 677 for a third condition.]
 IM's saying [in the Alfīya] "more than two letters"
 [instead of "more than two *rads.*" (above)] requires that
 the Hamza [677] should be judged to be *aug.*, whether
 all the letters preceding the ا be decidedly *rad.*, or two
 be decidedly *rad.*, and the third be ambiguous. But that
 is not so, because the word whose final is a Hamza after
 an ا separated from the ف by a double letter, as in سَلَاء [prickles of the palm-tree (Sn)] and حَوَاء [below], or by
 two letters, one of which is a soft letter, as in زِيْرَاء and
 قُوبَاء [273], admits of two alternatives, that the Hamza
 should be *rad.*, and one of the two similars [in such as
 سَلَاء and حَوَاء (Sn)], or the soft letter [in such as
 زِيْرَاء and قُوبَاء (Sn)], should be *aug.*; or the converse.
 If, then, the Hamza be made *rad.*, سَلَاء is نُعَال [from
 سَلَأْتُ النَّخْلَ *I pulled off the prickles of the palm-trees*
 (Jh)], and حَوَاء snake-charmer is نُعَال from حَوَايَةٌ
collecting; while, if it be made *aug.*, سَلَاء is نُعَلَاء
 [from سَلَّ *pulled out* (KF)], and حَوَاء greenish black or

blackish red, [and *Eve* (MAZ, Nw, KF), Adam's wife (KF), the mother of mankind (MAZ, Nw),] is **فَعَالٌ** from **خَوَّةٌ** (A) *blackness inclining to greenness or redness inclining to blackness* (Sn). If, however, one of the two alternatives be strengthened by some indication, it is adopted, and the other neglected: and, for that reason, the Hamza of **خَوَّآءٌ** is judged to be *aug.* when **خَوَّآءٌ** is diptote (A), because the diptote declension indicates that it is the Hamza of femininization [263, 683], which is *aug.* (Sn); and *rad.* when **خَوَّآءٌ** is triptote, like **خَوَّآءٌ** denoting *one that charms snakes*: while the preferable [alternative] in **سَلَاةٌ** is that its Hamza should be *rad.*, because, in *plants*, **فَعَالٌ** is more numerous than **فَعَلَّآءٌ** [273]. If, then, IM had said "more than two *rads*", [as IHsh says in the Aud above,] it would have been better. The Hamza is made *aug.*, in the *n.*, when (1) first, as in **أَحْمَرٌ** [372, 671]; (2) second, as in **شَأْمَلٌ** [373]; (3) third, as in **شَبَّالٌ** [above]; (4) fourth, as in **حُطَّائِطٌ** [384], i. e., *short*; (5) fifth, as in **حَمْرَآءٌ** [385]; (6) sixth, as in **عَقْرَبَاءٌ** [273, 399], which is *a country*; and (7) seventh, as in **بَرَّ نَاسًا** [273, 400], i. e., *mankind* (A).

§. 673. An **!** that accompanies more than two *rads*. is [judged to be (IA, A)] *aug.*, without any lie (IM), as

in ضَارِبٌ [below] (IA, Aud), عِمَادٌ [627], غَضَبِي [248, 250], and سَلَامِي (Aud) with Damm of the س, *small bones in the fingers and toes* (Tsr), because in most words, where the ʾ occurs like that, [i. e., accompanying more than two *rad.*s. (Sn),] the derivation indicates that it is *aug.*; and the rest are made to accord therewith (A), i. e., with the most (Sn) : contrary to such as قَالٌ [below] and غَزَا [719] (Aud), where the ʾ is not *aug.*, because it does not accompany more than two *rad.*s. (Tsr). IM [here (MKh)] means the soft ʾ [668]; and, as for the [mobile ʾ, which is named] Hamza, it has been mentioned [672] (Sn, MKh). The [soft] ʾ is not made *aug.* at the beginning [of a word] (M, A, Tsr), because it is impossible to begin with it (M, A), since [it is only quiescent, following Fatha; and (IY)] to begin with a quiescent is impracticable [667] (IY, Tsr). But, when not initial, it occurs only as an *aug.* [below], when three or more *rad.* letters are with it, as in خَاتَمٌ [247, 373], كِتَابٌ [below], حُبْلِي [below], سِرْدَاحٌ [396], and جِلْبَلَابٌ [below] (M). If it accompany two *rad.*s. only, it is not *aug.* : but is [either *rad.*, as in اِلٰى (below); or (IA)] a *subst.* for a *rad.* [ي or و, (A)], as in بَاعٌ and قَالَ [703] (IA, A), نَابٌ and بَابٌ [684], دَعَا and رَمَى [684], and رَحَى and عَصَا [16, 719] (A). But what is mentioned by [Z and] IM is [true] only in *vs.*, and in [Arabic (Sn,

MKh)] *decl.*, [i. e., *infl.* (Sn),] *ns.*, [whether *prim.* or *deriv.* (MKh)]: while in *uninfl.* [*ns.*], and in *ps.*, the **!** is not judged to be *aug.* (A, MKh), with more than two *rads.*, as in حَتَّى [501, 540] and مَهْمَا [181]; or to be a *subst.* for another [letter], with less than two *rads.*, as in إِلَى [500] and مَتَى [206]: but it is *rad.*, unconverted (MKh): and similarly in foreign [676] names, like إِبْرَاهِيمَ [672] (A, MKh) and إِسْحَاقُ *Isaac* (A): because that [augmentativeness or substitution] is recognizable only by derivation, which is lacking (A, MKh) in what is [here] mentioned (MKh). The **!** is made *aug.*, (1) [in the *n.* (A),] when (a) second, as in ضَارِبٌ [671]; (b) third (IY, A, Tsr), as in كِتَابٌ [below] (IY, A); (c) fourth (IY, A, Tsr), as in حُبْلَى [below] and سِرْدَاحٌ [above] (A); (d) fifth (IY, A, Tsr), as in حِلْبَلَابٌ (IY, A), a *plant* (Jh, IY), which the vulgar name لَبْلَابٌ *convolvulus* (Jh); (e) sixth, as in قَبْعَثَرَى [below] (IY, A, Tsr) and كُنْثَرَى [671] (IY); (f) seventh (A, Tsr), as in بَرْدَرَايَا [272] (Tsr): (2) in the *v.*, when (a) second, as in قَاتَلَ [490]; (b) third, as in تَغَافَلَ [482, 483, 487, 678]; (c) fourth, as in سَلَقَى [482]; (d) fifth, as in إِجَارَى [The horse (Sn)] was of dark chesnut color; (e) sixth, as in إِغْرَنْدَى *overcame* [432, 496] (A). But [the **!**, when it accompanies more than two

rad. in (Tsr)] the reduplicated *quad.* [674], [whose first ل is homogeneous with its ف, and whose second ل is homogeneous with its ع (Sn),] such as ضَوْضَى [674] (A, Tsr) *shouted in battle* (Sn), and عَاعَى [674] (A) *chid sheep, saying* عَا or عَو or عَائِ (Sn), is excepted [from IM's language (A)]: for the ا here [i. e., the ا of ضَوْضَى, as also each of the two اs, the first and the second, of عَاعَى (Sn),] is a *subst.* for a *rad.*, [their measure being فَعْلَل (Sn)]; and is not *aug.* (A, Tsr). When the ا is accompanying two *rad.*s and a third [letter] that admits of being *rad.* or *aug.*, then, if this [ambiguous letter] be assumed to be *rad.*, the ا is *aug.*; and, if it be assumed to be *aug.*, the ا is *non-aug.*: but, if the ambiguous be an initial Hamza [672] or م [676], as in اَفْعَى *viper* [672] and مُوسَى *razor* [676], [not *Moses*, the name of the Prophet, because it, says Dm, is foreign (Sn),] or a quiescent ن third [671, 677] in a *quin.*, as in عَقْنَقَى, [which I have not found in the KF (Sn),] if it be found in their language, the preferable [alternative] is to judge the ambiguous to be *aug.*, and the ا to be converted from a *rad.*, so long as no indication shows these letters to be *rad.*, and the ا to be *aug.*, as in اَرَطَى [below], according to those who say اَدِيمَ مَارُوطَ, meaning *a hide dyed with* اَرَطَى [672]; and in مِعْرَى [below], because of their saying مَعْرٌ and مَعْرٌ; while, if the ambiguous be any other

letter than these three, we judge it to be *rad.*, and the ʾ to be *aug.* (A). The ʾ does not occur as a co-ordinative, except when final, as in مَعْرَى [below] (M), سَلَقَى [482], and جَعَبَى *threw down on the ground* [674]. When medial [below], it is *aug.* only for elongation of the word, and multiplication of [the letters in] its formation, not for co-ordination : so that كِتَابٌ [671] is not said to be co-ordinated with دِمَقْسٌ *silk* (IY), like هَزَبَرٌ [392] (KF) ; nor عَذَافِرٌ [395, 677] to be co-ordinated with فُذْعَمِلٌ [401] : because the unsound letter, when it occurs as a medial, and is preceded by a vowel homogeneous with it, like the و of عَجُوزٌ and the ي of سَعِيدٌ [369], is treated as a prolongation of the vowel ; and does not co-ordinate one formation with another, the co-ordinative [unsound letter] being only what is not for prolongation. When final, the ʾ is made an *aug.* of three kinds, (1) co-ordinative, as in أَرْطَى [248, 272, 326, 375, 671, 672] and مَعْرَى [272, 375, 671, 676], which are co-ordinated by the ʾ with جَعْفَرٌ and دِرْهَمٌ [392], respectively : (a) what indicates that the ʾ is *aug.* in أَرْطَى is their saying أَدِيمٌ مَّارُوطٌ [above], the elision of the ʾ in مَّارُوطٌ being an indication that it is *aug.* ; while their saying مَعْرٌ [above] and مَعِيرٌ [255, 257] is an indication that the ʾ is *aug.* in مَعْرَى : (b) their saying أَرْطَى and مَعْرَى with Tanwīn indicates

that the | is not for femininization, since the | of femininization prevents triptote declension [18] ; so that Tanwīn is not affixed to it [17,609], as حُبْلَى and سَكْرَى [below] : (a) moreover اَرْطَاة [258], has been heard from them, with affixion of the ة of femininization ; whereas, if the | were for femininization, another sign of femininization would not be affixed to it, so as to combine two signs of femininization : (b) one indication that the | in مِعْرَى is not for femininization is their making it *masc.*, as مِعْرَى هَدِبًا اَلْح [249], their qualification of it by the *masc.* being an indication that it is *masc.* ; whereas, if the | were for femininization, it would be *fem.* : (c) it is proved, then, by what we have mentioned, that the | here is *aug.* otherwise than as a denotative of femininization : and to attribute it to co-ordination is more appropriate than to attribute it to another process [vid. multiplication], because co-ordination is a desirable idea ; even though both processes are one thing, since the meaning of co-ordination [671] is multiplication, and elongation, of the word ; so that every co-ordination is a multiplication, though every multiplication is not a co-ordination : (2) denotative of femininization, as in حُبْلَى [18, 248, 272, 375], سَكْرَى [248, 272], and جُمَادَى *Jumādà* [328] : (a) what indicates that the | here is *aug.* is the derivation, since حُبْلَى is from حَبْلٌ *pregnancy*, سَكْرَى from سُكْرٌ *drunkenness*, and جُمَادَى from جَبَدٌ *being frozen* : (b) what indicates that it denotes

femininization is the impossibility of TanwIn's being affixed to it in the state of indeterminateness [609]; whereas, if it did not denote femininization, [the *n.* ending with] it would be triptote [17]: (3) of the same kind as when medial [above], [i. e., multiplicative,] as in قَبَعَثَرَى [272, 326, 401, 497, 671], كَثَرَى [401, 671], بَاقِلَى [311], and سَمَانَى quail, a kind of bird: (a) the | in the whole of those [*ns.*] is *aug.*, because, with three or more *rad.* letters, it is only *aug.* [above]: (b) it is not for femininization, because these *ns.* are triptote, and moreover بِاقِلًا^٥ a bean and سَمَانًا^٥ a quail have been transmitted, this being a proof that it is not for femininization: (c) nor is it for co-ordination, because, among *o. fs.*, there are none of this number [of letters] and measure, with which these [*ns.*] might be co-ordinated: (d) since it is not for femininization, nor for co-ordination, it is for multiplication of [the letters in] the word, and completion of its formation (IY). In قَبَعَثَرَى [and كَثَرَى (IY)] it is like the | of كِتَاب^٥ [401], because it exceeds the limit (M). Z means that the | in قَبَعَثَرَى and كَثَرَى is sixth; whereas the extreme number of letters in original, [i. e., unaugmented,] *ns.* is five [368]: so that, among *o. fs.*, there are none of this number [of letters], with which they might be co-ordinated; and, in that case, it is multiplicative, like the م of كِتَاب^٥ and حِمَار^٥ [671] (IY).

§. 674. The *ى* [below] and , [675] are similar (IM) to the *ا* [673], in that each of them, when it accompanies more than two *rad.*s., is judged to be *aug.* (A), as in *قَتِيلٌ* [269, 347] and *مَقْتُولٌ* [347] (Sn), if they do not occur [repeated (A),] as they are in *يُوَيُّو* (IM), the name of a bird [of prey (Jh),] having talons, that resembles the *بَاشِقُ* sparrow-hawk (A), and *وَعَوَعَ* (IM), i. e., made a noise, in which sort [of formation] all the letters are judged to be *rad.*, like the letters of *سِنَسِمٌ* [671] (A); and if they be not initial, the , unrestrictedly, according to the majority [675]; and the *ى* before four *rad.*s., in any [formation] other than the *aor.* [below], as A will mention (Sn). The division previously made in the *ا* [673] applies here also, so that we say:— the *ى* and , have three states: for, (1) if either of them accompany two *rad.*s. only, it is *rad.*, as in *بَيِّتٌ* and *سَوَطٌ* [697]: (2) if it accompany three or more decided *rad.*s., it is *aug.*, except in the repeated *bil.*, [just now described as “the reduplicated *quad.*” (673) (Sn),] as above mentioned [by IM] in the text: (3) if it accompany two *rad.*s. and an ambiguous third, then, (a) if the ambiguous be an initial Hamza [672] or *م* [676], the initial is judged to be *aug.*, and the *ى* or , to be *rad.*, as in *أَيَّدَعَ* [672] and *مِرْوَدٌ* [676], [like *مَنْبَرٌ* (372), the bag for the traveller’s provisions (Sn),] unless some indication shows (a) the

initial to be *rad.*, and the *ى* or *و* to be *aug.*, as in *أَوَلَقِ* [672] according to those who say *أَلِقَ* and *مَأْلُقٌ*; and as in *أَيُّطَلُ* [671], because of their saying *إِطَلُ*: or (b) the whole to be *rad.*, as in *مَرْيَمَ* *Mary* [the mother of Jesus (Nw),] and *مَدْيَنُ* *Midian* [a well-known district in Syria (Bk),] their measure being *فَعْلَلُ*; not *فَعْيَلُ*, because it is not [found] in the language; nor *مَفْعَلُ* [below], otherwise transformation [of the unsound letter] would be necessary (A), since *مَرَامُ* and *مَدَانُ* [712] would be said, by transferring the vowel of the *ى* to the preceding quiescent, and then converting the *ى* into *ا* because *orig. mobile*, and now preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath: (α) this requires *مَرْيَمَ* to be an Arabic name, otherwise no judgment as to radicalness or augmentativeness could be passed upon [the letters in] it, because of what A has previously mentioned [673] (Sn): (β) IA1 says that (Jh) the measure of (K,B on II. 81.) *مَرْيَمَ* is *مَفْعَلُ* [above] (Jh, K, B), according to the GG (K), from *رَامَ* *quitted, aor. يَرِيْمُ* (Jh), because *فَعْيَلُ* [with Fath of the ف (K)] is not found (K,B) among the formations, as *عَثِيرُ* and *عَلِيْبُ* [374] are found (K): (γ) [some say that] *مَرْيَمَ* is a foreign name (ID, Jk), there being no *فَعْيَلُ*, with Fath of the ف and *ى*, in the language of the Arabs (ID): (b) if the ambiguous be any [letter] other [than the

initial Hamza and م (Sn)], it is judged to be *rad.*, and the ی or , to be *aug.*, so long as no indication shows the contrary of that, as in (a) يَهَيَّر [with the , doubled (Jh, Sn)], which is *hard stone*; and says IS, one of the names of الْبَاطِلُ *the vain, unreal, naught*; and is said to be the *mirage*, as أَكْذَبُ مِنَ الْيَهَيَّرِ *Falser than the mirage* (A): (α) IS says that they sometimes add an ا to it, saying يَهَيَّرِي [272] (Jh, Md, A): (β) the letter which, but for the indication of augmentativeness, would be ambiguous, is the first ی (Sn): (γ) the first ی is decided to be *aug.* (A), [so that] يَفْعَلُ is يَهَيَّرُ (Jh, Md), because فَعِيلٌ is not found in the language (Jh, Md, A), while there is no obscurity about the augmentativeness of the ی in such as يَكْمُرُ is *red* (A): (δ) the ی s are not both *rad.*, because ی is not *rad.* with *trils.* in the non-reduplicated: nor are they both *aug.*, because a *n.* is not formed of two letters: nor is the second ی the *aug.*, because فَعِيلٌ, with Fath of the ف, is not found in the language; while فَعِيلٌ, which is found, has Kasr of the ف; so that, if the second ی were *aug.*, يَهَيَّرُ, with Kasr of the initial, would be said, like عَثِيرٌ [374] and حَذِيمٌ *skilful*: and therefore the first must be the *aug.* (IY): (b) عِزْرِيَّتٌ *Izrit* [675], which is the name of a *place*; and is said to be also [an *ep.*, meaning] *short*: (α) the ,

is decided to be *rad.*, and the *ى* [below] and *ت* *aug.* because its measure cannot be *فَعْرِيلٌ*, since this is not found in the language; nor *فَعْلِيلٌ*, because the *و* is not *rad.* in *quads.* [675]; nor *فَعْرِيتٌ*, because the word becomes without a *ل*: so that its measure must be *فَعْلِيَتْ*, like *عَفْرِيتٌ* [646] (A): (β) A's mention of the *ى* [in *عَزَوِيَتْ*] as *aug.* is unnecessary, since it is not imagined [by any one] to be *rad.* (Sn). When three *rad.*s. other than the *ى* are found, the *ى* is *aug.*, whether it be at the beginning, as in *يَلْمَعُ* [below] and *يَضْرِبُ* *strikes* [404]; or in the middle, as in *رَحِيمٌ* [349] and *فَلِيقٌ* [*calamity* (MAR)]; or at the end, as in *الَّيَالِي* *the nights* [255]. And similarly with four or more *rad.*s., when the *ى* is non-initial, as in *خَيْتَعُورٌ* [398], *سَلْسَبِيلٌ* [368, 401], and *سُلْخَفِيَّةٌ* [399]: whereas, if it be initial, with four *rad.*s. after it, then, if the word be a *v.*, like *يَدَ خَرَجُ* *rolls down* [404], in this case also the *ى* is *aug.*; but, if not, it is *rad.*, as in *يَسْتَعُورُ* [below] (R). The *ى* is made *aug.*, (1) in the *n.*, when (a) first, as in *يَلْمَعُ* [*mirage* (Sn)]; (b) second, as in *ضَيْغَمٌ* [373]; (c) third, as in *قَضِيبٌ* [385]; (d) fourth, as in *حَذْرِيَّةٌ* [385]; (e) fifth, as in *سُلْخَفِيَّةٌ* [above]; (f) sixth, as in *مَغْنَاطِيسٌ* *magnet, lode-stone*, [which is arabicized (Jh, KF)]; (g) seventh,

as in ⁹خَنَزُواذِيَّة [with a single ⁹ى, meaning *pride* (Sn)]: (2) in the *v.*, when (a) first, as in ⁹يَضْرِبُ [above]; (b) second, as in ⁹بَيَّطَرَ [671]; (c) third, according to those who authorized ⁹فَعَيْلَ [482] among the formations of *vs.*, as ⁹طَشِيًّا رَأْيُهُ [His judgment was unsound and (A on the Augmented Triliteral Verb)] ⁹رَهِيًّا (A), i. e., ⁹غَلَطَ He blundered (A on the Augmented Triliteral Verb), which refers to the two *vs.* before it, as SBd says, though, in the [Jh and] KF, the first *v.* is not mentioned at all, but only [the *inf. n.* of the second *v.*, vid.] ⁹رَهِيًّا, which is interpreted in various senses, among them *weakness*, [*incapacity* (Jh),] *flagging*, and *unsoundness*, [and *infirmity* (Jh, KF),] of *judgment* (Sn on the Augmented Triliteral Verb); (d) fourth, as in ⁹قَلَسَيْتُ (A), e. g. ⁹قَلَسَيْتُهُ I put on him a ⁹قَلَنْسُوَّة cap [675], where ⁹قَلَنْسَتْهُ [482] also is said (Sn); (e) fifth, as in ⁹تَقَلَسَيْتُ I wore a cap; (f) sixth, as in ⁹اِسْلَنْقَيْتُ [482, 483] (A), i. e., I slept on my back (Sn). The following are [additional] *exs.* of the *aug.* ⁹ى:—(1) when first, ⁹يَرْمَعُ and ⁹يَلْمَقُ [372]; and, in the *v.*, ⁹يَقْعُدُ sits [482]: (2) when second, ⁹صَيَّرْتُ [373]: (3) when third, ⁹سَعِيدُ [671]: (4) when fourth, ⁹رَنْبِيَّة [385], ⁹رِهْلِيْزُ vestibule, [which is Persian (Jh, Jk), arabicized (Jh),] and ⁹قَنْدِيدُ [396]: (5) when fifth, ⁹عَنْتَرِيْسُ [283]: (6) when sixth, ⁹عَنْبِكَبِيْتُ

[283] and *عَنَا كَبِيتُ* *dim.* and broken *pl.* of *عَنْكَبُوتُ* [678], according to what As transmits. We know the *ى* to be *aug.* in all of that, because it is not *rad.* in words of three or more [*rad.*] letters. As for *صِصِيَّةُ* *spur* [of the cock (Jh, KF)], the two *ى* s in it are *rad.*, even though three *rad.* letters are with you, because the word is compounded of *صِى* twice [uttered]; so that the first *ى* is *rad.*, lest the word remain with [only] one letter, vid. the *ص*; and, since the first *ى* is *rad.*, the second *ى* also is *rad.*, because it is the first repeated. And hence *حَا حَيْتُ* *I called* [goats (Jh, KF)] and *عَا عَيْتُ* [673], where the *ى* is *rad.*, because it is the first repeated; while their measure is *فَعَلَلْتُ*, the *o. f.* being *حَيْكَيْتُ* and *عَيْعَيْتُ*, but the first *ى* being converted into *ا* because of the Fatha before it, as they say *يَا جَلْ* for *يَيْجَلْ* [684]. And similarly *قَوَّيْتُ* *I clucked* and *ضَوَّضَيْتُ* [673], where the second *ى* is *rad.*, because it is the first [و] repeated, their *o. f.* being *قَوَّقَوْتُ* and *ضَوَّضَوْتُ*, the second [و] of which is converted into *ى*, because it occurs fourth, as in *أَغْرَيْتُ* and *أَذْعَيْتُ* [629]. If it be said “Then why is it not *aug.*, as in *سَلَقَيْتُ* and *جَعَبَيْتُ* [673]?”, the reply is that, if this were so, *قَوَّقَيْتُ* and *ضَوَّضَيْتُ* would become of the *cat.* of *قَلِقَ* *was agitated, flurried* and *سَلِسَ* *was loose, slack*, which is small, while the *cat.* of *زَلَزَلْتُ* and *قَلَقَلْتُ* [332] is

more numerous, and only the more numerous is acted upon. And, if it be said “Then make the , in them *aug.*, as in *صَوَمَعْتُ* *I collected* [675] and *حَوَقَلْتُ* [482]”, the reply is that, if this were done, they would become of the *cat.* of *كَوَكَبٌ* and *دَدَنٌ* [357, 671], whose *ف* and *ع* are homogeneous, which is smaller than [the *cat.* of] *سَلَسٌ* and *قَلَقٌ* [above] (IY). When the *ي* is initial, then, if followed by three *rad.*s, it is *aug.*, as in *يَلْبَعُ* above; but, if followed by four *rad.*s, in any [formation] other than the *aor.* [above], it is *rad.*, like the *ي* in *يَسْتَعُورُ* [401, 678] (A), upon the measure of *فَعْلَلُولُ* [401] (Sn), because the derivation does not indicate augmentativeness in such cases, except in the *aor.* [404, 497] (A), like *يَدُ خَرَجُ* [above] (Sn). *يَسْتَعُورُ* [in the poem of ‘Urwa (Jh) Ibn AlWard al‘Absī, who says

أَطَعْتُ الْأَمْرِينَ بِضُرْمٍ سَلَمَى * فَطَارُوا فِي بِلَادِ الْيَسْتَعُورِ

I obeyed those who bade (me) to part from Salmā: then they fled away into the regions of AlYasta‘ūr (ISk),] is the name of a place (Jrb, A), a district (R) in AlHijāz (R, A), near the stony ground of AlMadīna (Jrb), remote, entered by hardly any one (ISk): and it is [also the name of (A)] a tree, [the wood of] which is used for tooth-picks (Jrb, A), its tooth-picks being extremely good (KF); and a cloth put upon the crupper of the camel; and one of the

names of *calamities* (Jrb); and [i. q. *الْبَاطِلُ* *the vain, unreal, naught*, because (R)] *ذَهَبَ فِي الْيَسْتَعُورِ* *He, or It, went into, i. e., came to, naught* is said (R, Jrb), i. e., *فِي الْبَاطِلِ* (Jrb). As for *يَأْجُجُ* *Ya'jaz*, which is the name of a *place* [eight miles from Makka (MI)], the *ي* at its beginning is *rad.*, that being indicated by the display of the reduplication; whereas, if the *ي* were *aug.*, *يَأْجُجُ* would be from *أَجَّ*, *aor. يَأْجُ*; and it would be necessary to incorporate, and say *يُوجُ* [482], like *يَغُصُّ* *is choked* and *يَغُصُّ* *lowers*: so that, since they do not incorporate, this indicates that the last *ج* is *aug.*, for co-ordination with the paradigm of *جَعْفَرُ* [392]; for which reason they do not incorporate, since, if they incorporated, the object would be nullified, and the commensurability would cease. But some of the Traditionists pronounce the [first (Bk, MI)] *ج* with Kasr, saying *يَأْجُجُ*: and, if what they transmit be correct, the *ي* is *aug.*, because there is no *جَعْفَرُ*, with Kasr of the *ف*, in the language; and the display of the reduplication is anomalous, of the same class as [in] *مَحَبَّبُ* *Mahbab* [4] (IY).

§. 675. The *و*, like the *!* [673], is not made *aug.* when initial: and their saying *وَرَنْتَلُ* [671, 677] is like *جَكَنْفَلُ* [671] (M), the *و*, in it being part of the word

itself; while the ن [677] is *aug.*, co-ordinating [it] with سَفَرَجَلٌ [393, 401], its measure being فَعَنْلَلٌ [395] (IY). The opinion of the majority [674] is that the , is not made *aug.* when initial, because of its heaviness, as some say: but, as others say, because, if made *aug.* [at the beginning] when pronounced with Ḍamm, it would be regularly convertible into Hamza [683]; and similarly when pronounced with Kasr, although conversion of the [,] pronounced with Kasr into Hamza is less frequent; and, when pronounced with Fath, it would be liable to conversion into Hamza, because the initials of the *n.* and *v.* are pronounced with Ḍamm in the *dim.* [274] and *pass.* [436, 482], respectively: so that, since making it *aug.* at the beginning would lead to its conversion into Hamza, they avoid doing so, because conversion of the , into Hamza would sometimes occasion confusion (A) with the word whose [initial] Hamza is original, unconverted, as in وَكَلٌ *left*, which, in the *pass.* [وَكِلَ] *was left*, is liable to conversion of the , into Hamza, in which case it would be confounded with أَكَلٌ *was eaten*, the Hamza of which is *rad.* (Sn). Some, however, assert that the , of وَرَنْتَلٌ [above] is *aug.*, extraordinarily, because the , is not *rad.* in *quads.*: but this is weak, because it leads to the formation وَفَنْعَلٌ, which is not found; while the correct [opinion] is that the , is *rad.*, and that the ل is *aug.*, as in فَحَجَلٌ i. q.

^وفَخَجْ a mode of walking with the toes turned in, and the heels turned out (A), or, as A afterwards says, i. q. ^جأَفْخَجْ [681] (Sn), and in ^مهَدِمْل i. q. ^مهَدِم [a worn-out garment (Sn)], since there are precedents for the augmentativeness of the ^ل when final, contrary to the augmentativeness of the ^و, when initial (A). When not initial, [but medial, with three or more *rad.* letters (IY),] it is only *aug.*, as in ^جعَوَسَجْ [373] and ^قحَوَقَلْ [482], ^سقَسَوْر a lion [253] and ^ودَهَوَر [threw into a pit (IY)], ^وتَرَقُوْة [283, 385], ^وعُنْفَوَان [283, 389], and ^وقَلَنَسُوْة [254, 390, 674], except when that [indication of radicalness] intervenes which is [found] in ^وعَزَوِيْت [674] (M). In that [position as medial, with three or more *rad.*s.,] it occurs (1) second, as in ^وجَوَهَر [369] and ^عصَوَمَعَ [674]; (2) third, as in ^وجَدَوَل [671] and ^ورَهَوَكَ الرَّجُل The man swaggered in his walk; (3) fourth, as in ^وتَرَقُوْة and ^وعُنْفَوَان [above], ^واِخْرَوَط and ^واِغْلَوَط [482]; (4) fifth, as in ^وعَضْرَفُوَط [368, 401] and ^ومَنْجَنُون [398, 676] (IY). The ^و is made *aug.*, (1) in the *n.*, when (a) second, as in ^وكُوْثِر [671]: (b) third, as in ^وعَجُوْر [369, 673]: (c) fourth, as in ^وعَرَقُوْة [248, 301]: (d) fifth, as in ^وقَلَنَسُوْة [above]: (e) sixth, as in ^وأَرْبَعَاوِي [272] (A), with Damm of the Hamza and ب, as in the KF; but with Fath of the Hamza on the authority of Syt and Dm (Sn): (2)

in the *v.*, when (a) second, as in حَوَّلَ [above]: (b) third, as in جَهَّوَرَ [482, 671] (A), i. e., *raised his voice*: (a) as for جَهَّوَرَ *Jahwar*, like جَعْفَر [392], it is the name of a place (Sn): (c) fourth, as in اِغْدَوْدَن [482, 671] (A).

§. 676. The case of the م, in respect of augmentativeness, is [exactly (IY)] like that of the Hamza [672]. For the position of its augmentativeness is [mostly (Jrb)] where it occurs as an initial in *trils.*, because the Hamza is [uttered] from the first outlet of the throat, vid. what is next to the thorax [732]; while the م is [uttered] from the lips, which are the first outlet from the other end [of the vocal organs]: so that the م [like the Hamza] is made *aug.* when initial, in order that their two outlets may correspond to the position of their augmentativeness (IY, Jrb). And, when non-initial [below], they are not judged to be *aug.*, except when some indication shows them to be so (Jrb). But [the Hamza is made *aug.* in the *n.* and *v.*; whereas (Jrb)] the م is made *aug.* only in the *n.* [253] (IY, Jrb). The م is not made *aug.* in the *v.*, [being one of the augments of *ns.*, wherein *vs.* have no portion (IY)]: and, for that reason, [the saying of 'Umar (ID, Jh, IY, KF), according to Jh, but, rightly, of the Apostle of God, transmitted by Abū Ḥadrād, the Companion (KF),] اِتَّبَعُوا مَعَدَدُوا *Imitate the sons of Ma'add* is cited as evidence that the م of مَعَدَدُ [375] is *rad.*; while such as

تَمَسَّكَ [332, 482, 483], تَمَدَّرَ, and تَمَدَّلَ are not taken into account (M), being rare, like the [v.] derived from the *n.* by means of an augment, as سَبَّحَ *He said* [41] and حَمَدَ *He said* لِلَّهِ I. 1. [141, 504]. On the whole, however, the م when initial is *aug.* more often than the Hamza when initial (IY). It is universally made *aug.* in the *act. part.* [343], *pass. part.* [347], *inf. n.* [333], *n. of time and place* [361], and *instrumental n.* [366]. That is recognizable by the derivation; and, if anything be uncertain [in derivation], it is made to accord with what is known. Thus the م in مَنَبِجُ *Mambij* [below] the name of a city, is *aug.*, and ن *rad.*, since you may not make them both *rad.*, because there is no جَعْفَرٌ with Kasr of the ف among *o. fs.*; nor both *aug.*, because the *infl.* word would remain with [only] two letters, the ب and ج: so that one of them must be *rad.*, and the other *aug.*; and we judge the م to be *aug.*, because the ن [677] is rarely *aug.* when second (Jrb). مَنَبِجُ [below] is made to accord with مَقْتَلٌ [671] and مَضْرِبٌ [333, 361] the unknown being made to accord with the known. And, as for مَعْدٌ [above] and مَعْرَى [375, 673], their predicament, and their variance from this rule, have been already mentioned (R). The derivation of مَعْدٌ is from [one of] two things, مَعْدٌ being either مَفْعَلٌ from عَدَدٌ *number*, as though it were مَعْدَدٌ,

and then the *د* were incorporated ; or [transferred] from ²مَعَد [4], which is the *flesh on the lower portion of the horse's shoulder-blade*, and [in accordance with the latter view] I account its derivation to be from ⁹مَعَد i. q. ⁹صَلَابَةٌ *hardiness* (ID). As for ⁹مِعْزَى, [Mz says that its origin is foreign : but (Jk),] if it be foreign [673], still, being arabicized as an *indet.*, [not as a mere proper name,] it is treated as Arabic ; [and the Arabs make the *م* part of the word itself (Jk)] : so that its *م* is *rad.*, because of their saying ⁹مَعَزْ and ⁹مَعِيز [673], which are ⁹فَعَلْ and ⁹فَعِيلْ ; whereas, if the *م* in ⁹مِعْزَى were *aug.*, and those paradigms were formed from it, ⁹عَزَى and ⁹عَزَى would be said (IY). The *م* is made *aug.* on three conditions, (1) that it be initial, (2) that it be followed by three *rad.*s. only, and (3) that it be not inseparable in derivation. That [combination of conditions] is [found in] such as ⁹مَسْجِدْ [361] and ⁹مَنْبِجْ [above], [which, says Jh, is the name of a place (Tsr),] contrary to such as (a) ⁹ضَرْغَامْ [*lion*, because the *م* is not initial (Tsr)] ; (b) ⁹مَهْدْ [*cradle*, because the *م* is not followed by three *rad.*s. (Tsr)] ; (c) ⁹مَرَزْجُوشْ [or ⁹مَرَزَنْجُوشْ (below)] (Aud), i. q. ⁹مَرْدَةُ كُوشْ *marjoram*, [the arabicized form of ⁹كُوشْ *dead ear*, the *م* of which they pronounce with Fath (KF'),] a sweet-smelling plant, because the *م* is not followed by three *rad.*s. only, but by more (Tsr) ;

and (d) مَرَعَزٌ [soft wool (Tsr)], because they say ثَوْبٌ مَرَعَزٌ a garment made of soft wool, retaining the م [inseparably (Tsr)] in derivation (Aud), with which [argument] IM refutes the saying of S that the م in it is *aug.* [below]. It is also a condition of the augmentativeness of the م that its word should not be a *quad.* composed of two letters [repeated], like مَرْمَرٌ marble, alabaster and مَهْمَهٌ vast desert (Tsr). What fulfils the conditions mentioned is judged to be *aug.* so long as no indication of radicalness is opposed to such judgment. For, if an indication of radicalness be opposed to it, one acts as required by the indication, as in the م of مِرْجَلٌ [a comb, and a cooking-pot of stone or copper (Sn)], مَنَّانٌ manna, [a thing, like honey, exceeded by the مَنَّانُ panic-grass, عُشْرٌ gigantic swallow-wort, and دَوَارِفُ dwarf-tamarisk (Sn),] and مَرَعَزِيٌّ [272] (A) or مَرَعَزٌ [above] or مَرَعَزَاءُ [273], with Kasr, and sometimes Fath, of the م in all (Sn), which is judged to be *rad.*, although it is followed by three *rad.* [only]. As for مِرْجَلٌ [above], the opinion of S and most GG is that its م is *rad.*, because of their saying مِرْجَلُ الْكَأْسِ الْكَأْسُ The weaver wove the cloth decorated with figured work called مِرْجَلٌ [below] (A); whereas, if the م were *aug.*, they would say رَجَلٌ by eliding it (Sn): IKh says " The مِرْجَلُ is a cloth

worked with circles like the *مَرَاجِدُ* [above], which are cooking-pots of copper" (A), or of stone (Sn). But AAMr holds that the م of *مِرْجَلٌ* is *aug.*, relying upon the rule mentioned; and pronounces its retention in derivation to be like the retention of the م in *تَمَسْكَنٌ* [above] from *مَسْكَنَةٌ* lowliness, *تَمْنَدَلٌ* from *مَنْدَلٌ* [379], and *تَمْدَرَعٌ* put on the *مَدْرَعَةٌ* tunic, where the م is *aug.*; though he has no argument in that, because the most frequent [formation] is *تَسْكَنٌ* [483], *تَنْدَلٌ*, and *تَدْرَعٌ*, which, Mz says, is the most frequent in the language of the Arabs. As for *مَغْفُورٌ* [above], two sayings about it are reported from S, one that the م is *aug.*; and the other that it is *rad.*, because of their saying *ذَهَبُوا يَتَمَغْفَرُونَ* They went gathering *مَغْفُورٌ* [above], which is [here said by A to be] a kind of truffle. And as for *مَرْعَرِيٌّ* [above], S holds its م to be *aug.* [above]: but some, and among them IM, hold it to be *rad.*, because of their saying *كِسَاءٌ مَرْعَرِيٌّ* wrapper made of *مَرْعَرِيٌّ*, not *مُرْعَرِيٌّ* (A); while IM, says IUK, avers that S is bound to agree that it is *rad.* in *مَرْعَرِيٌّ*, or to differ [from the opinion that it is *rad.*] in the whole (Sn). The language of IM [and Jrb and IHSh] intimates that (A), when non-initial [above] (R), [i. e.,] when medial or

final (A), the م is not judged to be *aug.*, except by reason of some [plain (R)] indication, as in (1) دَلَامِصٌ [384, 681.A] (R,A), دُمَالِصٌ, دُمَلِصٌ [below] (A) in some MSS, but, in other MSS, دُكِمِصٌ [below], and دُمَيْلِصٌ, [all with Damm of the first, Fath of the second, and Kasr of the penultimate (Sn),] because of their saying دِرْعٌ دِلَاصٌ [246] or دَلِيصٌ, and دَلَسْتُهٗ أَنَا *I made it glitter* : (a) Mz holds that the م in دَلَامِصٌ [and its fellows, adds IUK (Sn),] is *rad.*, although دَلَامِصٌ agrees with دِلَاصٌ in sense ; so that according to him, it is of the *cat.* of سَبِطٌ *long, extended* and سَبْطَرٌ [245, 392, 679, 681] (A), i. e., of *syms.* agreeing in the bulk of the letters, the م not being *aug.*, but *rad.*, since it is not one of the letters of سَأَلْتُمُونِيهَا [671], nor a duplicate of a *rad.* (Sn) : (b) as for قُبَارِصٌ *sour*, as قُبَارِصٌ لَبَنٌ *sour milk*, as though it يَقْرُضُ آلِلسَانَ *were biting the tongue*, the م in it is *aug.*, because of the derivation [just] mentioned by us, derivation being decisive in its indication, without regard to the rarity of augmentativeness in that position, since they are agreed that the Hamza and ن in اِنْقَحَلْ and اِنْزَهَوْ [382] are *aug.*, because of their saying قَحَلْ and زَهَوْ in the same sense, although two augments are not combined at the beginning of a *n.* not conformable to a *v.* [331] : (c) the م in هِرْمَاسٌ also,

which, according to what As transmits, is a name of the lion, is *aug.*, its paradigm being ^افَعْمَالٌ, because it is from ^اهَرَسٌ *crushing* : this is a sound derivation, since he is said to *crush* the prey, so that it is *crushed* beneath him ; and he is also called ^اهَرَسٌ [*strong* (Jh, KF), from the *crushing* (Jh), or *ravenous* (KF)], as says the poet

شَدِيدٌ آلَسَاعِدَيْنِ أَحَا وَثَابٍ * شَدِيدًا أَسْرُهُ هَرَسًا هُمُوسًا

Strong in the two fore-arms, a master of springing, mighty in his make, strong or ravenous, treading softly ;

and this is a proof that the م is *aug.* here (IY) : (2) زُرْقَمُ

[below] (R,A) and its *cat.*, [i. e., every *tril.* to whose final

a م is added for multiplication of the letter, and intensi-

fication of the sense (Sn),] as دِلْقَمُ [667, 671], سَتَهُمُ [an

old woman, and an aged she-camel whose teeth are

broken (Sn)], ضِرْزَمُ, [like زَبْرَجٌ or جَعْفَرٌ (392), a she-camel

aged, or having some remains of youth in her, or old and

giving little milk (Sn),] فَسْخَمُ [a spacious place, and a

man easy in mind (Sn)], and دِرْدِمُ [with Kasr of the

two د s, a woman that comes and goes by night, and an

aged she-camel (Sn)], because they are from زُرْقَةٌ

blueness, سَتَةٌ [667], اِنْدِلَاقٌ coming out, ضِرْزٌ niggardly

and اِنْفِسَاحٌ a she-camel giving little milk, فَسْخٌ

being spacious, and دَرْدٌ losing one's teeth, becoming

toothless, the *qual.* from which is اَدْرَدٌ toothless and

دَرْد (A), on the measure of فَرَح [348] (Sn). When the م precedes three letters, one of which admits of being *rad.* or *aug.*, the م is judged to be *aug.*, and that ambiguous [letter] to be *rad.*, unless some indication exists to the contrary: and therefore the م of مُوسَى [673] and مِرْوَد [674] is judged to be *aug.*; while, as to the م of مِجَن [shield (Sn)], two sayings are transmitted from S, the sounder of which is that it is *aug.*: but, if some indication shows the م to be *rad.*, one judges in accordance therewith, as the م of مَهْدَد *Mahdad*, [a woman's name (Sn),] and مَاجَج *Ma'jaz*, [a place (Sn),] is judged to be *rad.*, and one of the two similar letters to be *aug.*, since, if the م were *aug.*, the measure would be مَفْعَل, so that incorporation would be necessary [712]; though Sf allows the م of مَهْدَد and مَاجَج to be *aug.*, their dissolution [of incorporation] being anomalous, like that of الْأَجَل in الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْأَجَلِ * الْوَاهِبِ الْفَضْلِ الْوَهَّابِ الْمُبْجِلِ (A), by Abu-nNajm al'Ijli, *Praise be to God, the High, the Most Great, the Giver of bounty, the Liberal Giver, the Munificent!* (MN, Jsh). When the م precedes four or more *rads.*, as in مَرَزْجُوش (above) or مَرَزَنْجُوش *marjoram*, [the arabicized form of مَرَنْگُوش *mouse-ear* (KF),] it is judged to be *rad.*, except when the word containing it is one of the *ns.* connected with *vs.* [330,]

like *مُدْخَرَجٌ* an *act. part.* [343], and *مُدْخَرَجٌ* a *pass. part.* [347] and a *n.* of time or place [363] (R). As for *مَنْجُونٌ* [398, 675], S has two sayings about it, the sounder of which is that the *م* is *rad.*, the *ن* after it *rad.*, and the second *ن* a *ل*; the word being *quad.* in origin, but the second *ن* being repeated in order that it may be co-ordinated with *عَضْرُفُوطٌ* [368, 401]; and its paradigm being *فَعَلَّلُوا*. And, as for *مَنْجَنِيْقٌ* *ballista*, the *م* in it is *rad.*, and the *ن* after it *aug.*, because they say in its *pl.* *مَجَانِيْقٌ* [283] and *مَجَانِيْقٌ*, the elision of the [first] *ن* in the *pl.* being an indication of its augmentativeness; and, since it is established that the [first] *ن* is *aug.*, the *م* is judged to be *rad.*, in order that two *augs.* may not be combined at the beginning of a *n.*, that [combination] not being found, except in what is conformable to its *v.* [below], as *مُنْطَلِقٌ* [382] and *مُسْتَخْرَجٌ* [387]. This is the opinion of S and Mz; and, according to them, its measure is *فَنَعْلِيلٌ*, like *عَنْتَرِيْسٌ* [283, 290, 674]. Others, however, say that the first *ن* and the *م* are *augs.*, together, inasmuch as some of the Arabs say *جَنَقْنَاهُمْ* meaning *We shot them with the ballista*, while AU transmits from some of the Arabs *مَا زِلْنَا نَجْنِيْقٌ* *We have not ceased to shoot with the ballista*; and, according to this, its measure is *مَنْفَعِيلٌ*: but the correct

opinion is that of S, because of their saying, in the broken *pl.*, مَجَانِيقُ [above] (IY). The م is made *aug.* when (1) first, as in مَرْحَبٌ spaciousness [60]: (2) second, as in دُمِلِصٌ [above]: (3) third, as in دُلِصٌ [above]: (4) fourth, as in زُرُقُمٌ [above]: (5) fifth, as in ضَبَارُمٌ sturdy, strongly made, because it is from ضَبْرٌ, which is strength of make; but IU holds that in ضَبَارُمٌ it is *rad.*: (a) Jh says in the Ṣaḥāḥ “The ضَبَارُمٌ in the strongly made lion” (A).

§. 677. The ن, (1) when final, is made *aug.* upon the two conditions [672] (Aud) mentioned for the final Hamza, vid. that it be preceded by an ا, and that this ا be preceded by more than two *rad.* [below], the substantive and *ep.* being alike in that respect (Tsr), as in عُثْمَانُ [250, 274, 385] and غَضَبَانُ [250, 348]; contrary to such as أَمَانُ protection and سِنَانُ spear-head (Aud), where the ا is preceded by two *rad.*, not by more than two (Tsr); (a) it is prescribed as a [third] condition for augmentativeness of the [final] ن, in addition to what has been mentioned, that the excess of what precedes the ا over two letters should not be a reduplication of a *rad.*, [i. e., of the ف, not of any *rad.* unrestrictedly, otherwise A's saying “and this condition is imported etc.” (below) would not quite hold good (Sn)]; so that

the [final] ن in such as جَنْجَانُ [with Kasr of the first ج, orig. جَنْجِنُ head of a rib, like سِسِمٌ (below) (Sn),] is *rad.*, not *aug.*: and this condition is imported [above] from IM's saying "And judge [all (IA)] the letters of سِسِمٌ [671, 674] to be *rad.*" (A), because جَنْجَانُ is *orig.* جَنْجِنُ, like سِسِمٌ, as above stated: (b) apparently this [third] condition ought to be put in the [final] Hamza [672] also, though A has not mentioned it there (Sn): (c) the general rule is for this ا and ن to be affixed to the *eps.* whose *fem.* is فَعْلَى [272], as غَضَبَانُ [above], عَطْشَانُ [250, 348, 385], and سَكْرَانُ [250], because *eps.* are more fit for augmentation than substantives, inasmuch as they resemble *vs.* [330], and the *v.* is more adapted to augmentation than the *n.*; while the augmentativeness of the [ا and] ن in substantives, such as عِمْرَانُ [4] and عُثْمَانُ [above] is because they are made to accord with *eps.*: (d) in this sort [of formation], therefore, judge them to be *aug.*, unless some indication points to the contrary, as S says that the ن of مَرَّانُ [with Damm, a tree of which spears are made (Jh on مرر), spears, *n. un.* مَرَّانَةٌ (Jh on مرن),] is *rad.*; and that مَرَّانُ is [فَعَالٌ (Jh)] from مَرَّانَةٌ i. q. لِيْنٌ softness, smoothness: (a) مَرَّانُ Marrān, with Fath [of its first (Bk)] and doubling [of its second (Bk)], is the name of

a *place* (Jrb), [a journey of] two nights from Makka, on the road to AlBaṣra, wherein is the grave of Tamīm Ibn Murr (Jh): (e) as for فَيْنَانُ [having beautiful long hair (MAR)], the derivation teaches us that three *rads.*, exclusively of the ا and ن, are not attainable in the word, since it is [فَيْعَالٌ (T)] from فَنَنْ [branch (T), lock of hair, tress]; and similarly in حَسَّانُ *Hassān* [below] and حِمَارُ قَبَّانٍ [7], when triptote, we recognize, by the triptote declension, that the ن is one of the three *rads.* (R): (f) حَسَّانُ [below] is either from حَسَّ الْقَوْمَ meaning *Killed the people quickly*, aor. يَكْحُسُ, inf. n. حَسَّ; or from حُسْنُ beauty: and, if it be from حُسْنُ, the ن is *rad.*; but, if it be from حَسَّ, the ن is *aug.* (ID): analogy requires the ن to be *aug.*, and حَسَّانُ to be diptote, in accordance with the most frequent [usage, vid. that the ا and ن, when final, are *aug.*]; but it may be derived from حُسْنُ, in which case the ن is *rad.*, and it is triptote: (g) [the قَبَّانُ of] حِمَارُ قَبَّانٍ is properly فَعْلَانُ [from اَلْأَرْضِ قَبَّ went away through the land, i. q. ذَهَبَ (IY on §. 7)], and diptote: but it may be فَعَّالٌ from اَلْأَرْضِ قَبَّنَ i. q. ذَهَبَ [above]; and, according to this, it is triptote, because the ن in it is *rad.* (IY): (h) the looseness of IM's language [in the *Alfiya*, "And the ن at the end is like the Hamza" (672),]

requires the ن to be clearly *aug.* in the case where a double letter, as in حَسَّانُ [above] and مَّانُ, pomegranate [below], or a [sound] letter and a soft letter, as in عَقِيَّانُ [native gold (Sn)] and عُنَّوَانُ superscription, title are interposed between the ا and the ف; and this looseness is in agreement with the opinion of the majority, who judge the ن in such as حَسَّانُ and عَقِيَّانُ to be *aug.*, unless some indication shows it to be *rad.*, because the diptote declension of حَسَّانُ in the saying of the poet [Umayya Ibn Khalaf alKhuzā'i, satirizing Ḥassān (MN, Sn) Ibn Thābit alAnṣārī (MN),]

أَلَا مَنْ مَبْلَغَ حَسَّانَ عَنِّي * مُغْلَغَلَةً تَدْبُ إِلَى عُكَاظٍ

[Now who will be conveying to Ḥassān from me a message carried from town to town, that will creep to 'Ukūẓ? (MN, Sn)] shows its ن to be *aug.*: but in the Tashīl and the Kāfiya he holds the ن in that case to be like the Hamza in equality of the two alternatives, neither of which is negligible except by reason of some indication; and this is the opinion of some of the ancients: (i) some add another condition for the augmentativeness of the ن when final, vid. that it should not be in a *n.* whose first is pronounced with Ḍamm, and whose second is doubled, when [such *n.* is] a name of a plant, as مَّانُ [above], in which case they make it *rad.*, because نُعَالُ in names of plants is more frequent

than **فُعْلَانُ**; and IM adopts this [opinion] in the Kāfiya: but it is refuted by the fact that augmentativeness of the ا and ن, when final, is more frequent than the occurrence of [the name of] a *plant* upon [the measure of] **فُعَالُ**; while the opinion of Khl and S is that the ن of **رَمَانُ** is *aug.*: S says "I asked him", i. e., Khl, "about **رَمَانُ** when used as a [proper] name; and he said 'I do not decline it as a triptote in the *det.*', [i. e., when it is a proper name (Sn),] 'but make it accord with the most frequent [usage],' [vid. augmentativeness of the ا and ن (Sn),] 'since it has no meaning whereby it is recognizable'", [i. e., because it has no sign whereby the state of its ن is recognizable (Sn)]: (j) Akh, however, says "Its ن is *rad.*, like [the final of] **قُرَاصُ** [*chamomile* (Sn)] and **حَبَاضُ** [384], because **فُعَالُ** is more frequent than **فُعْلَانُ**", meaning "in [the names of] *plants*": and the correct [opinion] is what he holds, not because of what he mentions, [since it is refuted, as before explained, by the fact that augmentativeness of the ا and ن, when final, is more frequent than the occurrence of (the name of) a *plant* upon (the measure of) **فُعَالُ** (Sn)]; but because the ن is retained in derivation, as **أَرْضُ مَرَمَنَةٍ** [364]; whereas, if the ن were *aug.*, they would say **مَرَمَةٍ** (A): (2) when medial, is made *aug.* upon three conditions, that it be exactly in the middle

between four [letters (A)], that it be quiescent, and that it be unincorporated, as in غَضَنْفَرٌ [lion (Tsr)], عَقَنْقَلٌ [384, 671], قَرَنْفَلٌ [671], حَبَنْطَى [283], and وَرَنْتَلٌ [671, 675]; contrary to عَنْبَرٌ *ambergris*, [where it is preceded by one letter, and followed by two (Tsr),] غُرْنِيقٌ *stork, crane*, [an aquatic bird, long in the neck, where it is mobile, not quiescent (Tsr),] and عَجَنْسٌ [below] (Aud) *a bulky, [hardy, strong (KF)] he-camel*, where it is incorporated (Tsr): (a) the ن in what contains the restrictions mentioned is regularly *aug.*, because of three matters, (a) that it there occurs in the place of what is certainly *aug.*, like the ي of سَيِّدَعٌ [395], the و of فَدَوْكَسٌ [395], and the ا of عُدَاغِرٌ [395, 673] and جُخَادِبٌ [395]; (b) that it is mostly interchangeable with the soft letter, as in their saying شَرَنْبَتْ [671] and شُرَابِثٌ, [like عَلَابِثٌ *thick, corpulent* (Sn),] for *thick in the hands*, جَرَنْفَشٌ and جُرَانِشٌ for *burly*, and عَرَنْقَصَانٌ [with Fath of the ع and ر, quiescence of the ن, and Fath of the ق (Sn)] and عُرَيْقَصَانٌ [400] for a *plant*; (c) that it is found to be *aug.* in every [word] whose derivation or variation is known, [such as جَحَنْفَلٌ from جَحْفَلَةٌ (671) (Sn),] with which the others, [like شَرَنْبَتْ (Sn),] are made to accord (A): (b) they say عَرَنْتَنٌ [392, 395], where the [first] ن is *aug.*, because of what we have mentioned,

[vid. that this is a position where the ن is frequently *aug.*]; and sometimes عَرْتُنْ [392], with elision of the [first] ن : (c) they say عَرْنَدُ i. q. صُلْبٌ *hard*, where the ن is *aug.*, because of what we have mentioned, vid. that this is a position where the ن is frequently *aug.*, [and because it is elided in the *var.* عَرْدٌ (below)]; while the last د also is *aug.*, co-ordinating عَرْنَدُ with سَفَرَجَلٌ [401] (IY) : (d) the first restriction [mentioned by IHsh above, vid. that the ن should be medial,] excludes the ن occurring as an initial [below], which is *rad.*, as in نَهْشَلٌ [*wolf* (Sn)]; unless some indication decide it to be *aug.*, as in نَرَجِسٌ *narcissus*, [681. A], because, if the ن were *rad.*, its measure would be فَعْلِلٌ [with Kasr of the first ل (Sn)], which is not found [392] : (e) the second restriction, [vid. that the ن should be exactly in the middle between four letters,] excludes such as قَنْطَارٌ *a hundred weight*, قَنْدِيلٌ [253, 396, 674], عُنُقُودٌ *a bunch*, خَنْدَرِيْسٌ [253, 401], and عَنَدَلِيْبٌ *nightingale*, where it is *rad.* : unless some indication decide it to be *aug.*, as in (a) عَنِيبٌ *lion*, because it is from عُبُوسٌ *frowning*; (b) حَنْظَلٌ [254, 681, A], because of their saying حَظَلَتْ آلُ الْإِبِلِ [*The camels ate much colocynth* (Sn)]; (c) عَنَسَلٌ [373], because it is from عَسَلَانٌ *going swiftly*; (d) عُرْنَدٌ [374], because it is from their saying عُرْدٌ شَيْءٌ *a hard thing*

[above], i. e., **صَلَبٌ** ; .(e) **كَتَهَبٌ** [394, 671], [with Fath or Damm of the **ب** (Sn),] because they say, in place of it, **كَهَبٌ** [with Fath of the **ب** (Sn)], and because of the unprecedentedness [of the formation in the *dial. var.* with Damm of the **ب**] on the assumption of radicalness, [together with inclusion in the narrower of two *cats.*, since unprecedentedness ensues on the assumption of augmentativeness also, as there is among measures no **فَعَلَّ** with Damm of the doubled **ل** , so there is among them no **فَنَعَلَّ** with Damm of the first **ل** (Sn)]: (f) the third restriction, [vid. that the **ن** should be quiescent,] excludes such as **غُرْنِيقٌ** [above], which is [*an aquatic bird*, and (Sn)] the *exalted chief* [396], **خُرْنُوبٌ** a kind of tree, and **كُنَابِيلٌ** *Kuna'bil*, [with a quiescent Hamza, the name of a place in AlYaman—so in the Tsr (Sn),] where the **ن** is *rad.*, since there is no **فُعْنَيْلٌ** or **فُعْنُولٌ** or **فُنْعَلِيلٌ** in the language : (g) the fourth [restriction, vid. that the **ن** should not be incorporated,] excludes such as **عَجَنَسٌ** [above] (A) : (a) here the augmentativeness of the **ن** contends with the augmentativeness of reduplication ; and reduplication prevails, because it is more frequent : (b) the measure of **عَجَنَسٌ** is held to be **فَعَلَّلٌ** [396], like **عَدَبَسٌ** [*strong* (Jh, KF, Sn), *firmly made* (Jh, KF)]: but AH says “ What I hold is that the two

ن s are *aug.*, its measure being فَعَنْلُ (A, Tsr) ; and the proof is that we find the two ن s to be *aug.* in those words whose derivation is recognizable, as ضَفَنْطُ [with a double ن (Sn), *fat, flabby* (KF'),] and زَوْنَكُ [*short and mean-looking* (Jh)], which are from ضَفَاظَةُ [bigness of belly (Sn)] and زَوْنُ [walk of the crow (Sn)]; so that those whose derivation is not recognizable are made to accord with them" (A): (3) when initial [above], is made *aug.* in the *aor.* [404] (Aud), as نَضْرِبُ *We strike* (Tsr). The ن is regularly made *aug.* in (1) the *aor.*, as نَضْرِبُ [above] ; (2) اِنْفَعَالُ and its variations, like اِنْطَلَأُ [332, 667], [اِنْطَلَقَ (483), مُنْطَلِقُ (382), etc.]; (3) اِفْعِنَالُ [and its variations], like اِحْرَنْجَامُ [332, 667], [اِحْرَنْجَمَ (495), etc.]: and the reason why IM is silent about them is only that they are manifest. He does not mention the Tanwīn [608, 678, 679], the ن of the *du.* [228] or *pl.* [234], the sign of the *ind.* in the five paradigms [405], the ن of protection [170], and the *corrob.* ن [610], because these are specific augments ; while the intent of the [present] chapter is to specify the augments needing specification because of their being so mixed up with the *rads.* of the word as to become [like] part of them (A). The ن is made *aug.*, when (1) first, as in نَضْرِبُ [above] ; (2) second, as in

حَنْظَلٌ [above] ; (3) third, as in غَضَنْفَرٌ [above] ; (4) fourth, as in رَعَشُنٌ [375, 671] ; (5) fifth, as in (A, Tsr) عُثْمَانٌ [above] (A) [and] سِرْحَانٌ [250] (Tsr) ; (6) sixth, as in زَعْفَرَانٌ [283, 399] ; (7) seventh, as in (A, Tsr) عَبَوْتَرَانٌ [283, 400] (A) or (Sn) عَبِيثُرَانٌ [400], which is a *sweet-smelling plant* (Tsr, Sn). In other cases it is *rad.*, except in such as (1) عَنَسَلٌ [above] : (2) عَفَرْنَى [253, 378] (M), which is one of the names of the *lion*, as though he were so named because of his *strength* : (a) its measure is فَعْلَنَى, the ن and ا in it being *aug.* (IY) : (3) بُلْهِنِيَّةٌ [248, 331] (M), meaning a *pleasant life*, as فَلَانٌ فِي بُلْهِنِيَّةٍ مِّنَ الْوَيْسِ Such a one is in ease of life, i. e., فِي سَعَةٍ : (a) the ن and ا are *aug.* for co-ordination with قَدْ عَمِلَ [401], but the ا becomes ي because of the Kasra before it ; and their saying عَيْشٌ أَبْلَهٌ *careless*, or *easy life*, i. e., *having few griefs*, indicates that the ن and ا are *aug.* (IY) : (4) خَنْفَقٌ (M), which is *calamity* ; and also *light*, or *active*, said of a woman : (a) the ن in it is *aug.*, because it is from خَفَقَ *fluttered*, *aor.* يَخْفُقُ ; and it is co-ordinated with عَرَطَلِيلٌ [399] (IY).

§. 678. The ت is *aug.* in [four positions (A),] (1) the *fem.* [263] (IM), as (a) ضَارِبَةٌ [263, 265] and ضَرَبَتْ

[161, 607, 646] (A), like قَائِمَةٌ [263, 264, 267, 679] (IA, Aud) and قَامَتْ [263, 646] (Tsr); and ضَرَبَتْ [265, 336] (A), so in some MSS, with the tied ة, meaning the *n.* *un.* from ضَرَبَ; but ضَرَبَتْ in other MSS, with an extended ت, as being a *pass. v.*: (a) as for the notion that it is ضَرَبَتْ [161, 403], with a ت of the 2nd *pers.* pronounced with Kasr, it is a blunder, since this ت is a *n.*, because it is an *ag.*; while the discussion is about the *aug.* letters: (b) A explains “the *fem.*” as comprising the *fem.* of the *n.* and *v.*; and then he ought to include in it the *fem.* of the *p.* [263, 402, 646], like رُبَّتْ [505], ثُمَّتْ [540], and لَاتْ [109] (Sn): (c) “in the *fem.*” means “in a *sing.*” as IA exemplifies it; or “a *pl.*,” like مُسْلِمَاتْ [234, 646] (MKh): (d) IHsh says “In my opinion, the [quiescent] ت of [femininization in] قَامَتْ [above] and the like should not be reckoned in this *cat.*, because it is an independent, self-supporting word [607], contrary to the ة of مُسْلِمَةٌ [402] and مُسْلِمَاتْ [above], which is part of a word, for which reason the inflection settles on it [402, 607]” (Sn): (e) as for the [mobile] ة [679] of femininization, [which, like the quiescent ت, is not mentioned in the SH under the *aug.* ت, R says that] it [also] is a *p.* [294], not a formative letter (R): (b) أَنْتِ and its variations [161, 561], according to the

well-known [opinion, mentioned in §. 161 as that of the BB] (A): (a) opposed to it are two sayings [161], (α) that the ت is the *pron.* and اَنْ a *p.* of support; and it is obvious that the ت, according to this, is not an *aug.* letter: (β) that the whole is the *pron.*, the ت being a part of it; but its being a part of the *n.* is sometimes said not to be incompatible with its being *aug.*, as will not escape notice (Sn): (2) the *aor.* [404] (IM), as تَفْعَلُ [165] (IA), like تَضْرِبُ *Thou* [masc.] *strikest* or *She strikes* (A): (a) IHsh says "IM does not reckon [among the *augs.*] any of the aoristic letters except the ت, although there is no difference between it and the others" (Sn, MKh): (b) in my opinion, the aoristic letters are *ps.*; not formative letters, like the ن of the *du.*, the و of the *pl.*, and the Tanwīn [677, 679] (R on the ن): (3) such [*inf. ns.* (A)] as (a) اِسْتَفْعَالُ [332, 667] (IM), where it is made *aug.* together with the س [680] (IA), and اِفْتِعَالُ (R, Aud, A, MKh), like اِسْتِخْرَاجُ [368] (IA, A, Tsr) and اِقْتِدَارُ [667] (A, Tsr, MKh); تَفْعَلُ [332] (R, Jrb, Aud, MKh) and تَفَاعُلُ (R, Jrb, Tsr, MKh), as تَكَسَّرُ *breaking* [intrans.] *in pieces* [486] and تَضَارَبُ *fighting together* [487] (Tsr), like تَجَبَّلُ [332] and تَقَاتَلُ *fighting together* (MKh); and تَفَعَّلُ, [like تَدَحْرَجُ (below)] (R, Jrb); and the *derivs.* thereof (R, IA, Aud, A, MKh), vid. the *v.* and *part.* (Tsr, Sn),

like *اِسْتَخْرَجَ* [493] and *مُسْتَخْرَجٌ* [387] (IA) : (b) *تَفْعِيلٌ* [332] and *تَفْعَالٌ* [332, 334] (R, A, Tsr, MKh), as *تَرَدَّدٌ* *much rejecting* (A, Tsr), like *تَقْدِيسٌ* *hallowing, sanctifying, consecrating* (MKh), and *تَرَدَّدٌ* [334] ; without their *derivs.* (A, Tsr, MKh), because there is no ت in their *derivs.* (Tsr), as *رَدَّدَ* *rejected much* and *مَرَدَّدٌ* *rejecting much* (Sn), like *قَدَّسَ* *hallowed, etc.*, and *رَدَّ* *rejected* (MKh), which are without a ت (Sn, MKh) : (4) the *quasi-pass.* (IM) of *فَعَّلَ* or *فَعَّلَ* [or *فَاعَلَ*] (IA), from the *tril.* and *quad.* (Tsr), as (a) *تَعَلَّمَ* *He learnt* [432] (IA, Aud, A), *inf. n.* *تَعَلَّمٌ* [332] (A), *quasi-pass.* of *عَلَّمَ* *I taught him* (IA) ; (b) *تَدَحَّرَجَ* [495. A] (IA, Aud, A), *inf. n.* *تَدَحَّرَجٌ* [332] ; (c) [*تَبَاعَدَ* and] *تَغَافَلَ* [487], *inf. n.* [*تَبَاعَدٌ* and] *تَغَافُلٌ* [332] (A). As for the ت of such as *قَرَّمَسَ* [482], its augmentativeness is not regular (Sn). In any [position] other than those mentioned, the ت is not judged to be *aug.*, except by reason of some indication (A). IM's confining himself to what is mentioned intimates that the ت of *تَرْجُمَانٌ* *interpreter, translator*, with Fath or Damm of the ت and ج, or Fath of the ت and Damm of the ج, is *rad.* ; and this is the sounder [opinion], as is proved by the retention of the ت in the remaining variations of the word, which is arabicized, or, as is said, Arabic (Sn). The ت

is made *aug.*, (1) when initial, in which case its augmentativeness is (a) regular, which has been mentioned above; (b) restricted to hearsay, as in ⁹تَنْضَبُ [below], [a Hījāzī tree, whose thorns are like those of the ⁹عَوْسَجُ (373), and *Tandub*, a town near Makka (Sn),] ⁹تَنْفَلُ [the fox, or its cub (372, 671) (Sn)], ⁹تَذَرُّ [331, 372], and ⁹تَحْلِي [274, 372] (A): (a) as for the irregular augmentativeness of the ت [when initial], it is [also in] such as (α) ⁹تَجْفَأُ [283, 334, 379], which is ⁹تَفْعَالُ from ⁹جَفَّ الشَّيْءُ *the thing was dry and hard*, i. q. ⁹يَبَسَ and ⁹تَبَيَّنَ [334, 379] from ⁹مَثَلُ *likeness*; (γ) ⁹تَبَيَّنَ [332, 334, 379] from ⁹بَيَانُ *plainness*; (δ) ⁹تَلْقَأُ [332, 334] from ⁹لِقَاءُ *meeting*; (ε) ⁹تَضْرِبُ [334, 379] from ⁹ضِرَابُ *covering*: and, in all of that, the ت, but for the derivation, would be *rad.*, because it corresponds to the ق of ⁹قِرْطَاسُ [253] and the س of ⁹سِرْحَانُ [250] (IY): (2) when final, in which case likewise its augmentativeness is (a) regular, which has been mentioned above: (b) restricted to hearsay, like [the augmentativeness of] the ت in (a) such as ⁹رَغَبْتُ *humbly petitioning, supplicating*, ⁹رَحِمْتُ *mercy, pity*, ⁹مَلَكْتُ *kingdom* [681. A], and ⁹جَبَرْتُ [331, 385] (A): (α) they say ⁹رَهَبْتُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ ⁹رَحِمْتُ *Fear is better than pity*, [i. e., *That thou*

shouldst be feared is better than that thou shouldst be pitied (Md)] : (β) رَحِمْتُ and رَغَبْتُ are said, upon the measure of فَعْلَوْتُ [272]; but this is rare, not to be copied (IY) : Mb says رَهْبُوتِي خَيْرٌ مِنْ رَحْمَوْتِي (Md) : (b) تَرْنَمٌ *twanging*, which is the sound of the bow upon shooting, because it is from تَرْنَمٌ *trilling, quavering*, its measure being تَفْعَلُوتٌ : (c) عَنكَبُوتٌ [399, 646] (A) : (α) when the ت is at the end of the word, after the *aug.* , , and is preceded by three or more *rads.*, S does not hold this to be one of the prevalent [*augs.*], for which reason he says that سُبُوتٌ [a desert land, and a man having nothing (MAR)], is فَعْلُولٌ [below]; but he holds augmentativeness in the like to be recognizable only by derivation, as in جَبْرُوتٌ and مَلَكُوتٌ [above], because they are from جَبَرِيَّةٌ *haughtiness* and مُلْكٌ *dominion* [681. A]; and so in رَغَبُوتٌ [above], رَحْمُوتٌ , and رَهْبُوتٌ : (β) similarly S does not hold the ت which is at the end [of the word], after the [*aug.*] ي , when preceded by three *rads.*, as in عَفْرِيتٌ [646, 674, 681. A], to be one of the prevalent [*augs.*], the augmentativeness of the ت in عَفْرِيتٌ being, according to him, recognizable by derivation from عَفْرٌ [343], which is the *wicked, crafty* : (γ) in سُبُوتٌ S makes unprecedentedness preponderate over derivation; and therefore says that it is فَعْلُولٌ [above],

like ⁹عُصْفُور [253, 396]; not ⁹فُعْلُوت [below], because this is extraordinary: but the better [course] is what some take, vid. to make derivation preponderate, and judge it to be ⁹فُعْلُوت co-ordinated with ⁹عُصْفُور, although ⁹فُعْلُوت is extraordinary, on the evidence of the obvious derivation, because ⁹سَبْرُ الطَّرِيقِ is the *skilful guide, who* ⁹سَبَرَ الطَّرِيقَ *has explored the way, and tried it*; for this derivation is manifest; not far-fetched, so that another [indication] should be made to preponderate over it (R): (δ) the opinion of S is that the ن of ⁹عَنْكَبُوت is *rad.*, because they say, in the sense of it, ⁹عَنْكَبَ; so that, according to him, it is *quad.*: but some of the GG hold it to be *tril.*, and its ن *aug.*: (3) when medial, in which case its augmentativeness is not regular, except in ⁹اِسْتِفْعَال and ⁹اِنتِعَال and their *derivs.*; but it is made *aug.* in a few words: (a) on account of its being seldom *aug.* when medial, the majority hold it to be *rad.* in ⁹يَسْتَعْوِر [401, 674], and a *subst.* for the و in ⁹كِلْتَا [263, 307, 689] (A). In other cases, it is *rad.*, [wherever it be found (IY),] except [when there exists an indication of its being *aug.* (IY),] as in (1) ⁹تُرْتَبُ [274, 372] (M), i. q. ⁹الشَّيْءُ الرَّائِبُ the *established thing*, where the first ت is *aug.*, because, according to S, there is no [paradigm] in the language like ⁹جَعْفَر with Damm of the ج [392] while, according to

Akh also, it is *aug.*, because ^ورُتِبَ is derived from رَتَبَ *was established*; so that it is *aug.* because of the derivation, not on account of the paradigm: (a) the counterpart of this is تَنْضَبُ [372, 681. A] for *a kind of tree*, where the ت is *aug.* because there is no [paradigm] in the language like جَعْفَر with Damm of the ف [392, 671]: (b) similarly تَنْفَلُ [above] with Damm, and تَنْفَلُ [372] with Fath, of the ف are said, where the first ت is unavoidably *aug.*, according to him that pronounces with Damm, because of the unprecedentedness [of فَعْلَلُ]; and is also *aug.* according to him that pronounces with Fath, because it is not *rad.* in one *dial. var.*, and *aug.* in another (IY): (2) تَوَلَّجَ [689] (M), which, according to the Bdd, is تَفَعَّلَ, the ت, according to them, being *aug.*; while Z follows that opinion, for which reason he excepts it from being *rad.*, and reckons it with what is *aug.* (IY): (3) سَنَبَتَةٌ [385], meaning *a period of time*, the first ت of which is *aug.*, because they say, in the same sense, سَنَبٌ and سَنَبَةٌ, like تَمَرٌ and تَمَرَةٌ [254]; so that the elision of the ت is an indication of its augmentativeness (IY).

§. 679. The *s* is *aug.* in pause, [in the *interrog.* Hamza governed in the *gen.* (IA),] like لِمَ *For what?* [615, 648]: and [in the *v.* whose J is elided for uninflectedness, like سَ *See thou*; or apocopation, like (IA)]

لَمْ تَرَهُ *Thou didst not see* [615, 644] (IM). The ʾ [below] and the ʾ [681] are rarely *aug.*, like [the ʾ in (Tsr)] أُمَّهَاتٌ *mothers* [below] and أَهْرَاقٌ *poured out, shed* [382, 671, 680]; and [the ʾ in (Tsr)] طَيْسَلٌ [below], i. q. كَثِيرٌ *many, much*: as is indicated by the elision thereof, [i. e., (Tsr)] (1) [of the ʾ (Tsr)] in (a) [the *inf.* n., as (Tsr)] أُمُومَةٌ *motherhood* (Aud); and in the *pl.* also as

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[below] (Tsr): (a) the ʾ is added in أُمَّاتٌ *mothers*, as it is added in أَهْرَاقٌ *poured out, shed* [below], where أَهْرَاقٌ is said (K on XVI. 80.): (b) أُمَّهَاتٌ is said [by some] to be *pl.* of أُمَّهَةٌ [below], as

إِنِّي لَدَى الْحَرْبِ رَخِيّ اللَّبِيبِ * مُعْتَزِمُ الصَّوْلَةِ عَالِي النَّسَبِ

أُمَّهَتِي خَنْدِفٌ وَأَلْيَاسُ أَبِي

(Tsr), by Kuṣayy Ibn Kilāb [Ibn Murra (N)], an ancestor of the Prophet, *Verily I am easy in mind in battle* (Jsh, N), *the lion of* (Jsh), [or] *resolute in* (N), *attack, lofty in lineage: my mother is Khindif* [309], the cognomen of Lailā [Bint Ḥulwān Ibn ‘Imrān (Jsh)], wife of AlYās Ibn Muḍar [Ibn Nizār (Jsh)], and *AlYās is my father* (Jsh, N), the ʾ being *aug.* in the *sing.* and *pl.* (Tsr); but the addition of the ʾ in the *sing.*, as

أُمَمَتِي أَلَح [above], is anomalous (K): (b) إِرَاقَةٌ (Aud), *inf. n.* of أَرَأَق [below] (Tsr): (2) [of the ج (Tsr)] in طَائِس (Aud), which is the *great number*; and *all that is on the surface of the ground*, such as *dust* and *sweepings*; or *creatures breeding much*, like *flies*, *ants*, and *reptiles*: so in the كِف (Tsr); or *particles of sand*, and the *ocean*; like طَيْسَل [above] in all [these senses]; and *abundance of everything*, such as *sand* and *water*, *etc.* (KF). But, as for the exemplification, by IM [in the *Alfiya* (Tsr)], his son [in the C (Tsr)], and many GG, of the ة [below] with such as لِمَّة and لَم تَرَّة [above], and of the ج [681] with [the *masc.* and *fem. dems.* in distance (Tsr),] تِلْكَ and ذَلِك [173, 599], it is rejected, because the ة of silence [615] and the ج of distance [599] are, each of them, an entire word, not part of another [word] (Aud): nor [is either of them] equivalent to part of what precedes it, [the addition of this clause being necessary,] lest it be said against IHsh “And so is the [mobile] ة of feminization, as in قَائِمَةٌ [678], an entire word, not part of another [word]; and yet he exemplifies with it” (Tsr). The ة is a letter of augmentation, as before stated [671], except that its augmentativeness is rare in any [position] other than pause. It is not regular except in pause upon (1) the *interrog.* مَا governed in the *gen.* [648], as لِمَّة [above];

(2) the *v.* whose *J* is elided for apocopation or uninflect-
edness [644]; (3) every [word] *uninfl.* upon a vowel
inseparable [from the word, as in *كَيْفَهُ* and *فُؤُوْهُ*, contrary
to the (word) *uninfl.* upon a vowel supervening for a
cause that sometimes ceases, like the *voc.* and the *sub.*
of *يَ* (Sn)], save what has been previously excepted in
the chapter on Pause (A), vid. the *pret. v.* [648] (Sn).
It is necessary in some of those cases, and allowable in
others, as before explained [615, 644, 648]. Mb denies
the augmentativeness of the *s* [671], saying that it is
affixed in pause, after completion of the word, only to
make [the vowel plain, and the *!* perfectly (Sn)] plain,
like the *s* in such as LXIX. 28. and *يَا زَيْدَادُ* [671]; or to
make [pause, which is only upon a quiescent (Sn),]
possible, like the *s* in such as *عَ* and *قَ* [671]: so that it
is [a specific augment (Sn),] like the Tanwīn [608, 677,
678], [besides being a *p.*, like the Tanwīn] and the *prep.*
ب [503]. But the correct [opinion] is that the *s* is a
letter of augmentation, although its augmentativeness is
rare. The proof of that is their saying *أُمّهَاتُ* [above]
for *أُمَّتُ*, its measure being *نُعَلّهَاتُ*, because it is *pl.* of
أُمّ *mother*; while sometimes they say *أُمَّتُ* (A). The
author of the saying

إِذَا الْأُمّهَاتُ تَبَحْنَ الْوُجُوهُ * فَرَجَتْ الظَّلَامُ بِأَمَانِكَا

[above] When the mothers are ugly in faces, thou

dispellest the darkness with thy mothers has combined the two *dials*. (M). They say that, in most cases, ^{أُمَّاتٌ} is used for *brutes*, and ^{أُمَّهَاتٌ} for *mankind*: but sometimes the converse occurs, as in ^{إِذَا أُمَّهَاتٌ قَبَّحْنَ الْحَاجَّ}
When mothers are ugly etc. [above] and

قَوَالٍ مَعْرُوفٍ وَفَعَالُهُ * عَقَارٌ مَثْنَى أُمَّهَاتِ الرِّبَاعِ

A great sayer of what is kind, and a great doer thereof, a great slasher of the knee of the mothers of the young camels born in autumn (R). And they say ^{أُمَّهَةٌ} [above] for ^{أُمٌّ} (A), making the *ʿ* *aug.* in the *sing.*, as in the *pl.* (Sn). The measure of ^{أُمَّهَةٌ} is ^{فُعْلَهَةٌ} (A, Tsr), the *ʿ* being multiplicative; or co-ordinative, according to those who authorize ^{فُعِّلَ} [392] (Tsr). But IS allows the *ʿ* [here] to be *rad.*, [the measure of (Tsr)] ^{فُعْلَةٌ} being ^{أُمَّهَةٌ}, like [^{قُبْرَةٌ} and (A)] ^{أُبْهَةٌ} (A, Tsr), which is *grandeur* (Tsr, Sn), *splendour*, and *pride* (Sn); and this is confirmed by [their saying (A)] ^{تَأَمَّهْتُ أُمَّا} meaning *I took as a mother*, transmitted by Khl in the Kitāb al'Ain: [so that the *o. f.* of ^{أُمٌّ} is ^{أُمَّهَةٌ} (Sn);] but afterwards the *ʿ* is elided; and there remains ^{أُمٌّ}, the measure of which is ^{فُعٌّ} (A, Tsr). And, if this be established, [i. e., both what is transmitted by Khl, vid. that ^{أُمٌّ} is a *deriv.* of ^{أُمَّهَةٌ}, which alone is the *o. f.*, and what is indicated by the preceding paragraph, vid. that the measure of ^{أُمٌّ} is ^{فُعْلٌ} (Sn),] then

^{أُم} and ^{أُمَّهَة} are two different *o. fs.*, like ^{سَبَط} and ^{سَبْطَر} [676], and ^{دِمَتْ} and [^{دُمَاتِر} (KF), ^{دُمْتَر} (KF, Sn),] ^{دُمْتَر} [681], [or ^{دُمْتَر} (KF, Sn), i. q. ^{سَهْل} *smooth, level*, said of ground (KF)]: so that, according to this, ^{أُمَّهَات} is *pl.* of ^{أُمَّهَة} [above], and ^{أُمَات} of ^{أُم}. But what IS holds is weak, because it is contrary to the apparent [weight of evidence] (A), since, in the case of ^{أُمَّهَة}, what imports augmentativeness [of the *z*] is found, vid. ^{أُم}, contrary to ^{أُبْهَة} and ^{قَبْرَة}; while the *cat.* of ^{سَبَط} and ^{سَبْطَر} [above] is small: so says SBd (Sn). And, as for the transmission [of ^{تَأْمَهَتْ}] by the author of the 'Ain, it is not adducible as an argument, because of the errors and discrepancies in that work. IJ says "I consulted our master F one day about the Kitāb al'Ain; but he turned away from it, and was not satisfied with it, because of the rejected doctrine and vicious etymology that are in it" (A). And it is said in the Jh that ^{أُمَّهَات} is *pl.* of ^{أُمَّهَة}, the *o. f.* of which is ^{أُم} (Tsr). The *z* is also made *aug.* in ^{أَهْرَقْتُ الْمَاءَ} *I poured out the water*, *aor.* ^{أَهْرَقْتُ}, *inf. n.* ^{إِهْرَاقَة}, the *o. f.* [of ^{أَهْرَاق}, *aor.* ^{يَهْرِيقُ} (382), *inf. n.* ^{إِهْرَاقَة} (Sn),] being ^{أَرَاق} [above], *aor.* ^{يُرِيقُ}, *inf. n.* ^{إِرَاقَة} (A). And [they say that (Tsr)] Mb has no answer to the augmentativeness of the *z* in ^{أَهْرَاق}, except the allegation of blundering on the part of the

sayer thereof, who, since the Hamza is changed [into \mathfrak{s} (A) in هَرَأَق (690) (Tsr)], imagines that the \mathfrak{s} is the ف of the word; and therefore prefixes the Hamza to it [in the *pret.* and *inf. n.* (Sn)], and makes it quiescent (A, Tsr). Khl asserts that the \mathfrak{s} in هَرَكَوْلَةٌ which is [the girl (Jh)] *big in the hips*, is *aug.*, the measure being هَفْعَوْلَةٌ, because she تَرَكُلُ فِي مَشْيِهَا *kicks in her walk*; but most hold it to be *rad.*, the measure being فَعْلَوْلَةٌ; and Akh says that it is *aug.* in هَبْلَعٌ and هَجْرَعٌ, [372, 392], which, according to him, are هَفْعَلٌ, because the first is from بَلَعٌ *swallowing*, and the second from جَرَعٌ, which is the *level place*; but the argument of the majority [for the radicalness of the \mathfrak{s} in هَجْرَعٌ (Sn)] is that the Arabs say of two *long* or *tall* [things or persons], هَذَا أَهَجَرُ مِنْ هَذَا *This is longer, or taller, than that*, i. e., أَطْوَلُ (A); whereas, if the \mathfrak{s} were *aug.*, they would say أَجْرَعُ, with elision of the *aug.*, and retention of the *rad.*; while [in أَهَجَرُ] they elide the ع, though it also is *rad.*, without dispute, because elision is more suitable for finals (Sn). What Khl holds, however, [about the \mathfrak{s} in هَرَكَوْلَةٌ] is right, because derivation, when it testifies to a thing, is acted upon, no attention being paid to the rarity of the thing (IY). And similarly [you say of (A)] هَلَقَامَةٌ, which is [a name of (IY)] the *lion*, and

is [also (A) an *ep.* meaning] *bulky, tall* (IY, A), the *س* in it being *aug.*, because it is from ^سلَقَم [331] (IY). And in ^سسَلَب [392] the *س* may be *aug.*, because ^سسَلَب also means *long, tall*, as ^سسَلَبُ قَرْنٍ *a long horn* [or ^سسَلَب (A)], i. e., ^سطَوِيل (IY, A), this being a good derivation, apparent in sense and letter (IY); or ^سسَلَب may be of the *cat.* of ^سسَبَطَر and ^سسَبَط [above]. The truth is that the *س* of silence [680, 681] ought not to be mentioned with the letters of augmentation, because of what has been stated [by IHsh and A] above (A).

§. 680. The *س* is regularly made *aug.*, (1) [together with the *ت* (A),] in ^ساِسْتِفْعَال [678] (Aud, A), like ^ساِسْتِخْرَاج [368] (Tsr), and its *derivs.* (A, Tsr): (2) as is said [by Z in the M], after the *ك* of the *fem.* in pause, as ^ساَكْرَمْتُكَس *I honored thee*, which is [the *س* of] the ^سكَسَكَسَة [617]: but this sayer is bound to reckon the *ش* of the ^سكَشَكَشَة, as ^ساَكْرَمْتُكَش [617, 671]; and, the object of putting them being to make the Kasra of the *ك* plain, their predicament is [like] that of the *س* of silence [679] in respect of independence (A). The reckoning of the *س* of the ^سكَسَكَسَة is a blunder, [because it is a *p.*, not a formative letter; and also (R)] because this entails [the reckoning of (R)] the *ش* of the ^سكَشَكَشَة (SH), which, by common consent, is not a letter of augmentation. This

is a refutation of Z, who reckons the س of the كَسَكَسَ among the letters of augmentation (R). In any other case the augmentativeness of the س is not regular, but preserved in the memory, like the س of (1) قُدُمُوس i. q. قَدِيمٌ *ancient* [681. A]: (2) اسْطَاعَ [671, 681. A], with the *disj.* Hamza, *aor.* يُسْطِيعُ [671], with Damm of the initial; [contrary to اسْطَاعَ, with the *conj.* Hamza, *aor.* يَسْطِيعُ (382, 759), with Fath of the initial, i. q. اسْتَطَاعَ *was able*, *aor.* يَسْتَطِيعُ (Sn):] for, according to S [below], its *o. f.* is أَطَاعَ *obeyed*, *aor.* يُطِيعُ; while the س is added as a compensation for [the departure of (Sn)] the vowel of the ع of the *v.* [from the ع (Sn)], because the *o. f.* of أَطَاعَ is أَطَوَعَ (A), not for the departure of the vowel absolutely (Sn). اسْطَاعَ with Fath, and disjunction, of the Hamza occurs in their language: but the GG differ in accounting for it. S [above] says that it is of the *conjug.* of اِفْعَالٌ, its *o. f.* being أَطَوَعَ, like أَقَوَّمَ [703, 707]; but the و being treated as unsound, and converted into ا after transfer of its vowel to what precedes it; and the س afterwards put as a compensation for the mobility of the ع, which has escaped it; as the س is put in أَهْرَاقَ [382, 671, 679], with quiescence of the س, as a compensation for the like of that [loss of mobility in the ع]. And there is no doubt that the

mobility of the ع has escaped because of the mobilization of the vowel of the ف with the vowel of the ع [below]. But, notwithstanding all of this, the putting of the س and s as compensation is anomalous. The *aor.* of اَسْطَاعَ, therefore, according to S, is يَسْطِيعُ [671], with Damm. But Mb, supposing S to say that the س is a compensation for the vowel, rejects that [account], saying "How shall compensation be given for a thing, when the thing for which compensation is given", i. e., the Fath transferred to the ف, "is remaining?": whereas S's meaning is not what he supposes, but is that the س is a compensation for the mobility of the ع; and there is no doubt that the mobility of the ع has escaped because of the mobilization of the ف with the vowel of the ع [above]. Fr says that the *o. f.* of اَسْطَاعَ is اِسْتَطَاعَ, of the *conjng.* of اِسْتَفْعَلَ, the ت being elided for the reason assigned in the chapter on Incorporation [759]; so that there remains اِسْطَاعَ [382], with Kasr of the Hamza, which is then anomalously pronounced with Fath, and made *disj.*: and, according to him, therefore, the *aor.* is يَسْطِيعُ [759], with Fath of the aoristic letter. But, when the ت of اِسْتَطَاعَ is elided, because of the impracticability of incorporation, the well-known *dial.* makes the Hamza remain pronounced with Kasr, and *conj.*, as it was [before the elision], whence فَمَا اَسْطَاعُوا

XVIII. 96. *Then they were not able* (R). The س is neglected by IM [in the *Alfiya* (Tsr)], and his son (Aud) in the C (Tsr). IM mentions in the *Alfiya* [only] nine [672—679, 681] of the [ten] letters of augmentation [671], and is silent about the س [680]. The excuse for him is that the س is not regularly *aug.*, except in one position, which he has exemplified in [mentioning] the augmentativeness of the ت , since he says “ such as اسْتَفْعَالٌ ” [678]; so that he seems to content himself with that, for which reason he says in the *Kāfiya*, in mentioning the augmentativeness of the ت , “ and together with the س , it is made *aug.* in اسْتَفْعَالٌ and its *derivs.* ” (A).

§. 681. The ل is *aug.*, (1) in (M, IM) the well-known *dem.* [below] (IM) *ns.*, regularly (IA), as (IA, A) ذَلِكَ (M, IA, A) and تِلْكَ [679] (IA, A), هُنَالِكَ [175] (M, IA A), and أُولَٰئِكَ (A) [pronounced] أُولَٰئِكَ [173], whence

أُولَٰئِكَ قَوْمِي لَمْ يَكُونُوا أَشَابَةً * وَهَذَا يَعْظُ الضَّلِيلَ إِلَّا أُولَٰئِكَ (M), by AlA'shà, praising his people for purity [of race], and faithfulness in counsel, *Those are my people they are not a medley (of mankind): and shall any but those exhort the much-erring?*, because of their saying, in the sense thereof, ذَا [171] and ذَاكَ [172] without a ل , هُنَاكَ [175], and أُولَٰئِكَ [pronounced] أُولَٰئِكَ [173], whence

أَلَا^ا [172] : (a) the *ل* is added in the *dems.* to indicate the *distance* of the demonstrated [173, 599], and therefore is the *opp.* of the premonitory هَا [174, 552] ; for which reason they are not combined [173, 552], so that هَا ذُلِكَ is not said ; because, the هَا indicating the *nearness*, and the *ل* the *distance*, of the demonstrated, there are incompatibility and contradiction between them : (b) [except in تِلْكَ (173),] this *ل* is [mobilized to avoid a concurrence of two quiescents ; and] pronounced with Kasr, lest it might be mistaken for the *ل* of ownership [604], if [ذَا لِكَ that sounding like] This belongs to thee were said (IY) : (2) in عَبْدٌ slave, servant [671], زَيْدٌ Zaidal [283], and فَحَجَلٌ [675] (M), where their saying عَبْدٌ slave, servant, زَيْدٌ Zaid, and أَفْكَجٌ [below] is an indication of the augmentativeness of the *ل* (IY) : (a) هَيْقَلٌ [male ostrich (IY)] is ambiguous (M) : if you derive it from هَيْقٌ [male ostrich, like هَيْقَمٌ (Jh, KF), the م being *aug.* (Jh), and slender, tall (KF)], the *ل* is *aug.*, its measure being فَعْلَلٌ, and the ي is *rad.* ; while, if you derive it from هَقْلٌ [with Kasr (KF), young ostrich (Jh, KF), and tall, stupid (KF)], the ي is *aug.*, and the *ل* *rad.*, its measure being فَيْعَلٌ ; but the first [derivation] is more frequent, because they say هَيْقَلٌ and هَيْقَمٌ [i. q. هَيْقٌ (above), the م being *aug.*

(Jh)]: and this is the meaning of Z 's saying "is ambiguous", i. e., admits of the J 's being *aug.* or *rad.*, according to the derivation (IY). The J is one of the letters of augmentation (A). As for the J [679], it is rare, as in زَيْدٌ and عَبْدٌ [above] (SH), because it is the remotest of the letters of augmentation in resemblance to the letters of prolongation [671] (Jrb). Analogy requires that it should not be made *aug.*, because of its remoteness from the letters of prolongation, for which reason it is the least *aug.* of the letters. Its augmentativeness is not regular, except in the *dem.* [below]; and in other cases belongs to the *cat.* of hearsay. There have been heard, in their speech, (1) عَبْدٌ for عَبْدٌ [above]: (2) نَحَجٌ for أَنْحَجُ [675], which is *having the thighs wide apart*: (3) هَيْقٌ for هَيْقٌ [above]: (4) فَيْشَلَةٌ for فَيْشَلَةٌ, which is the *gland of the penis* [below]: (5) طَيْسَلٌ for طَيْسٌ [679]. It is reported from Akh that the J of عَبْدٌ is *rad.*, عَبْدٌ being compounded from عَبْدُ اللَّهِ *The servant of God*, as they say عَبَشِي [309, 311]; but this is rendered improbable by their saying زَيْدٌ for زَيْدٌ [above]. He says, however, in the Ausat [fi-nNahw (HKh)], "The J is made *aug.* in عَبْدٌ alone", [not in the remainder, vid. زَيْدٌ, etc., as though he said that the remainder were of the *cat.* of سَبَطٌ and سَبَطٌ (Sn);]

“and its *pl.* is عِبَادَةٌ”: so that he has two sayings (A) on عَبْدٌ (Sn). The remainder, indeed, [i. e., all except عَبْدٌ (Sn),] admit of being [derived] from two crude-forms, like سَبَطٌ and سَبَطٌ [676] (A); so that Akh’s saying “[The J] is made *aug.* in عَبْدٌ alone” is correct (Sn). Jr denies that the J is a letter of augmentation. And the J of distance in such as هُنَالِكَ and ذَلِكَ [above] is not opposed to this, because it is a *p.* [599], like the Tanwīn [608] (R). [For] the J of the *dem.* [above] ought not to be mentioned with the letters of augmentation, because of what we said on the ء of silence [679], vid. that it is an entire word (A). And he holds that فَيْشَلَةٌ [above], هَيْفَلٌ, and طَيْسَلٌ are فَيْعَلٌ, saying that sometimes two synonymous words are supposed to coincide in derivation, because of their approximation in form, whereas each of them is of another composition, like كَرَّارَةٌ and كَرَّارَةٌ [talkative woman (KF)], and دَمِثٌ and دِمَثَرٌ [679]. But all of that is forced, on his part: and apparently the J is *aug.* in all those [words]; for its augmentativeness, notwithstanding the rarity thereof, is conclusively established, as in زَيْدٌ and عَبْدٌ [above], i. q. زَيْدٌ and عَبْدٌ: whereas دَمِثٌ and دِمَثَرٌ are not like that, since augmentativeness of the , is not established so that we are driven to judging it to be *rad.* (R).

§. 681. A. Whatever is free from these restrictions [672-681] is judged to be *rad.*, unless some proof of augmentativeness exists, for which reason (1) the Hamzas of شَمَالٌ and أَحْبَنْطًا [672], the م s of دَلَامِصٌ [676] and ابْنٌ [667, 671], the ن s of حَنْظَلٌ [677] and سُنْبُلٌ ears [of corn], the ت s of مَلَكُوتٌ and عَفْرِيتٌ [678], and the س s of قَدْמוُسٌ and أَسْطَاعٌ [680], are judged to be *aug.*, because of their elision in شُبُولٌ [*inf. n.* of شَبَلَتْ أَلرَّيْحُ meaning *The wind shifted to the north* (Tsr)] and حَبَطٌ [with two Fathas, *swelling of the belly* (Tsr)], دَلَامِصٌ glittering and بَنُوَةٌ [667], مُلْكٌ [678] and عَفْرٌ with Fath of its initial, i. e., *dust*, قَدَمٌ antiquity and طَاعَةٌ obedience, and in their sayings حَظَلَّتِ الْأَبِلُ [677] when *they have been harmed by eating colocynth* and أَسْبَدَ الزَّرْعُ *The corn put forth ears*: (2) the ن s of نَرَجِسٌ [677] and هُنْدَلِيعٌ [with Damm of the ه, the name of a herb (401) (Tsr)], and the ت s of تَنْضُبٌ [678] and نُحَيْبٌ (Aud) with Damm of the ت and خ, [or Fath of the latter (KF),] and Kasr, [with doubling (Tsr),] of the ي (KF, Tsr), upon the measure of تُفَعِّلُ, with Damm of the ت and ف, [or تُفَعِّلُ with Fath of the ف,] and Kasr, [with doubling,] of the ع (Jh), diptote [because of the verbal measure combined with the quality of

proper name] (Jh, KF), i. q. *اَلْبَاطِلُ* (Jh, Tsr), as *وَقَعُوا* *فِي وَادِي تَخْيِبٍ* *They fell into the valley of Disappointment*, i. e., *بَاطِلٍ* [*فِي* into] *a vain, futile state* (Tsr), [or] meaning *فِي اَلْبَاطِلِ* *into the vain, etc.* (KF)—so says Ks (Jh, Tsr)—are judged to be *aug.* (Tsr), because of the non-existence of *فَعِلٌ* [392], *فُعِلِلٌ* [with Damm of its first, Fath of its third, and Kasr of its fourth (401) (Tsr)], *فَعُلٌ* [392], and *فُعِلٌ* (Aud), with Damm of its first and second, [or Fath of the latter,] and Kasr, with doubling, of its third. But it is said that the mention of this [*تَخْيِبٌ*] requires consideration, because it is transferred from the *v.* [4], like *تُعَلِّمُ* *It was learnt* [or *تُعَلِّمُ* *Thou teachest*]: they distinctly declare that, and [therefore] they decline it as a diptote (Tsr).

CHAPTER IX.

THE SUBSTITUTION OF LETTERS.

§. 682. Substitution occurs in the three kinds [625], as أَجُورٌ [683], هَرَاقَ [690], and أَلَّا فَعَلَتْ [683] (M). IH says in the SH (KIF), Substitution [in conventional language (Tsr, Sn)] is putting a letter in the place of another letter (SH, Tsr, Sn, KIF), unrestrictedly (Tsr, Sn). By “substitution” the substitution arising with incorporation [735] is not meant, but only substitution without incorporation (IY): and [therefore the author of the KIF says that by “putting a letter”] IH means putting one of the [fourteen] letters of substitution, vid. the letters of [the mnemonic phrase] أَنْصِتْ يَوْمَ جَدِّ طَاهٍ [below]; so that such as اِظْلَمَ [below], *orig.* اِظْتَلَمَ, the [second] ط being put in place of the ت of اِفْتَعَلَ because of the intention to incorporate [756], is not adducible as an objection; for that is not named “substitution”, since the ط is not one of the letters of substitution (KIF). The restriction “in the place” excludes compensation, which is [put] in another place than that of the original, like the ة of عِدَّة and the Hamza of ابْن [below] (Tsr, Sn). IH’s saying “another” is a corroboration [or rather qualification] of his saying “letter”,

in order to dispel the notion that the restoration of the J in such as أَبْرَى [306] is named "substitution" (KIF). And the restriction "unrestrictedly" excludes conversion [below], which is peculiar to the unsound letters [and the Hamza] (Tsr, Sn). But Syt says in the IKn, in the [fifty-eighth (IKn)] section on the Novelties of of the Kur'an (KIF), Substitution is putting one of the letters in the place of another: and IF holds فَانْفَلَقَ XXVI. 63. *Then it was divided* to be an instance of it, i. e., فَانْفَرَقَ, [for which reason فَانْفَرَقَ XXVI. 63. *And each division was* is said, the , and J being interchangeable (IKn)]; and it is transmitted from Khl that, in فَجَاسُوا خِلَالَ الدِّيارِ XVII. 5. *And they ransacked the interiors of the houses*, فَكَاسُوا is meant, the ج being put in the place of the ح, which also is read [by Ṭalḥa (K)]; while F holds أَحَبَبْتُ حُبَّ الْخَيْرِ XXXVIII. 31. *have preferred the love of horses* [508], i. e., الْخَيْلِ, and AU holds إِلَّا مَكَاءً وَتَصَدِيَةً VIII. 35. *Save whistling and clapping of hands* [685], i. e., [تَصَدَّةَ, orig.] تَصَدِدَةً, the [second] د being changed into ى (KF), to be an instance of it (IKn, KIF). And this sense [of substitution] is not identical with, but is approximate to, the sense mentioned by IH, because here, as will not escape notice, there is no stipulation that the substituted letter should be one of the [fourteen] letters

of substitution (KIF). Substitution is [said by IY to be] of two kinds, (1) putting a letter in the place of another letter, as in the ت of ⁹تُخَمَّة and ⁹تُكَّاة [689]: (2) conversion [above], in the sense of transmutation, of the letter itself into the form of another [letter]: (a) this is [found] only in the unsound letters, vid. the و , ي , and ا [697]; and in the Hamza [658] also, because of its approximation to them, and the frequency of its alteration: (b) that is [exemplified in] such as (a) قَام , *orig.* قَوَم , the ا being a و in the *o. f.* [684]; (b) مُوسِر , [the و in] which is *orig.* ي [686]; (c) رَأَس and آدَم , the ا being *orig.* Hamza, the rising [658] of which is softened, so that it is transmuted into ا [684]. Thus every conversion is a substitution; but every substitution is not a conversion (IY). IM [also] means by “substitution” what includes conversion, since each of them is an alteration [put] in the position [of the altered letter]; except that substitution [in the peculiar, real sense (Sn)] is removal, while conversion is transmutation: and hence conversion is peculiar to the unsound letters and the Hamza; while substitution is not peculiar, as you will see. But compensation differs from both of them, because (1) it is [put] in a place other than that of the original, like the ة of ⁹عَدَّة [699], the Hamza of ⁹اِبْن [667], and the [second] ي of ⁹سَفِيرِيح [283, 284]: (2) it is [given] for (a) a consonant, as mentioned; (b) a vowel,

like the س of أَسْطَاعَ [680], as before explained (A). The first letter, i. e., the one in whose place another is put, is named "original"; while the second letter, i. e., the one that is put in the place of another, is named "substituted" and "substitute" [278] (KIF). The letters substituted for others are of four kinds, (1) what is commonly substituted for the sake of incorporation [735], vid. all the letters, except the ا [739]: (2) what is extraordinarily substituted, vid. six [or rather seven] letters [below], i. e., the ح , the خ , the غ , the ق , the ض , [the ظ ,] and the ذ , as in رُبْعٌ for رُبْعٌ *young camel brought forth in autumn* [696. A]; أَخْنٌ for أَغْنٌ *speaking through the nose* [696 A]; خَطَرٌ for غَطَرٌ [696 A]; وَقْتَةٌ for كُنَّةٌ [699 A], which is the *nest of the sand-grouse in the mountain*; جَلْدٌ for جَضْدٌ *hardy* [696 A]; and تَلْعَذَمٌ for تَلْعَثَمٌ *delayed* [696 A]: (3) what is commonly substituted otherwise than for the sake of incorporation, which is of two kinds, (a) what is unnecessary in etymology, vid. twenty-two letters, combined in the spelling of your [mnemonic] phrase لَجْدٌ صَرْفٌ شَكِيسٌ آمِنٌ طَيٌّ [below]; (b) what is necessary in etymology, vid. nine [letters], combined in the spelling of your [mnemonic] phrase هَدَأْتُ مُوْطِيَا [below], i. e., the ه , the د , the Hamza, the ت , the م , the و , the ط , the ي , and the ا (Tsr). The object of [IM in] this chapter is

to explain the letters that one commonly [below] substituted for others [in etymology (Sn)] otherwise than for the sake of incorporation. The incorporative substitution is not considered in this chapter, because it is [found] in all the letters of the alphabet, except the ا, as, for that [reason], the reduplicative *aug.* is not considered in the letters of augmentation [671] (A). The letters of [the non-incorporative (Aud)] substitution [common (IA, Aud, A) in etymology (A)] are [nine, combined in (IA, Aud) IM's phrase (IA)] هَدَّاتُ *I was still, finding* [the camel-saddle (IA)] *easy to ride upon* [above] (IM), هَدَّاتُ meaning سَكَنْتُ; while مُوْطِيَا is [an *act. part.* (IA, Tsr)] from أَوْطَأْتُ (IA, Aud, A), except that its Hamza is alleviated by being changed into ي, because pronounced with Fath, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [658] (IA, Tsr). As for the letters other than these [nine], their substitution for others is anomalous or rare; so that IM does not advert to it (IA). By "common" are excluded (1) the anomalous substitution, like the substitution of the ل for (a) the ن of أَصِيلَانُ — an irregular *dim.* of أَصِيلٌ [285, 286], like مَغِيرَبَانُ *dim.* of مَغْرِبٌ [286] — in وَقَفْتُ فِيهَا آلَحَ [691]; (b) the ض of اِضْطَجَعَ in لَبَّا رَأَى أَنَّ آلَحَ [647, 691]: (2) the rare, like the substitution of the ج for the double ي in pause, as in خَالِي

عَوَيْفٌ آلِخ [643, 694]; and sometimes (a) without pause, as in إِجْلٌ [694] for إَيْلٌ [the *mountain-goat* (Sn)]; (b) without doubling, as in لَاهُمْ إِنْ آلِخ [694] (A). IM's mention of the ة [in the *Alfiya* (Tsr)] is an addition to what is [mentioned by him] in the *Tashīl*, where he combines the letters of substitution in طَوَيْتُ دَاثِمًا *I was hungry continually* [below] (Aud, A), which is open to criticism in three respects, (1) omission of the ة, as has been mentioned; (2) repetition of the ا; (3) making the *pret.* govern دَاثِمًا, which is like أَبَدًا *for ever* [206]: so says IHsh in the *Glosses* (Tsr). Moreover, [when IM mentions the ة (Tsr),] he does not discourse upon it here, notwithstanding his reckoning it, the reason being that its substitution [for the ت (A)] is regular only in pause upon such as رَحْمَةٌ and نِعْمَةٌ [638, 690], which is mentioned in the chapter on Pause [646]; while its substitution for any [letter] other than the ت is confined to hearsay, as in their saying هَيَّانَ [for إِيَّانَ (Tsr)], لَهْنَكَ قَائِمٌ [for لَانَكَ (Tsr)], هَرَقْتُ أَلْمَاءَ [for أَرَقْتُ (Tsr)], هَرَذْتُ أَلْشَىءَ [for أَرَذْتُ (Tsr)], and هَرَحْتُ أَلْدَابَةَ [for أَرَحْتُ (Aud, A) for أَرَحْتُ [690], in all of which they substitute the ة for the Hamza because of the agreement of the two [letters] in outlet, since both are from the farthest [part] of the throat [658, 732] (Tsr). IM mentions in the *Tashīl* that the letters of the [non-incorporative]

common substitution, meaning [common] in the speech of [all, or a body, of (Sn)] the Arabs, are twenty-two, these nine before mentioned being the letters of the [non-incorporative] substitution [common in etymology, which is the substitution (Sn) described in the Tsr above, and the Tashīl below, as] necessary in etymology. For he says “ The letters of the non-incorporative common substitution are combined by your [mnemonic] phrase لِحْدٍ صَرْفٍ شَكْسٍ آمِنٍ طَى ثَوْبٍ عَزَّتِهِ *For seriousness is a hand-natured confident man's turning the fold of the garment of his dignity* [above]; and [the letters] of the [non-incorporative substitution] necessary in etymology by the spelling of ” طَوَيْتُ دَايِمًا ” [above]. This is his language, which implies that the remaining [seven] letters [above] of the alphabet, vid. the ح, the خ, the ذ, the ظ, the ض, the غ, and the ق, [all dotted, except the first, which is undotted (Sn),] are sometimes substituted by way of anomaly [696 A]: and IJ says on the reading of AlA‘mash [or, as Z says in the K, of Ibn Mas‘ūd] فَشَرَّذَ بِهِمْ VIII. 59. *Then terrify thou, by them* [696 A], with the dotted ذ, that the ذ is a subst. for the د, as they say خَرَّادِلٌ لَحْمٌ خَرَّادِلٌ *meat cut up small* for خَرَادِلٌ [in the KF خَرَادِلٌ Sn)]; the idea connecting the د and ذ being that they are vocal [734], and approximate [in

outlet (732)] : while Z explains the reading as a transposition by putting the ج before the ع , [in the sense of فَفَرَّقَ *Then scatter thou* (K), as though it were a transposed form of شَذَرَ (K, B),] from their saying شَذَرَ مَدَّرَ [211] (A), a *comp.* meaning *in every direction* (Sn). It implies also that the above-mentioned substitution of the ج for the ن and ض , and of the ج for the ي , and similarly the substitution of the ن for the ج [688], like their saying رَفَلٌ for رَفْنٌ , which is the *long-tailed* horse, and for the م , like their saying أَمَغَرَتِ الشَّاةُ for أَنْغَرَتِ *The sheep gave its milk red*, when its milk comes forth red, like مَغْرَةٌ *red ochre*, are instances of the [substitution] common (A) in the speech of the Arabs, even though only a body of them (Sn). But that [substitution of the ج for the ن , and what follows it (Sn),] ought not [in every case] to be named “common”, the common being [only] what is regular, or frequent in some *dial.*, like (1) the عَجْعَاجَةٌ , [i. e., the substitution of the ج for the ي (Sn),] in the *dial.* of Kuḏā’a [694]: (2, 3) the عَنَّعَةٌ , [i. e., the substitution of the ع for the Hamza (Sn),] as in their saying ظَنَنْتُ عَنْكَ ذَاهِبٌ *I thought that thou wast going*, i. e., أَنْكَ [527, 580]; and the كَشْكَشَةٌ [below], as in their saying, when addressing a female, مَا الَّذِي جَاءَ بِشِ *What is that which has*

brought thee?, meaning بِكَ, and in the reading of some
 قَدْ جَعَلَ رِبْشَ تَحْتِشِ سَرِيًّا XIX. 24. *God hath made*
below thee a rivulet [617]: [both of which substitutions
 are] in the *dial.* of Tamīm, [this clause referring to the
 عَنْعَنَة also, as is proved by the language of the CK to be
 shortly cited (Sn)]: (4) the كَسْكَسَة in the *dial.* of Bakr,
 as in their saying, when addressing a female, أَبُوسْ *thy*
father and أُمُّسْ *thy mother*, meaning أَبُوك and أُمُّكَ
 [617, 680]. And, says IM in the CK, [even] this sort
 of substitution, [meaning the عَجْعَجَة and what follows
 it (Sn),] is fit to be mentioned [only] in books of lexi-
 cology, not in books of etymology, otherwise the ع
 would have to be mentioned, because its substitution for
 the mobile Hamza is regular in the *dial.* of Tamīm,
 that being named عَنْعَنَة; and the ن also would have to
 be mentioned, because its substitution for the ت of the
pron. is regular, as in يَا أَبْنُ الزُّبَيْرِ الْحَ [129, 169, 696
 A], meaning عَصِيْت; while the *exs.* of this [sort of substi-
 tution], among the letters substituted for others, are
 many: but in etymological substitution only that [substi-
 tution] ought to be reckoned whose omission would
 occasion error, as in your saying مَوْلٍ for مَالٍ [278, 683,
 703] (A), because the م must be converted into ل [684]
 (Sn); or difference from the most frequent [formation],

as in your saying سَقَايَةً for سَقَاءَةً [683] (A) *fem.* of سَقَاء [282] (Sn). This is his language. Many of the Etymologists reckon the letters of substitution [more general than the necessary (Sn)] as twelve, which they combine in many [mnemonic] phrases, whence طَالَ يَوْمٌ *He bestowed benefits on the day I succoured him* (A), with the *adv. pre.* to the *prop.* [124] (Sn). Some drop the ل [691], reckoning them as eleven, which they combine in the phrase أَجَدَ طُرِيتَ مِنْهَا *Do well (mayst thou be destroyed for it!)* [below] (A), where أَجَدَ is an *imp. v.* from إِجَادَةٌ (Sn). And some add the م and ز, reckoning them as fourteen, which they combine in the phrase أَنْصَتَ يَوْمَ زَلَّ طَاهُ جَدُّ *A grandfather was silent on the day a cook slipped* (A), where طَاهُ, *act. part.* of طَهَا, *aor.* يَطْهُو, i. q. طَبَخَ *cooked*, is *ag.* of زَلَّ; while جَدُّ is *ag.* of أَنْصَتَ (Sn). The letters of substitution, [i. e., that are sometimes substituted for others (R),] are [fourteen, which are combined in their phrase (Jrb)] أَنْصَتَ يَوْمَ جَدُّ طَاهُ زَلَّ [above] (SH) *Be silent on the day the grandfather of Tāh, a [proper (Jrb)] name [of a man (MAR)], has slipped (Jrb, MAR), i. e., on this day (Jrb).* And [A asserts that] Z reckons them as thirteen, which he combines in طَالَ يَوْمٌ اسْتَنْجَدَهُ *He asked him for succour*

on the day he bestowed benefits [below]. But this [combination], says IH, [who calls it “the phrase of one of them,” without specifying Z,] is erroneous, because it drops the *ص* and *ز* [695, 696], which are letters of substitution, as in *زَرَاطُ* and *زَقَرُ* for *صَرَاطُ* *road* and *صَقَرُ* *hawk*; and adds the *س* [696A], which is not a letter of substitution. For, if *إِسْمَعُ* be adduced [by way of exemplifying the occurrence of the *س* as a *subst.* (Sn)], then *إِذْكَرُ* [below] and *إِظْلَمَ* [above] are adducible, because *إِسْمَعُ* belongs to the *cat.* of [substitution for the sake of (Sn)] incorporation [756], not to the *cat.* of substitution stripped (A) of incorporation (Sn). This is the language of IH [in the SH, with some explanatory modifications and additions by A and Sn]: but I say that the GG allow *إِسْتَخَذَ* to be *orig.* *اِتَّخَذَ* [696 A, 759]; so that they substitute the *س* for the first *ت*, as they substitute the *ت* for the [second] *س* in *سِتَّ*, *orig.* *سِدْسُ* [689, 758]; and perhaps, therefore, Z takes that into consideration (A). [R, like A, asserts that] *إِسْتَنْجَدَهُ يَوْمَ طَالَ* [above] is the phrase of [Z,] the author of the M (R): but, according to what Z [really] mentions [in the M] (H), the letters of substitution are (M, H) fifteen (H), the [ten] letters of augmentation [671], and the *ط*, the *د*, the *ج*, the *ص* and the *ز* (M),

which are combined by your phrase *اِسْتَنْجَدَهُ يَوْمَ صَالٍ زُطِّ*
He asked him for succour on the day some Zutt [a race
of *Hindus*, arabicized form of جَت with Fath (KF),]
attacked (M, H). As for the restriction of the letters
of substitution within the number mentioned by Z, what
is meant [by it] is the letters that are often substituted,
and that are strong in, and notorious for, that (IY).
According to what S mentions, [which is adopted by
IJ (B on II. 1.),] they are eleven letters (B, A) eight
letters of augmentation [671], vid. all but the ل and س ;
and three others, vid. the د , the ط , and the ج (A) :
which are combined by *اَجِدْ طَوِيَّتَ مِنْهَا* [above]. And
some add seven others, vid. the ل in *اُصِيْلَالٌ* [above], the
ص and ز in *صِرَاطٌ* [695] and *زِرَاطٌ* [above], the ف in *اَجْدَانُ*
[below], the ع in *اَعْنُ* [580], the ث in *ثُرُوغُ الدَّلْوِ* [below],
and the ب in *بَاْ اَسْبَكَ* [696A]; so that they become
eighteen (B). But the first opinion, vid. that of S, is
the well-known one (IY). S does not reckon the ص
and ز [above] in the chapter on Substitution, but Sf
reckons them at the end of [his commentary on] the
Book. And with them he reckons the ش of the *كَشْكَشَةُ*
[above], which is a *subst.* for the ن of the *fem.* [696A],
as in *تَضَحَكَ مِنِّي اَلْحِ* [617]: but, as for that which is
added after the ن of the *fem.* as in *اَكْرَمْتِكُش* [617, 671],
it does not belong to this [*cat.*, being an addition, not a

substitution]. And S does not reckon the س [above], as Z reckons it. They say that the ث occurs as a *subst.* [696A]: F transmits, on the authority of Ya'kūb, ثُرُوغُ الدَّلْوِ *the outlets for the water between the cross-pieces of the leathern bucket* [above] for فُرُوغَهَا, which is from تَفْرِيعٌ *emptying*. And similarly the ب: F transmits, on the authority of As, بَا آسَمَكَ [696A], i. e., مَا آسَمَكَ *What is thy name?* (R): [while] مَكَّةُ Makka and بَكَّةُ Bakka are two *dial. vars.* for the proper name of the Sacred City, like their saying النَّبَيْطُ *AnNubaiṭ* and النَّمَيْطُ *AnNumaiṭ* for the name of a place in AdDahnà; and similar instances of interchangeability are رَأْتُمُ *an established matter* and رَأْتَبُ [رَأْتَبُ *constant* and لَزِمُ (B on III. 90),] and حُمَّى مُغْبِطَةٌ *continual fever* and مُغْبِطَةٌ (K on III. 90). The ح [696A] occurs anomalously, in poetry, as a *subst.* for the خ: the poet says, [describing the beauty of the women by the brilliance of their faces (MAR),]

يَنْفَخْنَ مِنْهُ لَهَبًا مَنفُوحًا * لَمَعًا يَرَى لَا ذَاكِيًا مَقْدُوحًا
[*They blow from it (the face) a flame blown, a gleam that is seen to be not blazing, nor struck from a flint, orig. مَنفُوحًا (MAR)*]; and Ru'ba says

غَزْرُ الْأَجَارِيِّ كَرِيمُ السِّنْحِ * أَبْلَجُ لَمْ يُولَدْ بِنَجْمِ الشَّحْمِ
(R) *Liberal in his ways, noble in origin, having a*

wide space between the eyebrows, not born at the rising of the star of niggardliness, where he changes the *ح* of *سِنْح* into *ح* for the exigency of the rhyme (MAR). The *ج* occurs anomalously as a *subst.* for the *ج*, as in *نَثَرَةٌ* and *نَثَلَةٌ* for a coat of mail [696A], because they say *نَثَلَ عَلَيْهِ دِرْعَهُ* He put on him his coat of mail, not *نَثَرَهَا*; so that the *ج*, being more generally employed, is the original. The *ف* is a *subst.* for the *ث*: F transmits, on the authority of Ya'kūb, *قَامَ زَيْدٌ ثُمَّ عَمَّرَ*, Zaid stood, and afterwards 'Amr [696A], i. e., *جَدَفٌ* [540]; and they say *جَدَثٌ* and *جَدَفٌ* [540], the *ف* being a *subst.*, because they say *أَجْدَاثٌ* graves [below], but not *أَجْدَافٌ* [above] (R); [though] Fr says that the Arabs make the *ف* and *ث* interchangeable in the language, saying *جَدَثٌ* and *جَدَفٌ*, *pl.* *أَجْدَاثٌ* and *أَجْدَافٌ* (Jh). The *ك* occurs as a *subst.* for (1) the *ق*, as *عَرَبِيٌّ قُمٌّ* a pure Arab and *كُمٌّ* [696A], *pl.* *أَقْكَاحٌ*, but not *أَنْكَاحٌ*: (2) the *ت*, as *يَا أَبْنَ الزَّيْبِرِ أَلْحِ* [above]; though this may be a putting of the *acc. pron.* in place of the *nom.* [169]. And the *ع* in [the *dial.* of (MAR)] Tamīm is a *subst.* for the Hamza in [*عَنْ* orig. (MAR)] *أَنْ* [508], which is the *عَنْعَنَةٌ* [above] of Tamīm: the poet says *أَعَنْ تَرَسَّنتَ أَلْحِ* [580, 683] (R); and they say

عَنْ زَيْدًا قَائِمٌ *that Zaid is standing* for أَنْ [696A],
and recite

فَعَيْنَاكِ عَيْنَاهَا وَجِيدُكِ جِيدُهَا

سَوَى عَنْ عَظَمِ السَّاقِ مِنْكَ دَتِيقِ

[617] *except that the bone etc.* (IY). And it is only because these things are rare and anomalous that IH does not mention them. As for the [original] letters, for which these letters are substituted, they will be mentioned in the [subsequent] analysis [683-696A] (R). Substitution is recognizable by reversion to the original in some of the variations [of the word containing the *subst.* (Sn)], (1) invariably, as in جَدَفَ [above], because in the *pl.* they say أَجْدَاتُ [above] with the ت only : (2) prevalently, as in أَفْلَطَ [below], i. e., أَفْلَكَتَ *saved*, where the ط is a *subst.* for the ت, because the ت is more prevalently used in it ; and similarly in لَصَّتْ [below] for لُصٌّ *thief, robber* [689], the ت being a *subst.* for the ص, because its *pl.* لُصُوصٌ is more frequent than لُصُوتٌ (A) : (a) the exemplification of the second [case], vid. reversion prevalently, by أَفْلَطَ [above] is not correct, because the prevalence of reversion to the ت is in أَفْلَكَتَ itself, which is more used with the ت than with the ط ; not in its variations, like مُفْلَتٌ *saving*, مُفْلَكَتٌ *saved*, and

اِنْفَلَاتْ [act of] *saving*, because the ت, as Dm says, is inseparable from its variations: so that A ought to exemplify the first [case] by it also, and to confine himself to such as كَصَتْ in exemplifying the second: (b) لِصْ with Kasr of the ل is chaster than [لُصْ with] Damm or Fath; but كَصَتْ [above] is with Fath of the ل: that is transcribed by SBd from the commentary [of Jrb] on the SH [689] (Sn). And, if that [reversion, invariably or prevalently (Sn),] be not established in the case of a biform [expression (Sn)], then the latter is from two o. fs., as اَرَّخَ and وَرَّخَ dated, and كَدَّ and اَكَّدَّ corroborated, because all the variations occur with both [letters], so that one [letter] is not a *subst.* for the other (A). The *subst.* is [said by IH to be (A)] recognizable (1) by [the multitude of (A) the paradigms of (SH, Sn)] its derivation, [i. e., by the multitude of paradigms coinciding in derivation with the expression that contains the *subst.*, but containing the original letter, for which it is substituted (Sn),] as in تَرَاثٌ inheritance, heritage [689] (SH, A), i. e., property inherited (Jrb, Sn), since "the paradigms of its derivation" are وَرَثَ he inherited, [يَرِثُ he inherits (482, 700) (R),] وَارِثٌ heir, [and (A)] مَوْرُوثٌ inherited (R, A), all of which are derived from وَرَاثَةٌ inheriting, as تَرَاثٌ is derived from

it (R); and [similarly (R)] in أَجُوهٌ [683] (SH), *pl.* of وَجْهٌ *face* (Jrb), since تَوَجَّهْتُ *betaking oneself, facing*, and وَجِيهٌ *worthy of regard* are derived from وَجْهٌ, from which أَجُوهٌ is derived (R): (a) وَرِثٌ [above], وَرِثٌ, and مَوْرُوثٌ indicate that the *o. f.* of قُرَآثٌ is دُرَآثٌ; and similarly وَجْهٌ, [وَجِيهٌ], تَوَجَّهْتُ, and مُوَاجَهَةٌ indicate that the Hamza in أَجُوهٌ is a *subst.* for a, (Jrb): for, when, in place of one letter is an expression, all “the paradigms of its derivation” contain another letter, you recognize that the letter in it is a *subst.* for what is found in place thereof in “the paradigms of its derivation” (R): (2) by the paucity of its usage, [i. e., of the usage of the expression containing the *subst.* (R, Sn),] as in أَلْتَّعَالِبُ (SH, A) for أَلْتَّعَالِبُ *the foxes*, and أَلَا رَأَيْتُ for أَلَا رَأَيْتُ *the hares*; while S cites لَهَا أَشَارِيرُ الْحِ [685] (A): for, أَلْتَّعَالِبُ being more used than أَلَا رَأَيْتُ, the ي in the latter is known to be a *subst.* for the ب (Jrb): (a) IH means that, when there are two synonymous expressions, between which there is no difference in form, except for a letter in one of them, which may be a *subst.* for the letter [similarly situated] in the other, then, if one of the two expressions be less used than the other, that letter in that less used [expression] is a *subst.* for the letter similarly situated in the more used, as

التَّعَالَى and التَّعَالِبُ [above], which are synonymous, while the first is less used than the second (R) : (b) the substitution in التَّعَالَى is recognizable by “the paradigms of its derivation” [above] also, because تَعَالٍ is *pl.* of تَعَلَّبٌ *fox*, the *female* of which is called تَعَلْبَةٌ, and the *male* تَعَلْبَانُ (Jrb) : (c) IJ says “And التَّعَالَى may be *pl.* of تَعَالَةٌ [7], being [*orig.* تَعَاعِلٌ, but (Sn)] transposed [by putting the J before the Hamza (Sn)]; so that it is like شَرَاعَى for شَرَاعُ *statutes, ordinances*, [except that the Hamza, when postponed from its place, is changed into ع for alleviation (Sn)] : but what S says is more appropriate, in order that التَّعَالَى may be like أَرَانِيهَا [in the verse]; and also because تَعَالَةٌ is a generic *n.*, and the *pl.* of generic *ns.* is of weak authority,” where by “generic *n.*” he means generic proper name (A), and by “generic *ns.*” generic proper names (Sn) : (3) by the fact that it, [i. e., expression (R, Jrb, Sn) containing the *subst.* (Sn).] is a *deriv.* [of another expression (R, Jrb, Sn)], while the [original (R, Sn)] letter is an *aug.* [in the *o. f.* (Jrb), like the ا of ضَارِبٌ (R), in which case the letter in the *deriv.* corresponding to the *aug.* letter in the *o. f.* is a *subst.* for it (Jrb)], as in ضَوِيرٌ [686] (SH, A), *dim.* of ضَارِبٌ [278]; for, since the *o. f.*, [vid. the

non-dim. (Sn),] is known, this , is known to be substituted for the † (A): (4) by the fact that it, [i. e., the expression (R, Jrb, Sn) containing the original letter (Sn).] is a *deriv.*, while it, [i. e., the original letter (R, Sn),] is a *rad.* [in the *deriv.* (Jrb), like the , and s of مَوِيَّة (R), in which case the letter corresponding to it in the *o. f.*, is a *subst.* for it (Jrb)], as in مَوِيَّة [275] (SH, A), which is [a *deriv.*, because it is (Jrb)] the *dim.* of مَلَّ [683]; for, since the *dim.* is مَوِيَّة [with the s (Jrb)], it is known that [the s is original, because the formation of the *dim.* restores things to their *o. f.* (278, 282); so that (Jrb)] the Hamza [of مَلَّ (Jrb)] is a *subst.* for the s (Jrb, A): (a) IH's sayings "by the fact that etc." [in cases 3 and 4 above] mean by the fact that one expression is a *deriv.* of another, as the *dim.* is a *deriv.* of the *non-dim.* [274]; while, in the place of a letter in the *o. f.*, the *deriv.* contains a letter, which can be a *subst.* for the letter in the *o. f.*, as the , of ضَوِيَّب is a *subst.* for the † of ضَارِب; or for which the letter in the *o. f.* can be a *subst.*, as the † and Hamza of مَلَّ are *substs.* for the , and s, respectively, of مَوِيَّة: (b) by the fact, however, that one expression is a *deriv.* of another, while a letter in one of them differs from the [corresponding] letter in the other, you recognize only that one [letter] is a *subst.* for the other; but do not recognize which of them is a *subst.* for the other, the

recognition of that being dependent upon another thing, which is this:—you look at the *deriv.*: and then, if the motive for substitution in the *o. f.* be removed in the *deriv.*, as the cause of conversion [684] of the , into ! [in مآ] is removed in مويّ by the preceding letter's being pronounced with Damm, and [as] the cause of conversion [683] of the s into Hamza [in مآ], vid. the occurrence of the s, which is a quasi-unsound letter, after the !, which is quasi-augmentative, [is removed in مويّ by the disappearance of the !,] you recognize that the letter in the *deriv.* is original; but, if a cause of substitution, not [found] in the original, supervene in the *deriv.*, as the cause of conversion [686] of the ! in ضارب into , supervenes in ضريب by reason of the ف's being pronounced with Damm, you recognize that the letter in the *deriv.* is a *subst.*: (c) there is no doubt as to the obscurity of IH's expressions here (R): (5) by the fact that an unknown formation would be entailed (SH, A), if you did not judge a [particular] letter in a word to be a *subst.* for another (R), as in (a) هَرَاق [690] (SH, A), which is [judged to be (A)] *orig.* أَرَأَق (Jrb, A), since, if it were not so, its measure would necessarily be هَفْعَل, which is an unknown formation (A), not recognized among the measures (Sn), because there is no هَفْعَل [482] (Jrb); (b) اِصْطَبَّر [692] (SH), which is

orig. اَصْتَبِرَ, because there is no اِنْفَعَلَ (Jrb); (c) اِدَّارَكَ [667, 757] (SH), which is *orig.* تَدَارَكَ, its ت being changed into د because of the intention to incorporate, and the *conj.* Hamza put because of the impossibility of beginning with a quiescent, that being predicated because there is no اِنْدَاعَلَ, [اِنْدَاعَلَ (MASH),] or اِقَاعَلَ (Jrb); (a) this [argument that such formations are unknown] is true of هَفَعَلَ, but not of اِنْفَعَلَ and اِقَاعَلَ, because in every *v.* of the two formations, اِفْتَعَلَ and تَفَاعَلَ, when the ف of the first is a letter of covering [734], and the ف of the second is a د, ت, ث, etc. [757], the ف of the first must be followed by a ط [756], and the ف of the second may have the preceding letter incorporated into it; so that these two are regular, not unknown, formations: (b) you recognize the two letters in these two formations to be *subst.* by the fact that the ط does not occur in place of the ت of اِفْتَعَلَ except when preceded by a letter of covering [692, 756]; while, the ط being akin to the ت in outlet [732], and to the preceding letter of covering in covering [734], the substitution of the ط for the ت is a probable supposition, because of the heaviness of the ت after the letter of covering, and the affinity of the ط to the letter of covering and to the ت: and the incorporated letter, as in اِدَّكَرَ [above] and اِثَّاقَلَ [757], may be similarly accounted

for (R). Substitution is [employed] (1) for the sake of lightening [the pronunciation of the word]: (2) because of the conformity of the letters, and their approximation in (a) outlet [732]; (b) qualities, like vocality, surdity, etc. [734] (Jrb).

§. 683. The Hamza is substituted for (M, SH, A) seven letters (A), (1—3) the letters of softness [663, 697, 734] (M, SH), vid. the ا, , and ي (IY, A); (4) the ة; (5) the ع (M, SH, A); (6) the خ; (7) the غ (A). Its substitution for the letters of softness is of two kinds, regular and irregular. And the regular is of two kinds, necessary and allowable (M, Jrb). As for the necessary, it is [found] in (1) the ل, as كَسَا and دَا [328, 723]; (2) the ع, as قَاتِلٌ and بَاتِعٌ [708]; (3) the ف, as أَوَّاصِلٌ [below]. And, since alteration is more appropriate in the final [than in the medial or initial], what has the substitution in its ل is put by IH [and others] before what has it in its ع, and what has it in its ع before what has it in its ف (Jrb). The Hamza is [necessarily (A, Tsr)] substituted for the , and ي in four cases, (1) where the , or ي is final, [whether a ل or a co-ordinative *aug.* (Tsr, Sn),] after an *aug.* ا, [whether the initial of its word be pronounced with Kasr, Fath, or Damm (Tsr, Sn)—so in the Tsr (Sn),] as كَسَا [above], سَا [246], and دَعَا *prayer*, [where the

Hamza is substituted for a و, the o. f. being كَسَا, سَمَا, and دَعَا (Tsr)]; and as بَنَاء [672], ظَبَاء gazelles [237, 260] (Aud. A), and فَنَاء evanescence (Aud) and قَضَاء decree (A), where the Hamza is substituted for a ي, the o. f. being بَنَاء, ظَبَاء, and فَنَاء [and قَضَاء] (Tsr); and, [says Kh in the Tsr (Sn),] as عِلْبَاء and قُوبَاء [248], where the Hamza is substituted for a ي added for co-ordination with قُرْطَاس and قُرْنَاس [273] (Tsr, Sn): contrary to such as (a) قَاوَلَ conversed with [703] and بَايَعَ trafficked with [686] (Aud, A), تَعَاوَنَ helped one another and تَبَايَنَ became separated (A), إِدَاةٌ and هِدَايَةٌ [below] (Tsr), for want of finality (A), because the و and ي occur as an ع (Tsr, Sn) in the first two [exs., as also in the next two]; while the last two words are formed with the [inseparable] ة of feminization [266], contrary to the adventitious [ة of] feminization, which does not prevent substitution, as بَنَاءٌ fem. of بَنَاءٌ builder [below] (Tsr): (b) غَزْوٌ and طَبْيٌ [643, 719] (Aud, A), for want of the ة (A, Tsr): (c) وَاء [below] (Aud, A), the name of the [particular (Sn)] letter (Tsr, Sn), and آء [below] (Aud, A), pl. of آيَةٌ [684] (Tsr, Sn) a mark, and a verse of a chapter [in the K̄ur] (Sn), for want of augmentativeness in the ة (A), because the ة in both [exs.] is [converted from a (Sn)] rad. (A, Tsr), so

that there is no substitution [in the final], otherwise two transformations, [vid. conversion of their ع into ا, and conversion of their ج into Hamza (Sn),] would occur in succession, which is disallowed (A): (a) as for ^او, [723], its measure is ^عفَعْل with two Fathas: but as to whether its ع be a ^ي or a ^و, there are two sayings, the first by F, and the second by Akh [698]; and, according to both sayings, the ا is converted from a *rad.*: (b) as for ^اآ [302], its *o. f.* is ^اآي with two Fathas; but the first is converted into ا, because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684] (Tsr): (c) the ا shares with the ^و, and ^ي in that [predicament; so that, when final after an *aug.* ا, it is changed into Hamza (Tsr)], as ^احَمْرَاء [273, 385]: for its *o. f.* is ^احَمْرَى [with an abbreviated ا (Tsr)], like ^اسَكْرَى [250, 272]; but an ا is added before the final for prolongation, like the ا of ^اكِتَاب [671, 673] and ^اغَلَام [369]; and, [two ا s then concurring, which it is not possible to articulate (Tsr),] the second [ا (Tsr)] is changed into Hamza (Aud, A), because this is from the same outlet as the ا [732]; and the vowel [of inflection], which was assumed on the ا [16], appears on it (Tsr): (d) this substitution is retained in company with the adventitious ʾ of femininization, as ^ابَنَاء fem. of ^ابَنَاء [above]: but, if the ʾ of femininization be unadventitious, substitution is disallowed, as ^اهُدَايَة *guidance*

[above] and سَقَايَةٌ [266, 305], إِدَاوَةٌ [281, 721] and عَدَاوَةٌ
enmity, because the word is formed with the [inseparable] ة, i. e., is not formed [without a ة (Sn)] as a *masc.*
 (A), being either not constituted as a *masc.* at all, like هَدَايَةٌ [above]; or shaped as a *masc.* in another sense,
 like سَقَايَةٌ [above], since سَقَاءٌ is the *skin of a lamb, or kid, prepared [as a vessel] for [holding] water, or milk* (Sn): (e) IM says in the Tashīl that the letter of softness is sometimes sounded true, [i. e., retained without conversion (Sn),] with the adventitious, and changed with the inseparable [ة of femininization], the first as in the *prov.* اسْقِي رَقَاشَ فَإِنَّهَا سَقَايَةٌ *Give water to Raḳāsh [a woman's name (Md)], for verily she is a great giver of water, [applied to the beneficent, meaning "Be beneficent to him because of his beneficence" (Jh, Sn),] where, since it is a prov., and provs. are not altered [1], سَقَايَةٌ resembles what is formed with the [inseparable] ة of femininization; [but this, in my opinion, requires consideration, because it is good as an assignment of the cause for the ي's being sounded true after this phrase became a prov., not for its being sounded true when this phrase was first spoken (Sn);] while some say سَقَاءٌ سَقَايَةٌ with Hamza, as when not in a *prov.*: and the second as in سَقَاءٌ صَلَايَةٌ [266, 721]: (f) the predicament of the two augments [228] of*

the *du.* is like that of the ة of feminization in being accompanied by this substitution, as *رَدَاءَانِ* and *كِسَاءَانِ* (A); i. e., allowably, which is not incompatible with IM's saying "And such as *عِلْبَاءٌ*, *كِسَاءٌ*, and *حِيَاءٌ* [are dualized] with a , or Hamza" [230] (Sn): but, if the word be [*orig.*] formed as a *du.*, substitution is disallowed, as in their saying *عَقَلْتُهُ بِثَنَائَيْنِ* [228, 230, 721]: (g) it is objected that such a *rel. n.* [below] as *غَاوِي*, when you curtail it according to the *dial.* of those who do not understand [the elided letter] as expressed [58], contravenes the rule mentioned [in IM's saying "Then substitute the Hamza for a , and *ي*, when final after an *aug. ا*", because constructively "for every , and *ي*" (Sn)]: for you say *يَا غَاُ* O *Ghāwī* with Damm of the , without substitution, notwithstanding that it falls within the rule mentioned; the reason that substitution is not employed being that *غَاُ* has already been transformed by elision of its *ل* [301], [on account of the *ي* of relation, as is expressly stated by IUK (Sn),] so that two transformations are not combined in it (A): (h) this objection is not restricted to the "*rel. n.*" [above]: for, when [the *voc.*] *غَاوِي*, without [the *ي* of] relation, is [similarly] curtailed, its predicament is like that [of the *voc.* *غَاوِي*, since here also you say *يَا غَاُ*]; and hence Syt, when he quotes the language of IUK, omits this

expression [*“rel. n.”*] from it: but the condition of the curtailment of غَارِي or غَارِي is that it should be a proper name, as is plainly laid down [58]: (i) the objection is answered by saying that what is mentioned does not contravene [the rule], because the , of غَا is not ‘final’; but medial, the elision being accidental (Sn): (j) [A suggests that,] if IM had put “when a ل” in place of “when final”, saying “when a ل after an *aug.* |”, it would have been right (A), because it would have excluded غَا, where the , is an ع: but the expression “when a ل” is open to the objection that it does not include such as عِلْبَاء and قُوبَاء [above], where the Hamza is substituted for a ي added for co-ordination; and therefore IUK says that the rule should be corrected by saying “for a , or ي that is a ل or co-ordinated with one”: while A’s expression “when a ل” and IUK’s correction of the rule are both open to the objection that they do not include such as حِرَاء [above], where the Hamza is substituted for the | of feminization (Sn): (k) the manner of this substitution is disputed:— (α) it is said that the ي and , are changed into Hamza, which is apparently the language of IM: (β) critical judges of etymology say that an | is substituted for the , and ي, and afterwards the | is changed into Hamza: for, when كَسَا and دَاي are said, the , and ي are mobile

after a Fathā [684], there being no barrier between them except the *aug.* |, which is not an insuperable barrier, because of its quiescence and augmentativeness; and, in addition to that, they are in the seat of alteration, vid. the end [of the word]; so that they are converted into |, because made to accord with [the , and ى in] the *cat.* of عَصَا and رَحَى [719]; and, two quiescents then concurring, the second | is converted into Hamza, because this is from the same outlet as the | [732] (A): the first | not being converted, because its conversion would defeat the object of [putting] it, vid. prolongation; and because alteration is more suitable to finals; and because mobilization of the second results in the appearance of the inflection, by which the distinction between the meanings is produced [19] (Sn): (2) where the , or ى occurs as an ع of an *act. part.* from a *v.* whose ع is transformed, [whether the *act. part.* mentioned be, or be not, denuded of the sign of the *fem.*, *du.*, and *pl.* (Sn),] as قَائِلٌ and بَآئِعٌ [above] (Aud, A), which are *orig.* قَاوِلٌ and بَايِعٌ; but are [transformed, because (Tsr)] made to accord with the *v.* (A, Tsr) in transformation (A), though the transformation in them is by conversion of the ع into Hamza [below], and in the *v.* by conversion of it into | (Sn): contrary to such as عَرَرَ was blind of one eye [684], *act. part.* عَارٍ [708], and عَيْنٌ was large in the eye, *act. part.*

عَايِنُ (Aud, A), because the ع, being sounded true in the v., from fear of confusion with عَارَ rendered blind of one eye and عَانَ smote with the evil eye, is sounded true in the act. part. [also] (Tsr): (a) this substitution is current in what is on the measure of فَاعِلٌ or فَاعِلَةٌ when not an act. part., like جَائِرٌ [247], which is [spelt with a ج and ى by Kh, who expounds it as (Sn)] a garden, whence

صَعْدَةٌ نَابِتَةٌ فِي جَائِرٍ * أَيْنَمَا آلِ رِيحٌ تَمِيلُهَا تَمِيلُ

[419] (A), where it is spelt with a ح and ر [247] by Al'Ainī, who expounds it as a place where water collects (Sn); and like جَائِرَةٌ, which is a piece of timber put in the middle of the roof: but the language of IM here and in the Kāfiya does not include that, [because it has no v., nay, is not really an act. part. (Sn)]; though he notices it in the Tashīl (A): (b) Kh says in the Tsr (Sn):—What IM mentions, following others, vid. that the act. part. is subordinate to the v. in transformation and sounding true, is dubious for two reasons, firstly that transformation is sometimes introduced into the act. part., when it has no v. at all, like جَائِرٌ [with the ج and ى, which is a garden (Tsr),] and [its fem. (Tsr)] جَائِرَةٌ, [which is the piece of timber in the middle of the roof (Tsr)]; for, if they assert that these two are

transferred from *act. parts.*, they multiply transfer in generic substantives, where it is rare, nay, is said to be disallowed : and secondly that, according to the sound [opinion], the *qual.* is subordinate to the *inf. n.*, not to the *v.* [331] (Tsr, Sn) : but the answer to the first [reason] is that the transfer is a necessary inference [from the formation], while the multiplication is denied ; and to the second is that the subordination of the *qual.* to the *inf. n.*, according to the preferable [opinion], is in respect of derivation, which is not incompatible with what they say here, vid. that its subordination to the *v.* is in respect of transformation and sounding true (Sn) : (c) [the manner of] this substitution also is disputed :—(a) it is said that the , or ع is changed into Hamza, as IM says (A) ; but, if A had said “ which is apparently the language of IM ”, as he says in the corresponding passage [of case 1 (k, α)] above, it would have been better (Sn) : (b) the majority say “ Nay, they are converted into ا , [because each of them is mobile after a Fatha separated (from it) by a not insuperable barrier (Sn)] ; and afterwards the ا is changed into Hamza, as before mentioned [under case 1 (k, β)] in connection with كَسَّآء and دَوَّآء ; while the Hamza is pronounced with Kasr, according to the *o. f.* of [mobilization in] the concurrence of two quiescents [664] : (c) Mb says that the ا of فَاعِل is inserted before

the converted ʾ in قَال and بَاع [684, 703], and their likes; so that, two ʾ s then concurring, both of which are quiescent, [the one representing] the ع is mobilized, because it is *orig.* mobile; and the ʾ, when mobilized, becomes a Hamza [below] (A): (d) according to the saying of Mb, then, the , and ى are not regarded in the *act. part.*, contrary to their case according to the two previous sayings: this is what appears to me to be the truth; and by it the saying of Mb differs [from what is apparently the language of IM, as well as] from the saying of the majority (Sn): (e) such [formations] as قَائِل and بَائِع are written with the ى, according to the predicament of alleviation [by softening the Hamza between pure Hamza and pure ى, as is proved by what follows (Sn)], because the rule of the Hamza in those [formations] is to be softened between Hamza and ى [658], for which reason it is written as a ى: (f) as for changing the Hamza in those [formations] into pure ى, they categorically declare it to be a solecism: and so [do they declare] sounding the ى true in بَائِع, [i. e., pronouncing it as though it were the *rad.* (ى), not changed from the Hamza, so that this (solecism) is not the same as the preceding (Sn)]; while, if the ى might be sounded true in بَائِع, the , might be sounded true in قَائِل: (g) for that reason, [i. e., because the “changing” or “sounding true” mentioned by A is a solecism (Sn),] the

dotting of the *ى* of قَائِلٌ and بَآئِعٌ is disallowed : MM says "The dotting of the *ى* of قَائِلٌ and بَآئِعٌ is vulgar : and", says he, "I have seen in one of IJ's compositions that F entered the presence of one of the so-called learned ; and lo, before him was a piece of paper having قَائِلٌ written on it with two dots below [the *ى*] : so F said to that Master ' Whose writing is this ?', and he said ' My writing'; whereupon F turned to his companion, and said ' We have wasted our steps in visiting his like', and instantly went out" (A) : (3) where the , or *ى* occurs [in the *pl.*] after the | of مَفَاعِلٌ [18, 256], while, in the *sing.*, it is an *aug.* letter of prolongation [third], as [عَجُوزٌ, *pl.* (Tsr)] عَجَائِرُ, and [صَحِيفَةٌ, *pl.* (Tsr)] صَحَائِفُ [246, 703, 717] : (a) the | shares with the , and *ى* in this case, as قِلَادَةٌ necklace, collar, *pl.* قِلَائِدُ, and رِسَالَةٌ, *pl.* رِسَائِلُ [246, 717] (Aud) : (b) IM indicates the third [case] by his saying "And the [letter of (Sn)] prolongation", [whether a , , a *ى*, or an | (Sn),] "when an *aug.* third in the *sing.*, is seen as Hamza in the like of [the *pl.*] قِلَائِدُ [above]," i. e., The *aug.* letter of prolongation third [in the *sing.*] must be changed into Hamza in the *pl.* on the paradigm of مَفَاعِلُ, as قِلَادَةٌ, *pl.* قِلَائِدُ [above]; صَحِيفَةٌ, *pl.* صَحَائِفُ; and عَجُوزٌ, *pl.*

عَجَائِرُ (A): (c) that [conversion of such a letter of prolongation into Hamza] is because, when you pluralize قِلَادَةٌ [and رِسَالَةٌ (Tsr)] on the paradigm of مَفَاعِلُ, the | of the *pl.* occurs third, while the | of قِلَادَةٌ [and رِسَالَةٌ (Tsr)] occurs after it; so that, two |s being combined, elision or mobilization of one of them is unavoidable; and, if the first [| (Tsr)] were elided, the indication of the *pl.* would escape; while, if they elided the second, the formation of the *pl.* would be altered, because this *pl.* must have a letter pronounced with Kasr between its | and the letter of [its (Sn)] inflection, in order that the *pl.* may be like مَفَاعِلُ; so that nothing remains but mobilization of the second [| (Tsr)] with Kasr, in order that it may be like the ع of مَفَاعِلُ; and the |, when mobilized, is converted into Hamza [below]: while the و of عَجُورٌ and the ي of صَحِيفَةٌ [above] are assimilated to the | of قِلَادَةٌ [and رِسَالَةٌ (Tsr)], because they are preceded by a vowel homogeneous with them, [and are quiescent; so that they are treated (Tsr)] like the |: this is the reason given by IJ: (d) Khl says that the |, ي, and و, are turned into Hamza in صَحَائِفُ, رِسَائِلُ, and عَجَائِرُ, because the letters of softness in these words are not *orig.* mobile; but are only dead letters, not entered by a vowel: so that, when they occur after

the h , [which, being quiescent, requires to be followed by a mobile,] they are turned into Hamza; and do not appear [in their own form], since they have *orig.* no vowel (Tsr, Sn): so in the (Tsr): (e) [the preceding *exs.* are] contrary to [such as (A)] (α) قَسُورٌ [or قَسُورٌ, which is *a lion* (Tsr, Sn)], *pl.* قَسَاوِرُ [253, 675] (Aud, A), because the w , [in the *sing.*] is not a letter of prolongation (Tsr): (b) [مَفَارِجٌ *desert*, *pl.* مَفَاوِزُ (A), مَعِيشَةٌ, *pl.* مَعَايِشُ [246, 717] (Aud, A), and مَثَوِبَةٌ *recompense*, *pl.* مَثَابِبُ (A), because the letter of prolongation in the *sing.* is *rad.*, so that it is not changed [in the *pl.*] (Tsr): (α) [مُصِيبَةٌ *affliction*, *pl.* (Aud) مَصَائِبُ, and مَنَارَةٌ *minaret*, *pl.* (Aud) مَنَازِرُ, [with change, notwithstanding that the letter of prolongation in the *sing.* is *rad.*, because it is the ع of the word (Tsr),] are anomalous (Aud, A), what facilitates its change being the assimilation of the *rad.* to the *aug.* (Tsr); and the *o. f.* is مَصَابِبُ and مَنَارِبُ, which also are said (A): β مَعَايِشُ also, with Hamza in one version transmitted from Nāfi', is anomalous, the well-known [version] transmitted from him being with y , as [mentioned] in [the Commentary of] IUK [on the IM] (Sn): (c) صَيْرَفٌ [373, 674], عَوْسَجٌ [373, 675], and حَايِطٌ [247]; and مِفْتَاحٌ [366, 379], قِنْدِيلٌ [253, 396], and مَكُونٌ *a certain dry measure* [685]: because the unsound

letter is not third (A); while صَيْرَف and عَوَسَج are [also] excluded by the restriction to the letter of prolongation (Sn): (4) where the و or ی occurs as second of two soft letters having the | of مَفَاعِلُ [18, 256] between them, whether the two soft letters be (a) two ی s, as in فَيَائِف , pl. of نَيْف (Aud, A), which is the *excess over the decimal number*, from نَاف , aor. يَنْيِف ; whereas the saying of Sht that its o. f. is نَيْوَف , [like هَيِّن (251, 716) (Tsr),] is based upon [the theory] that it is from نَاف , aor. يَنْوَف (Tsr, Sn): so in the Tsr (Sn): (b) two و s, as in اَوَّادُ [715], pl. of اَوَّل [357]: or (c) different, [one being a ی, and the other a و (Tsr), which includes two cases, precedence of the ی before the و, and the converse thereof, both exemplified by A (and Kh) (Sn),] as in سَيَّادُ pl. of سَيِّد [251], [since it is (Aud)] orig. سَيَّوَدُ [685, 716] (Aud, A); and صَوَّادُ , pl. of صَادِد hunter (A, Tsr), where the و is a *subst.* for the | of صَادِد [247, 686] (Sn): orig. سَيَّارِد and صَوَّارِد [715] (A): (α) what follows the | of the pl. is changed into Hamza in the four *exs.*, because the succession of three soft letters contiguous to the final is deemed heavy (Tsr): (b) this substitution is not peculiar to what follows the | of the pl. [715]; so that, if you formed from قَوْلُ a [sing. (Sn)]

like عَوَارِضُ 'Uwārid, you would say قُرَآئِلُ with the Hamza: this is the opinion of S and the majority (A, Tsr), and IM proceeds upon it in the Tashil (A); but Akh and Zj dissent [in that (Tsr)], holding substitution to be disallowed in the *sing.*, because it is light (A, Tsr), contrary to the *pl.* (Tsr): (c) the predicament of this Hamza in respect of its being written as a ي, and of dotting's being disallowed, is [the same] as was mentioned in the case of قَائِلُ and بَائِعُ above (A). And here is a [fifth (A)] case peculiar to the , (Aud, A):— when two , s are combined, and the first is initial, [at the beginning of the word (Tsr),] while the second is either mobile [unrestrictedly (Tsr)], or quiescent, [but] original as a , , then the first , is [necessarily (Tsr)] changed into Hamza (Aud), because of two matters, (1) that reduplication at the beginning of a word is rare, the only instances of it being some well-known words, like دَدَنُ [357, 672, 674]; and, since reduplication at the beginning of a word is rare with sound letters, it is impossible with the , , from the heaviness of the latter: (2) that, since they allow [the initial , of] جُورُ [below] and the like, which is a single , , to be changed [into Hamza], on account of [the fact] that, by reason of the Damma, it is like two , s, they are naturally disposed to make the change obligatory when two , s are [actually] present, because two , s are heavier than a , and a

Damma : these two reasons are given by S. Two cases are included under that [rule], (1), where the second, is mobile ; (2) where it is quiescent, [but] original as a , (Tsr) : the first [case (Tsr)] as in the *pl.* of *وَاصِلَةٌ* joining and *وَائِيَةٌ* preserver, where you say *أَوَاصِلٌ* [357, 661] and *أَوَائِي* (Aud), like *ضَارِبَةٌ*, *pl.* *ضَوَارِبُ* [247, 383, 686] (Tsr), *orig.* *وَوَاصِلٌ* and *وَوَائِي* (Aud), with two , s [below], the first of which is changed into Hamza, as *ضَرَبَتْ صَدْرَهَا* *أَلْوَلَى* [48] (Tsr) : and the second [case (Tsr)] as in *أَلْوَلَى* *fem.* of *أَلَوَّلٌ* [357], *orig.* *وَوَلَى* [below] with two , s, the first being a ف pronounced with Damm, and the second a quiescent ع (Aud), original as a , ; while its *pl.* is *أَوَّلٌ* [357], *orig.* *وَوَّلٌ* [below], which is treated as above mentioned [under the first case] (Tsr) : contrary to such as (a) [the passives (Tsr)] *وَوُفِيَ* and *وَوُرِيَ*, [below], where [it is not necessary that the first , should be changed into Hamza, because (Tsr)] the second is quiescent, [and] converted from the ا of *فَاعَلَ* [490, 671] (Aud), with Fath of the ع, *vid.* *وَأَنَّى* reached and *وَأَرَى* hid ; so that it is not original as a , , because it is a *subst.* for an *aug.* ا (Tsr) : (b) *أَلْوَلَى* with two , s, alleviated [658] from *أَلْوَلَى* [below] with a , pronounced with Damm, and then a Hamza, *fem.* of *أَلَوَّلٌ*, the *أَفْعَلُ* [of superiority (Tsr)] from *وَأَلٌ* [357], *i. q.* *لَجَأٌ* fled for refuge (Aud),

where it is not necessary that the first , should be changed into Hamza, because the second , , being converted from a Hamza, is not original as a , : (a) allowability is to be understood from the negation of necessity (Tsr). As for [this] substitution of the Hamza for the , , it is [said by Z to be] (IY) for every , occurring as an initial, coupled with another [, that is] inseparable [from the formation], as in (1) ^{أَوَاصِلُ} and ^{أَوَاقٍ} [above], *pls.* of ^{وَاصِلَةٌ} and ^{وَاقِيَةٌ}, as ^{ضَرَبَتْ صَدْرَهَا أَلْحَ} [above] : (2) ^{أُوَيْصِلُ} [661], *dim.* of ^{وَاصِلُ} *joining* [below] (M); and ^{أُوَيَقِيَّةُ} [below], *dim.* of ^{وَاقِيَّةُ} [above] : *orig.* ^{وَوَيْصِلُ} and ^{وَوَيْقِيَّةُ}, in which there are two causes for conversion into Hamza, (a) the combination of two , s [above]; and (b) the [initial] , 's being [permanently] pronounced with Damm [below], on account of the *dim.* formation [274] : (3) ^{أَوْعَدُ} [below] and ^{أَوْزَنُ}, which you would say if you formed a *n.* like ^{جَوْرَبُ} [253] and ^{دَوَكْسُ} *lion* from ^{وَعَدَ} *promised, threatened* and ^{وَزَنَ} *weighed* : (a) if used as names, they would be triptote, because they are ^{فَوَعِلُ}, like ^{كَوْثَرُ} *Kauthar* [671] and ^{جَوْهَرُ} *Jauhar* [369]; not ^{أَفْعَلُ} [18], like ^{أَدْرَعُ} *Adra'* and ^{أَوْلَجُ} *Aulaj* (IY). The rule for it is [here said by R to be] this:—Whenever two , s are [combined] at the beginning of a word, and their second is not an *aug.* [letter of prolongation] converted from another letter [699], their first is converted

into Hamza, as (1) ^{أَوْصِلَ} [and ^{أَوْصِلَ} above]; (2) ^{عَدَ} [above], from ^{عَدَ}, upon the measure of ^{جَوْرَبَ}: (3) ^{عَادَ} [below], upon the measure of ^{طَوْمَارَ} [377] (R). [But A states the rule thus:—] Whenever two, s are combined at the beginning of a word, their first must be changed into Hamza, provided that their second be not an unoriginal letter of prolongation (A), being either not a letter of prolongation, or an original letter of prolongation (Sn). Four cases, therefore, are excluded, vid. where the second [و] is a letter of prolongation (1) substituted for (a) the ا of ^{فَاعَلَ} [with Fath of the ع (Sn)], as in ^{وَوْنِي الْأَشَدَّ} *The age of maturity was reached* and ^{وَوْرِي عَنْهُمَا} VII. 19. [686]; (b) a Hamza, as in ^{أَلْوَلَى} alleviated from ^{أَلْوَلَى} [above]: (2) adventitious, [but not caused by substitution, in order that this case may be distinguishable from what precedes it (Sn),] as when you form the paradigm of ^{فَوَعَلَ} [482] from ^{عَدَ}, and then reduce it to the *pass.*, [in which case you say ^{وَوَعِدَ}, the second (و) being an adventitious letter of prolongation caused by the supervention of Damma (436) before it (Sn)]: (3) *aug.*, as when you form the paradigm of ^{طَوْمَارَ} [above] from ^{عَدَ}, in which case you say ^{عَادَ}: (a) in these four cases the change [of و, into Hamza] is not necessary, but allowable: (b) some differ

about the fourth, where they hold the change to be necessary, [as ^{أَوْعَادُ} above,] because two , s are combined [at the beginning of the word]; while the second, [though an *aug.* letter of prolongation (Sn),] is not substituted for an *aug.*, [contrary to the (second) , of such as ^{وَرْنَى} (Sn),] since the Damma before it is unadventitious, [contrary to the Damma before the letter of prolongation in such as ^{وَرْنَى} (Sn)]: and this opinion is adopted by IU [and R]: (c) IM prefers the saying that both modes are allowable, because the second [,], though its prolongation is not an innovation, [since the word is formed, and constituted, therewith (Sn),] is still an *aug.* letter of prolongation; so that it is not devoid of resemblance to the [, (Sn)] converted [from the (Sn)] | (A) in such as ^{وَرْنَى} (Sn). And two cases are included, in which the change is necessary, vid. where the second [,] is (1) not a letter of prolongation, as in (a) ^{أَوَّلُ} *pl.* of ^{الْأُولَى} *fem.* of ^{أَوَّلُ}, *orig.* ^{وَوَّلُ} [above]; (b) ^{وَوَاصِلُ} and ^{أَوَانِي}, *pls.* of ^{وَاصِلَةٌ} and ^{وَاتِيَّةٌ}, *orig.* ^{وَوَاصِلُ} and ^{وَوَانِي}, with two , s [above], the first the ف of the word, and the second a *subst.* for the ا of ^{فَاعِلَةٌ} [686], as it is substituted in the *dim.*, like ^{أَوَرِيقِي} and ^{أَوَرِصِلُ} (A), *dims.* of ^{وَاصِلُ} [above] and ^{وَانِي} *preserver*; though ^{أَوَرِصِلَةٌ} and ^{أَوَرِيقِيَّةٌ} [above] would be more conformable to what

precedes (Sn): (c) ^{وَعْدٌ} [above], which you would say if you formed the paradigm of ^{كُوكِبٌ} [373] from ^{وَعْدٌ}, *orig.* ^{أَلَاوِي}: (2) an original letter of prolongation, as in ^{وَلِي} *fem.* of ^{أَلَاوِي}, *orig.* ^{وَلِي} [above] (A). The condition is that the second , should not be an adventitious letter of prolongation, being (1) an original letter of prolongation, i e., [a letter of prolongation] not substituted for anything, as in ^{وَلِي} *fem.* of ^{أَلَاوِي}, *orig.* ^{وَلِي} [above]: (2) not a letter of prolongation at all, because not after Damm, whether it be (a) mobile, as in ^{أَوَاصِلٌ} [and ^{أَوَاقٍ}] mentioned [above]; and in ^{أَوَلٌ} *pl.* of ^{أَلَاوِي}, *orig.* ^{وَلٌ} [above]: or (b) quiescent, after a vowel other than Damma, as in ^{أَوَلٌ}, *orig.* ^{وَلٌ} with three , s [357]. In all of that the change [of the first , into Hamza] is necessary: whereas, with the adventitious letter of prolongation, it is not necessary, but allowable, whether such letter be a *subst.* for the | of ^{فَاعَلٌ}, as in ^{وَوِي} and ^{وَوِي} [above], where ^{أَوِي} and ^{أَوِي} [below] with Hamza are allowable; or for a Hamza, as in ^{أَلَوِي} alleviated from ^{أَلَوِي} [above]; or for any other [letter], as detailed by A (MKh). The restriction of initiality [in the first ,] excludes such [forms] as ^{هَوِي} [661] and ^{نَوِي} (Aud, A), *rel. ns.* of ^{هَوِي} love and ^{نَوِي} date-stones [300] (Aud, Sn), where the first , is not changed into Hamza,

because it is not initial (Tsr, Sn). IM in the Tashil adds another condition for the necessity of change [into Hamza], vid. that the conjunction of the two , s should not be accidental, caused by elision of a separating Hamza, as when you form [a word commensurable with (Sn)] اِنْعَوْعَلْ [482] from وَاٰى [i. q. وَعَدٌ promising, threatening (Sn)], in which case you say اِبَاْ وَاٰى, orig. اِوَاْ وَاٰى, the first , being converted into ى because of its quiescence after a Kasra [685, 699], and the last ى into ا because of its mobility and the Fath of what precedes it [684, 719]: and, when the vowel of the first [disj.] Hamza is transferred to the quiescent ى before it, the conj. Hamza is elided, because it can be dispensed with, [since the initial is no longer quiescent]; while the ى reverts to its o. f., vid. the , , because of the cessation of the motive for its conversion; so that the word is reduced to وَاٰى [with a , pronounced with Fath, and then a quiescent , (Sn)], where two , s are combined at the beginning of the word, and change is not necessary, but both modes are allowable: and similarly, if the vowel of the second Hamza were transferred to the , , the word then becoming وَاِ [with two , s pronounced with Fath, and then an ا (Sn)], both modes, [retention of the (first) , and its change into Hamza (Sn),] would be allowable, agreeably with the opinion of F. But others are said to hold change to be necessary in that [accidental

conjunction of two , s], whether [the vowel of (Sn)] the second [Hamza (Sn)] be transferred, or not (A). The allowable [substitution of the Hamza for a letter of softness] is its substitution for every , [permanently (IY)] pronounced with Damm [675], occurring (1) single, when (a) a ف , as in [وَجُوهٌ and (IY)] أُجُوهٌ [278, 322, 682, 699] (M), وَقَتٌ *timed* and أَقَتٌ [278, 322] (IY); (b) an ع not [doubled by having another ,] incorporated into [it], as اَدْوَرٌ [278] (M), *pl.* of دَارٌ , and اَثْوَبٌ *pl.* of ثَوْبٌ : ‘Umar Ibn Abi Rabi’a says

فَلَمَّا فَقَدْتُ الصَّوْتِ مِنْهُمْ وَأُطْفِئْتُ
مَصَابِيحُ شَبْتُ بِالْعِشَاءِ وَأَنْوَرُ

And, when I lost the sound of them ; and lamps that burned brightly at nightfall, and fires, were extinguished ; and another says

لِكُلِّ دَهْرٍ قَدْ لَيْسَتْ أَثْوَبًا

[242] (IY) : (2) coupled [with another ,], when [the , permanently pronounced with Damm is] an ع , as in غُرُورٌ [below] and نَوُورٌ [278] (M). The formula for it is “Every , pronounced with a permanent [below] Damma, whether such , be initial, [as in أُجُوهٌ ;] or medial, [as in اَدْوَرٌ and نَوُورٌ :] and whether that which is initial be followed by an *aug.* , converted from another letter, as in اَدْوَرِيٌّ [above] ; or not, as in أُجُوهٌ [above]” (R). As for

the substitution of the Hamza for the *ي*, pronounced with Damm, mentioned [in the last two paragraphs], it is good, regular, as in (1) أَجُورٌ, orig. وَجُورٌ [above]; (2) أَدُورٌ [above] and أَنْوَرٌ pl. of نَارٌ fire, orig. أَدُورٌ and أَنْوَرٌ [242]; (3) سُورِقٌ [237], pl. of سَاقٌ shank, and غُورٌ inf. n. of غَارَ الْمَاءِ The water sank, aor. يَغُورُ, inf. ns. غُورٌ and غُورٌ, where the conversion is not on account of the combination of two *ي*s, because the second is an *aug.* letter of prolongation (A). Our saying [that the Damma should be (A)] “permanent” [above] is to guard against the [accidental (IY)] Damma [arising because (IY)] of (1) inflection (IY, R, A), as in هَذِهِ دَلْوٌ This is a bucket (IY, A); (2) the [concurrence of (IY, A)] two quiescents (IY, R, A), as in II. 15. [403, 664, 684] and II. 238. [547, 664, 684] (IY, A). And “not doubled [by having another *ي*, incorporated into it]” is to guard against such as تَعَوَّذُ taking refuge and تَحَوَّلُ shifting. As for the substitution of the Hamza for the *ي* pronounced with Kasr between an *ا* and a double *ي*, it [also] is [an allowable substitution for a letter of softness; and occurs] in such as رَأَيْتِي and غَايَتِي [305], rel. ns. of رَايَةٍ and غَايَةٍ, orig. رَأَيْتِي and غَايَتِي with three *ي*s, then lightened by conversion of the first into Hamza (A). The irregular (M), anomalous (A), [substitution of the Hamza for a letter of softness] is its substitution

for (1) the **ا** in [a good number of positions (IY), such as (M)] (a) دَابَّةٌ and شَابَّةٌ [665] (M, A), for دَابَّةٌ and شَابَّةٌ, where the **ا**, being mobilized on account of the concurrence of two quiescents, is converted into Hamza, because the **ا** is a weak letter, wide in outlet [732], not susceptible of a vowel; so that, when constrained to mobilize it, they convert it into the letter nearest to it, vid. the Hamza (IY): and [hence (IY)] اِبْيَاضٌ (M, A), اِذْهَامٌ (M), and اِشْعَالٌ, for [اِبْيَاضٌ, اِذْهَامٌ, and] اِشْعَالٌ: Dukain says

وَحَلْبُهُ حَتَّىٰ اَبْيَاضَ مِلْبَنُهُ

And his milking was until his milk-pail became white; and Kuthayyir says

وَالْاَرْضُ اَمَّا سَوْدُهَا فَتَجَلَّلَتْ * بِيَاضًا وَاَمَّا بَيْضُهَا فَادْهَامَتْ

And at the land when such that, as for its blacks they have clothed themselves in whiteness, and, as for its whites, they have become black, meaning اِذْهَامَتْ; and they recite

وَبَعْدَ بَيَاضِ الشَّيْبِ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ

عَلَا لِمَتِي حَتَّىٰ اِشْعَالٌ بِهَيْمِهَا

And after the whiteness of hoariness from every side, which has so overgrown my head of hair that its black has become glistening, meaning اِشْعَالٌ: while AZ is reported to have said "I heard 'Amr Ibn 'Ubaid read

دَا بَّةٌ LV. 39. [665]; and I thought that he had committed a solecism, until I heard the Arabs say دَا بَّةٌ and شَا بَّةٌ [above]" (IY): (b) اَلْعَالَمُ [665] and اَلْخَاتَمُ [247, 373], reported to have been pronounced with Hamza by Al'Ajjāj (M, A), who says

يَا دَارَ سَلَمَى يَا اَسْلَمَى ثُمَّ اَسْلَمَى * فَيُخْنِدِفُ هَامَةً هَذَا اَلْعَالَمُ
(M) *O abode of Salmà, -O hail, again hail! Then Khindif [309, 679] is the head of this world (Jsh),* because the *l* would be a foundation in اَلْعَالَمُ , [to rhyme] with which only a word [ending] like اَلْسَّاجِمُ or اَللَّازِمُ would be allowable; so that, since he says ثُمَّ اَسْلَمَى [at the end of the first hemistich], he pronounces اَلْعَالَمُ with Hamza, in order that the rhyme may run in one course as respects lack of foundation (IY): while بَا زٌ [665] is transmitted (M) from them by Lh with Hamza, orig. بَا زٌ without Hamza, as is proved by their saying, in the pl., اَبْوَا زٌ and يَبْرَانٌ (IY): the poet says

كَأَنَّهُ بَا زٌ دَجْنٍ فَوْقَ مَرْتَبَةٍ * جَلَى اَلْقَطَا وَسَطَ قَاعٍ سَمَلَقٍ سَلَقِ
As though he were a tame falcon above a watch-tower, that had discovered the sand grouse in a level smooth plain (Jh, IY): and [hence (IY)] قَوَقَاتٍ اَلدَّجَا جَةُ The hen clucked [674]; and the poet says صَبْرًا فَقَدْ هَيَّجَتْ صَبْرًا فَقَدْ هَيَّجَتْ (IY): the poet, being اَلْح [665] (M), cited by Fr, where the poet, being

constrained to mobilize the **ا** before the **ق** of **المُشْتَقُّ**, because it corresponds to the **ل** of [the foot] **مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ**, converts it into Hamza, as we said above [under (a)], except that he mobilizes it with Kasra, because he means [to express] the Kasra that was on the **و**, wherefrom the **ا** was converted, since **مُشْتَقُّ** is **مُفْتَعِلٌ** from **شَوْقٌ**, being *orig.* **مُشْتَوِّقٌ** (IY); and Fr transmits, in a case of no constraint, **رَجُلٌ مَثَلٌ** *a wealthy man* (R), for **مَالٌ** [278, 682, 703, 711] (MAR); and they say **لَبَّى الرَّجُلُ بِأَلْحَجِّ** *The man discharged the obligation of performing the pilgrimage* (R), for **لَبَّى** (MAR): (a) that [conversion of the **ا** into Hamza in the *exs.* given under (b)] is not for escape from the [concurrence of] two quiescents; but is because of the proximity of the outlets of the **ا** and Hamza [732] (R): (2) the **و**, not pronounced with Damm (M), (a) when a **ف** pronounced with Kasr or Fath (IY): (a) as for the substitution of the Hamza for the initial [below], pronounced with Kasr, it is (A) in such as **إِشَاحٌ** [699], **إِفَادَةٌ**, and **إِسَادَةٌ** [for **وِشَاحٌ** *baldric*, **وِفَادَةٌ** *embassy*, and **وِسَادَةٌ** *cushion* (IY, A)]; and [**إِعَاءٌ** for **وَعَاءٌ** *sack*, whence (IY)] XII. 76. *The sack of his brother* [Benjamin (K, B)] in the reading of [Ubayy (A),] Sa'id Ibn Jubair (M, A), and IIU (A): S cites [the verse by Ibn Mukbil (S)]

أَمَّا الْإِنْفَادُ فَاسْتَوْلَتْ رَكَائِبُهَا * عِنْدَ الْجَبَابِيرِ بِالْبُاسَاءِ وَالنِّعَمِ

As for the embassy, its cavalcades got hold sometimes of misfortune, and sometimes of favours, in the presence of the tyrants: (α) that is because they assimilate the , pronounced with Kasr to the , pronounced with Ḍamm, since they deem Kasra, as they deem Ḍamma, to be heavy [on the ,] (IY): (β) Mz holds this substitution to be regular [322] (M, R, A) in the [initial , (R)] pronounced with Kasr (M, R): but others restrict it to hearsay (IY, A); while Γm reports that IUK says “I have seen in some book that it is the *dial.* of Hudhail” (Sn): (γ) “initial” [above] is to guard against such as the , of طَوِيلٌ *long* [684], which is not converted, because the [,] pronounced with Kasr, being lighter than the one pronounced with Ḍamm, is not converted in every position; while the middle is more remote from alteration [than the beginning] (A): (b) [as for the (initial) , pronounced with Fath, it is not converted, because of the lightness of Fathā, except (A)] in [their anomalous sayings (A)] أَنَاةٌ *languid* [699] (M, A), on the measure of قَنَاةٌ *spear-shaft* (Sn), said of a woman, *orig.* وَنَاةٌ (IY, A), فَعَلَةٌ from وَنَى i. q. فَتَوَّرَ *languor* (IY), [or] from وَنِيَّةٌ [with Fath of the , , and quiescence of the ن , as is understood from the KF (Sn),] i. q. بَطْءٌ *slowness* (A); أَسْمَاءُ *Asmā* (M, A), a

woman's name (IY, A), to guard against ^{أَسْمَاءُ} *pl.* of ^{إِسْمٌ} [667] (Sn), because, says IS, it is *orig.* ^{وَسْمَاءُ} [699] (A), its measure being ^{فَعْلَاءُ} (IY), from ^{وَسَامَةٌ} i. q. ^{حُسْنٌ} *beauty* (IY, A); and ^{أَحَدٌ} [322] (M, A), when used as a *num.* (IY, A) in ^{أَحَدٌ وَعِشْرُونَ} and ^{أَحَدٌ عَشَرَ} [313] (IY), *orig.* ^{وَحَدٌ}, from ^{وَحْدَةٌ} *unity*; contrary to ^{أَحَدٌ} (IY, A) in ^{مَا جَاءَنِي أَحَدٌ} [322] (A), [and] in ^{مَا بِالْأَدَارِ مِنْ} (IY, A) *There is not any one in the house* (IY), where the Hamza is [said to be (A)] original (IY, A), because ^{أَحَدٌ} is not in the sense of *unity* (A), since it denotes *generality*, not *singleness* (IY); though [here also] the Hamza is said [by some] to be a *subst.* for the , (Sn); and ^{أَحَدٌ} in the tradition (M) that Muḥammad said to a man, who made the sign with his two forefingers in reciting the creed, ^{أَحَدٌ أَحَدٌ} *Make the sign with one, one*, i. e., ^{وَحَدٌ وَحَدٌ} (IY): (b) [when a letter of prolongation: for] F recites

أَحَبُّ الْمُوقِدِينَ إِلَيَّ مُوسَى * وَجَعَدْتُ إِذْ أَضَاءَهُمَا الْقَوَدُ
(R), by Jarīr, praising Hishām Ibn ‘Abd AlMalik,
The dearest of the kindlers (of fire) to me are, also
related ^{لَكَبَّ} ^{الْمُوقِدَانِ} *Assuredly very dear to me are*
[476] *the two kindlers (of fire), Mūsà and his sister*
Ja‘da, when the blaze has lighted them up (Jsh), with
the , of ^{الْمُوقِدِينَ} [or ^{الْمُوقِدَانِ}] and ^{مُوسَى} pronounced as

a Hamza ; while **بِالسُّوْقِ وَالْأَعْنَاقِ** XXXVIII. 32. ! [459] is [reported to have been (B)] read [by Ibn Kathīr with the , (B)] pronounced as Hamza (R), because of the Damma before it, like **مُوتِنٌ** [for **مُوتِنٌ** (686)] (B) : (a) the reason of that is said to be that the , , being] in the vicinity of Damma, becomes, as it were, vocalized with Damm ; while the , vocalized with Damm is [regularly] pronounced as Hamza, as in **نُورٌ** and **غُورٌ** [above] (R) : (3) the **ي** (M, A), (a) when [initial, and] pronounced with Fath, in which case they substitute Hamza for the **ي** , as they substitute it for the [initial] , [pronounced with Fath], though more rarely than for the , [above] (IY) : they say (a) **قَطَعَ اللَّهُ أَيْدِيَهُ** *God cut off his hand!* (M, R, A), with Fath of the Hamza, and quiescence of the **د** (Sn), meaning **يَدَيْهِ** , [i. e., **يَدُهُ** (A),] by restoring the **ج** [260, 719], and (IY, R, A) substituting a Hamza for the **ف** (IY), [i. e.,] changing the [first (R)] **ي** into Hamza (R, A) : so says IJ (R) : (α) F says that **أَيْدِي** is a *dial. var.*, **يَدَيْهِ** and **أَيْدِيَهُ** being on a par with **يَلَمْلَمُ** *Yalamlam*, [a mountain of Tihāma (BK, MI),] and **أَلَمْلَمُ** *Alamlam* ; but his pupil IJ disagrees with him (Sn) : (b) **فِي أَسْنَانِهِ أَلَلٌ** *In his teeth is أَلَلٌ* (M, R, A), i. e., **يَلَلٌ** [663] (IY, R, A), which is *shortness of the [upper (IY)] teeth*, or, as is said, *their curvature towards the inside of the mouth*, whence **أَيْلٌ** [663, 703] said of a

man, and ^{مَرْءٌ} of a woman (IY, A): (b) [when a letter of prolongation: for] they (M, R), [or] some of them (A), say ^{شَيْئَةٌ} nature (M, R, A) with Hamza (A), orig. with ^ي (IY, R), the Hamza being a *subst.* for the ^ي (IY); and similarly ^{لَيَالٍ}, which is the *lion* (A). The substitution of the Hamza for the ^ي [and ^ع (A)] is rare (IY, A), i. e., anomalous (Sn), irregular (IY). Its substitution for the ^ي is in (1) [such as (Jrb)] ^{مَاءٌ} [304, 326, 682, 684] (M, Jrb, A), and [sometimes also in its *pl.* (Jrb)] ^{أَمْوَاءٌ} [below] (M, Jrb): (a) the *o. f.* of ^{مَاءٌ} (IY, R, Jrb, BS, A) is ^{مَاءٌ} [below] (Jrb, A), the *o. f.* of which (A) is ^{مَوءٌ} (IY, R, BS, A), as is proved by [the *dim.* (IY)] ^{مَوِيءٌ} [275, 278] (IY, Jrb, A) and [the broken *pl.* (IY)] ^{أَمْوَاءٌ} [278] (IY, A), its ^ي being converted into ^ا (IY, R, BS, A), according to rule [684, 703] (BS), because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (IY, R, A); so that ^{مَوءٌ} becomes ^{مَاءٌ} [above] (IY): while its ^ي, [being then assimilated to the unsound letters (IY, R), on account of its faintness, and being therefore like a ^ي, or ^ي occurring as a final after an *aug.* ^ا (R),] is converted [into ^ا, and afterwards (R)] into Hamza, [as in case 1 (*k*, *β*) above] (IY, R, BS), contrary to rule, two consecutive transformations being thereby produced (BS), whereas transformation of two adjoining letters is anomalous (A): (b) its *pl.* of paucity is ^{أَمْوَاءٌ} [above]

with the *z*, which they sometimes change [into Hamza] (BS); [so that] in the *pl.* (IY, MAR) they also say *أَمْوَاة* (IY, R) for *أَمْوَاة*, for a similar reason, [vid. the assimilation of its *z* to the unsound letters, as explained above under *مَاء*] (R): the poet says

وَبَلَدَةٌ قَالِصَةٌ أَمْوَاوُهَا * مَاصِكَةٌ رَأْدَ الْضُحَىٰ أَفْيَاوُهَا

And (many) a land, whose waters were exhausted, and whose shades were passing away in the part of the forenoon when the sun was high. (M, R, BS), cited by IJ, who says that F cited it to him (IY): (c) its *pl.* of multitude is *مِيَاة* [278], according to the *o. f.*, with the *z*, not otherwise (BS): (d) the substitution in (Jrb) *مَاء* is anomalous (SH, Sn), in two respects, [the substitution of Hamza for the *z*, and the transformation of two consecutive letters] (Sn); but is (R) obligatory (SH), whereas in *أَمْوَاة* it is not so (Jrb): (e) hence *شَاء* [275, 278, 304, 326, 684], a [lexicological] *pl.* of *شَاءَ*, *orig.* *شَوْعَة* [260, 304] with quiescence of the *و*: for they elide the *z* by assimilation to the unsound letters, because of its faintness, weakness, and finality; and, when the *z* is elided, the *n.* remains as *شَوْعَة*; and then the *و* is pronounced with Fath, because of its vicinity to the *z* of feminization, the letter before which, [when not an *l*,] is pronounced with Fath [646]; so that the *و*, being mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath

is converted into ا [684], the *n.* becoming شَاةٌ ; and, when it is pluralized, the *z* of feminization is rejected, on the principle of قَمَرَةٌ and قَمَرٌ [254]; so that the *n.* remains with two letters, the last of them an ا , which, when Tanwīn is affixed to it, is exposed to elision, as the ا of عَصَا and رَحَى is elided [643, 684, 719], in which case the explicit *n.* would remain with one letter; and, that being impossible, they restore the *z* elided from the *sing.*, so that the word becomes constructively شَاةٌ , restoration of the elided being more appropriate than importation of a strange, extraneous letter; and then the *z* is changed into Hamza, so that شَاةٌ is said (IY): (f) آلٌ *family* is said to be *orig.* أَهْلٌ ; then أَآلٌ , the *z* being converted into Hamza; then آلٌ , the Hamza being converted into ا [658]: that is because conversion of the *z* into ا [684] is not established, while its conversion into Hamza [above] is established; and it is better to rely upon that conversion of which similar instances are established: but Ks says that its o. f. is أَوْآلٌ [684], because they, [i. e., the members of the *family*,] يَوْرُونُ إِلَى أَصْلِ go back to a [common] stock, or origin (R): (2) آلٌ فَعَلَتْ [599] and هَلَّا فَعَلَتْ (A): هَلَّا فَعَلَتْ and هَلْ فَعَلَتْ [682] (M, A), i. q. هَلْ فَعَلَتْ (a) AU relates that the Arabs say آلٌ فَعَلَتْ [above], meaning هَلْ فَعَلَتْ (IY, R); while the Hamza here is

decided to be a *subst.* for the *س*, because in interrogation *هَلْ* is prevalently, and [*أَلْ* with] Hamza rarely, used, for which reason the *س* is [considered to be] original : (b) as for their saying *هَلَّا فَعَلْتَ* i. q. *أَلَّا فَعَلْتَ* (IY), it is said [that the Hamza here is a *subst.* for the *س*, and (IY)] that the *o. f.* [of *أَلَّا* in excitation (R)] is *هَلَّا* [573] (IY, R); but the truth is that they are two *dial. vars.*, because their use in this sense is uniform, without predominance of either over the other, for which reason the *س* as original is not more appropriate than the reverse (IY). And its substitution for the *ع* is in the saying

وَمَاجَ سَاعَاتٍ مَلَأَ الْوَدِيقِ * أَبَابُ بَحْرِ ضَاحِكٍ زَهُوقِ

(M, A) *And the deserts of intense heats were agitated at times, like a billow of a laughing, far-extending sea* (Sn), cited by As, where *عَبَابُ* is meant (IY), *أَبَابُ* being *orig.* *عَبَابُ* (A); but the poet substitutes the Hamza for the *ع* because of the proximity of their outlets [732], as the *ع* is substituted for the Hamza in such as *أَعْنِ تَرَسَّنتَ آلَحِ* [580, 682] and the like (IY). Some, however, say that the Hamza [here (A)] is [original (IY),] not a *subst.* [for the *ع* (A)]; and that *أَبَابُ* is only [*فُعَالُ* (A)] from *أَبَّ* meaning *prepared himself* [for going away (IY)], because the sea *prepares itself* (IY, A) to swell (IY), [and] to be in commotion ;

and, according to this, the Hamza is original. The reason why these five [substitutions of the Hamza, vid. for the undoubled , permanently pronounced with Damm, the ى pronounced with Kasr between an ا and a double ى, the initial , pronounced with Kasr, the ى, and the ع, as also the irregular substitutions for the ا, , and ى] are not mentioned here by IM is only that the substitution of the Hamza for them is allowable [or anomalous], not necessary; whereas here he notices only the necessary; and, if he notices any thing else, it is [merely] by way of digression. As for its substitution for the خ and غ, it is [found in] their sayings صَرَأ for صَرَخ *screamed*, and رَغَنَ for رَغَنَ [hearkened, and agreed, to it (Sn)], transmitted by Akh and Nr, respectively, on the authority of Khl. But its substitution for these two letters is very strange (A).

§. 684. The ا is substituted for (M, SH, A) four letters (IY, A), (1, 2) its two sisters [697] (M, SH), the , and ى (IY, A, MASH); (3) the Hamza (M, SH, A); (4) the [single (A)] ن (M, A). [And IH mentions a fifth, vid. the ى below.] Its substitution for its two sisters is (1) [regular (M), obligatory (SH),] in (a) such as قَالَ and بَاعَ [703] (M, SH), دَعَا and رَمَى [719], بَابٌ and نَابٌ [703, 711], vid. where the , and ى are mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (M, R),

subject to the [other] conditions mentioned [by A below] (R) : (b) آل , according to one opinion (SH), since its *o. f.*, according to Ks, is أَوَّل [683], because its *dim.*, according to some, is أَوَّلٌ ; but the و is converted into ا : while, according to the BB [below], the ا is substituted for the ا (Jrb) : (2) irregular, [rare (IY),] in such as طَائِي [below], حَارِي , and يَا جُل (M), where they substitute an ا , from desire of lightness [below], for the quiescent و , and ي , when preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥh (IY). IM indicates the [regular] substitution of the ا for its two sisters by his saying "Substitute an ا for a و , or ي *orig. mobile*, after a conjoined Fatḥh", i. e., Change of the و and ي into ا is necessary upon eleven conditions, (1) that they be mobile; for which reason they are sounded true in قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [703], because of their quiescence : (2) that their vowel be original; for which reason they are sounded true in جَيْلٌ [300, 658] and تَوَمٌ , alleviated from جِيَّالٌ *the she-hyæna* and تَوَّامٌ *twin*; and in II. 15. [403, 664, 683], III. 183. [406], II. 238. [547, 664, 683] : (3) that the letter before them be pronounced with Fatḥh; for which reason they are sounded true in عَوْضٌ *compensation* [711], حَيْلٌ [685], and سُورٌ *chapters* [238] : (4) that the Fatḥha be conjoined [with them], i. e., [be] in their words [without a separative (Sn)]; for which reason they are sounded true in

إِنَّ عُمَرَ وَجَدَّ يَزِيدَ Verily 'Umar and the grandfather of
 Yazid : [(a) these four conditions IM indicates by his
 saying cited above :] (5) that their conjunction be orig-
 inal ; so that, if such [a word] as عَلِبْتُ [392] were formed
 from غَزَوْ raiding and رَمَى shooting, غَزَوْ and رَمَى would
 be said, defective (A), like قَاضٍ [16, 671], orig. غَزَوْ with
 two , s, and رَمَى with two س (Sn) ; and the [first] ,
 and ي would not be converted into ا , because the
 conjunction of the Fatha with them would be adventi-
 tious, caused by elision of an ا , since the o. f. would be
 غَزَاوٍ [727] and رَمَايٍ , because عَلِبْتُ is orig. عَلَابْتُ [401]
 (A) : (a) this [condition] is not taken from the text [of
 the IM, nor is it mentioned in the IA or Aud] (Sn) :
 (6) that the letter after them be mobile, if they be ع s ;
 and that they be not immediately followed by an ا or a
 double ي , if they be ج s : (a) this [condition] IM
 indicates by his saying [in continuation of the passage
 above cited] "if the following [letter (MKh)] be mobi-
 lized" (A), i. e., if there be any following [letter] here,
 otherwise this condition is not applicable (Sn) ; "whereas,
 if it be made quiescent, it restrains the transformation
 of any [, or ي occurring as the ع of the word MKh),]
 not [as (MKh)] the ج , the transformation of which is
 not restrained by any quiescent other than an ا , or [than]
 a ي wherein doubling is customary" : (b) for that reason

the ع is sounded true in such as طَرِيقٌ *perspicuity*, غَيْرٌ [348], and خَوَرْنَقٌ *Khawarnak*; and the ل in such as رَمِيَا and غَزَا [663, 719], غَتِيَانِ and عَصَوَانِ [229], عَلَوِيٌّ [299] and فَتَوِيٌّ [300] (A), these [last] two *exs.* being combined by A because the , in the first is converted from the second عِ of عَلِيٌّ 'Ali, which is converted from a , ; and in the second is converted from the ل of فَتِيٌّ *youth*, which is converted from a عِ (Sn): while the ع is transformed in قَامَ and بَاعَ [703], بَابٌ and نَابٌ [703, 711], because the letter after it is mobile; and the ل in دَعَا and رَمَى [719], since there is no ل or double ع after it: (c) similarly [the ل is transformed in يَخْشَوْنَ *They dread* and يَمْحَوْنَ *They obliterate* [with Fath of the ح, according to the *dial.* of those who say مَكَاهُ, *aor.* يَمْكَاهُ, *inf. n.* مَحَوْ (Sn)], *orig.* يَخْشَوْنَ and يَمْحَوْنَ [with two , s (Sn)], the [second] عِ and [first] و, respectively, being converted into ل, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath; but being afterwards elided, because of the two quiescents: (d) and so, in the *pl.* of عَصَا 'Asà, when used as a name [for a rational male (Sn)], you say قَامَ عَصَوْنَ [properly *The*] 'Asà's [13] *stood*, *orig.* عَصَوُونَ, [the first, of] which is treated as mentioned [under (c)]: (e) according to this, if you formed from رَمَى and غَزَا a word

like ^{عَنْكَبُوتٌ} [399], you would say ^{رَمِيَتْ} and ^{غَزَوَتْ} [with
Fath of their first and third, and quiescence of their
second (Sn)], *orig.* ^{رَمِيَتْ} and ^{غَزَوَتْ}, the [second] ^ي
and ^و, being converted [into ^ا]; and [afterwards] elided,
because of meeting the quiescent [^و]; and that [forma-
tion] would be facilitated by the freedom from confusion
[of the transformed with the *o. f.* (Sn)], since there is
no ^{فَعَلَتْ} in the language (A); so that [in ^{رَمِيَتْ} and
^{غَزَوَتْ}] one would understand it to be transformed, *orig.*
^{فَعَلَتْ} [399] (Sn): (f) some hold that this [unsound
letter in the word formed on the measure of ^{عَنْكَبُوتٌ}
from ^{رَمِيَتْ} and ^{غَزَوَتْ} (Sn)] should be sounded true, because
that [expression (Sn)] which contains it is a *sing.* (A);
while, the *sing.* being less heavy than the *pl.*, i. e., the
indicator of an aggregate [234], like ^{يَخْشَوْنَ} [above],
^{يَبْكُونَ}, and ^{عَصَوْنَ}, alleviation by means of the trans-
formation mentioned is [not so] suitable [in it as] in the *pl.*
(Sn): (g) the reason why they sound [the ^و, or ^ي] true be-
fore the ^ا and the double ^ي is that, (a) if they transformed
[it] before the ^ا, two quiescent ^اs would be combined, so
that one of them would be elided [663]; and therefore
ambiguity would result in such as [^{غَزَا} or ^{رَمِيَا}] [above],
because it would become [^{غَزَا} or ^{رَمِيَا}], and no one would
know whether it belonged to the *du.* or to the *sing.*;

while what would not involve ambiguity, [such as *فَتَيَانِ* and *عَصَوَانِ* (Sn),] is made to accord with what would involve ambiguity, because it belongs to the same *cat.* [in that the , and *ي* are followed by a quiescent *ا* (Sn)]: (b) the , of such as *عَلَوِيَّ* is in a position where *ا* is changed into , (A), because the *ي* of relation necessitates conversion of the *ا* [third] into , [300]; so that, if the , were converted into *ا*, because of its being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, the *ا* would be converted into , on account of the *ي* of relation; and an endless concatenation of conversions [from ,] into *ا*, and [from *ا*] into , , would be entailed (Sn): (7, 8) that neither of them be an *ع* of the *فَعَلَ* [with Kasr of the *ع* (Sn)], whose *qual.* is *أَفْعَلُ* [348]; or of the *inf. n.* of this *v.* [331]: (a) these two conditions IM indicates by his saying “But the *ع* of *فَعَلَ*”, as *غَيْدٌ* *tenderness* and *حَوَلٌ* *squinting*, “and *فَعَلَ*”, as *غَيْدٌ* *was tender* and *حَوَلٌ* *squinted*, “when possessed of” a *qual.* “*أَفْعَلُ* [below], like *أَغْيَدُ* [*tender in body* (Sn)] and *أَحَوَلٌ* *squint eyed, cross-eyed, wry*, is sounded true” [703]: (b) the reason why the *v.* in this *cat.* must be sounded true [in the *ع*] is only that it is made to accord with *أَفْعَلُ* [707], as *أَحَوَلٌ* *squinted* and *أَعَوَرٌ* *was blind of one eye*, because it is in the sense thereof, [*أَعَوَرٌ* being i. q. *أَعَوَرٌ* (Sn)]; and the *inf. n.* of the *v.*

is made to accord with it as respects the sounding true :
 (c) by his saying "when possessed of أَفْعَلٌ [above] IM guards against such as خَاف [403]: for it is فَعَلَ with Kasr of the ع [704], on the evidence of أَمِنَ felt safe (A), أَمِنَ being the *opp.* of خَاف , and [the o. f. of] the thing being recognizable by [the form of] its *opp.* (Sn); but it is transformed [in the ع], because its *qual.* is فَاعِلٌ , like خَافٌ fearing, not أَفْعَلٌ : (9) which is peculiar to the و , that it be not an ع of the اِفْتَعَلَ denoting the sense of reciprocity, i. e., participation in agency and objectivity :
 (a) this condition IM indicates by his saying "And if [the sense of (IA)] reciprocity be plain" [below], i. e., appear, "from اِفْتَعَلَ , the ع , when a و , [below], is preserved, and is not transformed", i. e., When the اِفْتَعَلَ whose ع is a و is i. q. تَفَاعَلَ [487], it is sounded true [in the ع], because made to accord with تَفَاعَلَ [703], on account of its being in the sense thereof, as اِجْتَوَرُوا [492, 707] and اِزْدَوَجُوا They intermarried [693, 707], i. q. تَنَجَّارُوا and تَزَاوَجُوا : (b) by his saying "And, if reciprocity be plain" [above], he guards against اِفْتَعَلَ 's not being i. q. تَفَاعَلَ , in which case its transformation is necessary, unrestrictedly, [i. e., whether its ع be a ي , as in اِرْتَابَ doubted; or a و , (Sn),] as in اِخْتَانَ was unfaithful, i. q.

حَانَ , and اجْتَازَ passed through, i. q. جَازَ : (c) by his saying "when a , " [above], he guards against its ع 's being a ي , in which case its transformation is necessary, even though it be indicative of reciprocity, as اِمْتَاَزُوا They were distinct, one from another, اِبْتَاَعُوا They trafficked, one with another, and اِسْتَاَفُوا meaning They smote one another with swords, i. q. تَبَايَعُوا , تَبَايَزُوا , and تَسَايَفُوا , because the ي is more like, [i. e., nearer in lightness to (Sn),] the ا than the , [686] is; and has, therefore, a better title to transformation [into ا] than it has : (10) that neither of them be immediately followed by a letter entitled to transformation : (a) this [condition] IM indicates by his saying "And, if two letters be entitled to this transformation, the first is sounded true", i. e., When two unsound letters, two , s, or two ي s, or a , and a ي , are combined in the word, and each of them is entitled to be converted into ا , because of its being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, one of them is unavoidably sounded true, lest two transformations be combined [without a separative (Sn)] in one word ; while the last is more entitled to transformation [than the first], because the final is the seat of alteration : (a) the combination (α) of two , s is [in] such as اَلْحَوَى blackness, inf. n. of حَوَى i. q. اِسْوَدَّ was black, [the fact] that the ا of اَلْحَوَى is converted from a , being proved

by their saying حَوَّان for its *du.* [229], and حُو and أَحْوَى [672] for the *pl.* [249] and *fem.* [273] of أَحْوَى *black*; (β) of two *س* is [in] such as أَلَكِيَا for *rain*, its *o. f.* being حَيِّ because its *du.* [229] is حَيَّان, but its second *س* being transformed [into ا] because of what has been mentioned above [under (a)]; (γ) of the و and *س* is [in] such as أَلَهْوَى *love* [326], its *o. f.* being هَوَّى, but its *س* being transformed: (b) for that reason one sounds [both the *س* and و,] true in such as حَيَّان *animal* [698], because the [letter] entitled to transformation is the و, transformation of which is impossible [under the sixth condition], because it is a ج followed immediately by an ا (A): (b) IM indicates by his saying "But the reverse is sometimes true", [i. e., holds good anomalously (Sn),] that sometimes, in the preceding [combination of two unsound letters in the word (Sn)], the first is transformed, and the second sounded true, as in غَايَةَ *utmost extent* [723], *orig.* غَيَّيَّة [with Fath of the two *س* (Sn)], the first *س* being transformed [into ا], and the second sounded true, which is facilitated by the second's not occurring as a final: (α) like غَايَةَ in that [respect] are ثَايَةَ [305]: (β) طَايَةَ [305]: (γ) آيَةَ [302, 305, 683, 723], according to Khl, its *o. f.* being أَيَّيَّة; but the ع being anomalously transformed, since the rule is to transform the second; and this, as IM says in the Tashīl, is the easiest mode

[of accounting for $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}]$: (b) the saying that its *o. f.* is
 (α) $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$ [commonly written $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$, as in B on II. 37.],
 with quiescence of the first ي [298], entails transformation
 of the quiescent ي , [contrary to the first condition] :
 (β) $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$, on the measure of فَاعِلَةٌ , entails elision of the
 ع without any necessitating cause (A) for its elision,
 because the customary [procedure] in the like [formation]
 is conversion of the first ي into Hamza, as [the ي and ,
 are converted] in بَآثِعَةٌ and فَآثِلَةٌ [683], [respectively]
 (Sn) : (γ) $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$, like نَقَبَةٌ [254], entails giving prece-
 dence, [by which is meant preference (Sn),] to trans-
 formation over incorporation, [which is open to the objec-
 tion that this is entailed by the first mode also (Sn);]
 whereas the recognized [procedure] is the converse, as is
 proved by the change of the [second (Sn)] Hamza of
 أَثْمَةٌ into ي , not into ا [661] (A), in order to give
 precedence to incorporation [in $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$] over transforma-
 tion [in $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$] : but Jrb holds that precedence should
 be given to transformation; while some hold that
 precedence should be given to incorporation in the ع,
 and to transformation in the ج, as explained at length
 by the author of the Tsr : (c) according to what is
 [stated] in the Tsr, and laid down by our Master and
 YH and others, the modes [of accounting for $\text{آيَّة}^{\text{و}}$] are

six, the four mentioned by A [above in α (γ) and b]: the fifth that its *o. f.* is ^{أَيَّة}, with Damm of the first $ي$, like ^{سَرَّة} [254], the $ع$ being converted into $ا$, which, says Kh, is refuted by [the fact] that conversion of the Damma into Kasra would be necessary, [so that this mode would be identical with the fourth]; but this requires consideration; and the language of Frd is “and, it is said, ^{أَيَّة}, with Damm of the first $ي$, the transformation of which [into $ا$] is according to rule”: [and] the sixth that its *o. f.* is ^{أَيَّة} with Fath of the first [$ي$], as in the first saying, except that the second [$ي$] is transformed, according to rule; so that ^{أَيَّة} becomes ^{أَيَا}, like ^{حَيَا} *life*; and then the $ل$ is moved up to the position of the $ع$, in which case its measure is ^{نَكْعَة} with three Fathas: (d) the commentary of B [on II. 37.] contains two other modes, ^{أَوِيَّة} [like ^{تَمَرَة} *a date* (B)], with quiescence, and ^{أَوِيَّة} [like ^{مَكَّة} *a mare* (B)], with Fath, of the $و$; so that the modes are eight: (c) if [only] one of the two [consecutive unsound letters] be entitled to transformation, but its transformation entail transformation of the other, that is not an instance of the forbidden occurrence of two consecutive transformations; so that there is no difficulty in such as ^{مَعْدِي} [685, 722], ^{عَصِي} *pl. of عَصَا* [243, 685, 722], and ^{عَتِي} *inf. n. of عَتَا* [685, 722]: so says YH: (d) the combination of two transformations is

allowable with a separative, as in يَفْرَن *They fulfil*, since its *o. f.* is يَرْفِيُون : nay, IM, in the CK, rejects [the assertion] that the occurrence of [even] two consecutive transformations is a catachresis that ought to be avoided unrestrictedly, disallowing it when they agree [in kind]; and pardoning it when they differ, as in مَاءَ and شَاءَ [683] and تَرَى [658], *orig.* مَوْ and شَوْ and تَرَأَى : but it is sometimes replied that these expressions are anomalous : so says YS (Sn) : (11) that neither of them be an ع of what ends in an augment peculiar to *ns.* (A), like the ا and ن , and the ا of feminization (Sn) : (a) this [condition] IM indicates by his saying “And the ع of that [word (IA)], at whose end that [augment (IA)] which is peculiar to the *n.* has been added, must be preserved”, i. e., The conversion of the , and ي into ا , on account of their being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, is prevented by their being an ع of what ends in an augment peculiar to *ns.*, because by that augment its resemblance to what is the principal subject of transformation, *vid.* the *v.* [667], becomes remote; and that is [exemplified in] such as جَوْلَانٌ [331, 698, 703] and سَيْلَانٌ *flowing* : (b) whatever instances of this sort, [whose ع is a , or ي , and at whose end are an ا and ن (Sn),] occur transformed are reckoned anomalous, as دَارَانٌ *Dārān* and مَاهَانٌ *Māhān* (A), [each of which is] a

[proper] name (KF), by rule دَوْرَانُ and مَوْهَانُ (A, MKh), because *orig.* the *du.* of دَارٌ and مَاءٌ (MKh); but [SBd says that (Sn)] they are said to be foreign, in which case it is not good to reckon them in what is anomalous (Sn, MKh): (c) Mb [dissents, and (A)] asserts that the rule [in what ends in an ا and ن (Tsr, Sn)] is transformation (A, Tsr); and that there is no anomaly in دَارَانُ and مَاعَانُ, but the sounding true in جَوْلَانُ and هَيْبَانُ *being distracted by love* is anomalous (Tsr); because the ا and ن do not exclude the *n.* from resemblance to the *v.*, since they are constructively separate, which, says F, is confirmed by their saying زَعْفَرَانُ from زَعْفَرَانُ [274, 282, 283], the ا and ن remaining in the *dim.*, and not being elided (Tsr, Sn): but the correct opinion is the first, which is that of S: (d) there is a dispute about the abbreviated ا of feminization [263, 272] in such as صَوْرَى *Sawarà*, [on the measure of فَعْلَى, mentioned by S (Bk),] which is a name of a *water*, Mz holding that this ا is a preventive of transformation, because of its peculiarity to the *n.*; while Akh holds that it does not prevent transformation, because it does not exclude the *n.* from resemblance to the *v.*, since صَوْرَى, in pronunciation, is equivalent to فَعْلَا *They two* [masc.] *did*: so that the sounding of [the و in] صَوْرَى true is, according to Mz, regular; but, according to Akh, anomalous, not to be

copied: and therefore, if the like thereof were formed from قَوْلٌ *saying*, then, according to the opinion of Mz, قَوْلِي would be said; but, according to the opinion of Akh, قَالَا: and, in this question, IM's choice wavers; for in the Tashīl he adopts the opinion of Akh, and in some of his books the opinion of Mz: while [his son] BD decides in favor of the latter; and what Mz holds is the opinion of S: (e) the addition of the [mobile (Sn)] ة of femininization [263] is disregarded [as a factor] in sounding true, because it does not exclude the *n*. from the semblance of a *v.*, since the [quiescent (Sn)] ت is affixed to the *pret.* [607]; so that no incongruity [with the *v.*, such as قَالَتْ *She said* and بَاعَتْ *She sold*] is established by affixion of the ة in such as قَالَةٌ and بَاعَةٌ [247] (A), *pls.* of قَائِلٌ *saying* and بَائِعٌ *selling*, *orig.* قَوْلَةٌ and بَيْعَةٌ, like كَمَلَةٌ [247], *pl.* of كَامِلٌ *perfect* (Sn); and, as for the sounding true in such as حَوَكَةٌ and خَوَنَةٌ [247, 711], [*pls.* of حَاكٍ *weaving* and خَائِنٌ *unfaithful* (Sn),] it is anomalous by common consent. There remain two other conditions [not mentioned in the IM]. One, which IM mentions in the Tashīl and the CK, is that the ع be not a *subst.* for a letter not transformable, by which he guards against شَيْرَةٌ [with Fath of the ش, though Kasr is more excellent, as SBd transcribes from the CK (Sn),] for شَجَرَةٌ *tree* [685]; for they do not

transform [this ی (MN)], because the ی is a *subst.* for the ج : the poet says

إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ يَكُنْ هِلْ وَلَا جَنَى * فَأَبْعَدُكُنَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ شَيْرَاتِ

[685] (A) *If there be not in you any shade, nor any fruit, then God curse you for trees!*, where شَيْرَاتِ, with Fath of the ش, is *orig.* شَجَرَاتِ (MN). And the other is that the ع be not in the place of a letter not transformable, even if it be not a *subst.* [for such a letter], by which he guards against such as أَيَسَ i. q. يَيْسَ *despaired*, since its ی, though mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, is not transformed [into ا], because it is in the position of the Hamza; while the Hamza, if in its position, would not be [so] changed [658]; so that the ی is treated in the same way, because of its occurrence in the place of the Hamza. So he says in the CK: “and”, says he, “it may be that the ی in أَيَسَ is sounded true because, [even if it were transformable (Sn),] its transformation would be negated: for it was [*orig.*] before, but has since been put after, the Hamza; so that, if it were changed [into ا], two alterations, the alteration of transfer, [i. e., transposition (Sn),] and the alteration of change, [i. e., transformation,] would be combined in it”. This is his language: but some mention that the reason why [the ی in] أَيَسَ is not transformed is that the conjunction of the [preceding]

Fatha with it is adventitious, because the *ي* is the *ف* of the word; so that it is meant to be understood as prior, and the Hamza before it as posterior: and, according to this, the previous stipulation [in the fifth condition] that the conjunction of the Fatha with the *ي* should be original makes this condition unnecessary. And IBdh mentions another condition for this transformation, vid. that the sounding true should not be intended for a notification of the obsolete *o. f.*: and by that he guards against *قَوْدٌ* *retaliation* [685, 703, 711], *صَيْدٌ* *a certain disease in a camel's head* [703], and *جَيْدٌ*, i. e., *length, and beauty, of neck*; *حَيْدَى*, as *حِمَارٌ حَيْدَى* [272]; and *حَوَكَةٌ* and *خَوَنَةٌ* [above]. But this is not needed because these [*ns.*] are anomalous [in that their *و* or *ي* is not converted into *ا*] notwithstanding their fulfilment of the conditions (A); though *حَيْدَى*'s being anomalous proceeds only upon the opinion of Akh [above] that the *ا* of femininization does not prevent, not upon the opinion of Mz that it does prevent, transformation (Sn): and like those [*ns.*] in anomalousness are *رَوَّحٌ* and *غَيْبٌ*, [lexicological (Sn)] *pls. of رَآحٌ going at evening* and *غَائِبٌ absent* [257]; *عَفْرَةٌ* *pl. of عَفْرٌ* i. q. *جَحَشٌ a young ass*; *هُيَوَةٌ Huyawa*, [a stronghold belonging to the Banū Zubaid in AlYaman (MI)]; *أَوَّوٌ* *pl. of أَوَّءٌ*, which is the *very cunning man*; and *قِرْوَةٌ* *pl. of قِرْوٌ*, which is the *dog's*

platter (A). طَائِي [above] is anomalous (SH), because of what we have mentioned [298, 311]; but is (R) obligatory [below] (SH), necessary (R). They say, for the *rel. n.* (1) of الْحِيرَةُ *AlHira*, [a city near AlKūfa, حِيرِي; and (Jh, KF) also (Jh)] حَارِي, [irregularly (Jh),] as though, deeming the combination of the two Kasras with the [three] ي s to be heavy, they substituted a Fatha for the Kasra of the ح, and an ا for the [first] ي: (2) of دَوَّ [302], دَارِي, converting the quiescent first, into ا [311]. And [the Prophet's saying (KF)] ارْجِعْنَ مَا زَوَّرَاتٍ غَيْرَ مَا جَوَّرَاتٍ *Repent ye when laden [with sin], unrewarded* occurs in tradition, *orig.* مَزَوَّرَاتٍ, the [quiescent], being converted into ا for lightness [above], as we have mentioned (IY): [or] for conformity (KF), because of the influence of مَا جَوَّرَاتٍ (Jh); whereas, if it stood alone, مَزَوَّرَاتٍ would be said (Jh, KF): so says IAl (Jh). And hence their saying يَاجِلُ for يَوَجُلُ [333, 674, 701, 703], and يَيَّاسُ for يَاءَسُ [701], converting the [quiescent], and ي into ا, because they consider the combination of ي with ا to be easier for them than the combination of two ي s, and than ي together with, (IY). But such as يَاجِلُ [or يَاءَسُ], [though regular in some *dials.* (R),] is weak (SH), because of the conversion of the quiescent, [or ي], preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath,

into ۱ (R). And the most likely [opinion] is that the saying تَزَوَّدَ مِنَّا ٱلْح [16] and its counterparts are instances of that [conversion of the quiescent ى into ۱] (IY). Substitution of the ۱ for the Hamza is (M, SH) (1) obligatory [below] in such as ٱدَمُ [661, 682] (M, R), because of the combination of two Hamzas: (a) the meaning of “obligatory” [above] is that the use of the original [letter] is not allowable (IY): (2) regular, but (R) not obligatory (M, R), in such as رَاسُ [642, 658, 682] (M, SH), where the use of the original, or of the *deriv.*, [letter] is allowable, for which reason the substitution is not obligatory (IY), except according to the people of AlHijāz [658] (R). Its substitution for the [single (A)] ن [and the Tanwīn (R)] is (M, R, A) in pause (M, R), exclusively, upon three things, (۱) the *acc.* pronounced with Tanwīn (M), as in رَأَيْتُ [زَيْدًا] *I saw* (M) [Zaid [640] (M, R): (2) that [v.] to which the single [*corrob.* (IY)] ن preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath is affixed (M), as in لَنَسْفَعًا XCVI. 15. [153, 497, 608, 610, 649] (M, R, A); and similarly اضْرِبَا [614, 649]: AlA'shà says وَلَا تَعْبُدِ الشَّيْطَانَ ٱلْح [497, 649], meaning فَأَعْبُدُنْ; and the other says مَتَى تَأْتَانَا تَلْمِ ٱلْح [154, 424], meaning تَتَأَجَّجُنْ *that shall assuredly blaze up brightly*, [*orig.* تَتَأَجَّجُنْ, as explained below]; while Imra alKais, in his saying قَفَا نَدَكَ ٱلْح

[115, 640], is said to mean ^{فَنَفَّ} تَفَنُّ [649]; and the counterparts of that are numerous (IY): (a) تَأَجَّجَا in the [second] verse is [considered by AKB to be] a *pret.*, [as rendered in §. 424, on the authority of the Jsh,] the *!* being (a) for unbinding [640]; while its *ag.* is the *pron.* of (α) نَارًا *a fire*: AHD says in the Kitāb anNabāt “نَارٌ [264, 282] is made *masc.*, which is rare”; and then cites this verse: while some say that نَارٌ is only *fem.*; but that the poet makes the *pron. masc.*, because by نَارًا he means شِهَابًا *a flame*, which is *masc.*, or because the feminization of نَارٌ is improper [263], نَارًا تَأَجَّجَ being analogous to وَلَا أَرْضُ أَبْقَلُ [21, 263]: (β) حَطَبًا *firewood*, because it is more important, since the *fire* exists only by its means: (b) not for unbinding, but only the *pron.* of the two, حَطَبًا and نَارًا; while the *pron.* is made *masc.* because of the predominance of [the *masc.*] حَطَبًا over [the *fem.*] نَارًا [320]: F says “Akh says that he means the *fire* and the *firewood*”: (b) some say that تَأَجَّجَا is an *aor. v.*, from whose beginning the [aoristic] ت is elided; but that the *!* is substituted for the single *corrob.* ن, the *o. f.* being تَتَأَجَّجُنُ [above]: and in that case the latent *pron.* [165] belongs to the *fem.* نَارًا, for which reason the *v.* is made *fem.* (AKB): (3) إِذْنُ [594, 640], as فَعَلْتُهَا إِذَا XXVI. 19. [201] (M). The *!* is

substituted for the و in these positions because of the و 's resemblance to the letters of prolongation and softness, on account of the nasality in them [270, 450, 663, 671] (IY). Its substitution for the ز is [authorized by IH] in آ [above], according to one opinion (SH), i. e., that its *o. f.* is أَهْل , which is the saying of the BB [above]. This is valid, as respects [both] sense, because آ is i. q. أَهْل ; and [letter,] because its *dim.* is أَهْل ; although the saying of Ks [above] is nearer to analogy in changing و into ا . And for this reason the author of the KF adopts the opinion of the BB, saying "Its *o. f.* is أَهْل ": [though he does not follow IH and Jrb in holding its ز to be converted directly into ا ; but prefers the indirect conversion described by R in §. 683, adding] "the ز is changed into Hamza, [so that أَهْل becomes أَهْل (KF);] and then [two Hamzas occur consecutively, so that (KF)] the [second (KF)] Hamza [is changed (KF)] into ا " (MASH).

§. 685. The ي is the letter most extensively substituted (A). It is substituted for (1, 2) its two sisters [697] (M, SH), the ا and و (MASH); (3) the Hamza; (4) one of the duplicate [or triplicate] letters; (5) the و ; (6) the ع ; (7) the ب ; (8) the س ; (9) the ث (M, SH). Its substitution is frequent because it is a vocal [734] letter, whose outlet is from the middle of the

tongue [732]; so that, since its outlet occupies the middle of the mouth, and there is in it a lightness not [found] in any other [letter], it is substituted with a frequency not belonging to any other. Its substitution is of two kinds, regular and anomalous. The regular is its substitution for three letters, the **ا**, the **و**, and the Hamza (IY). Its substitution for the **ا** is [regular] in two cases, vid. where the letter before the **ا** is (1) pronounced with Kasr, as in **مَصَائِيحُ** *pl.* of **مِصْبَاحٌ** [18, 253, 256], and **مِفَاتِيحُ** *pl.* of **مِفْتَاحٌ** [253, 386]; and similarly in their *dims.* (Aud), **مُصَيِّبِيحٌ** [274, 283] and **مُفَيِّتِيحٌ** [274] (Tsr): (a) hence **قَاتِلَتُهُ** *inf. n.* of **قَاتَلَ**, and **ضَيْرَابٌ** *inf. n.* of **ضَارَبَتْهُ** [332]: (b) the reason why the **ا**, when the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr, must be converted into **ي** is that, being weak, on account of the width of its outlet, it acts as a [mere] letter of prolongation, impleting the vowel of the preceding letter (IY): (2) a **ي** of the *dim.* [279], as in **غُلَامٌ** *dim.* of **غُلِيمٌ** [369, 374] (Aud), because the letter after the **ي** of the *dim.* is only mobile [274], whereas the **ا** does not receive a vowel; while the letter before the **ا** is only mobile, whereas the **ي** of the *dim.* is only quiescent: so that, after the **ي** of the *dim.*, the **ا** must be converted into a letter that will be mobile, and will not prevent quiescence of the letter before it; and is therefore converted into **ي**, because of

its affinity to the preceding letter; and because, if the **ا** were converted into **و**, it would afterwards have to be converted into **ى**, as in **سَيِّدٌ** [below] (Tsr). Its substitution for the **و** is [regular] in ten cases, (1) where the **و** occurs after a Kasra, when the **و** is (a) final, [whether it be in an *act.* or *pass. v.*, or in a *n.* (Tsr),] as in **رَضِيَ** *was pleased* [686, 719] and **قَوِيَ** *was strong*, **عَفِيَ** *was effaced*, **الْغَارِي** *the raider* [301] and **الدَّاعِي** *the caller* (Aud): (a) the **و**, in these five *exs.* is converted into **ى** because of its occurrence as a final after a Kasra, their *o. f.* being **رَضَوْ** and **قَوَوْ** [728] from **رِضْوَانٌ** *pleasure* and **قُوَّةٌ** *strength* [729], **عَفَوْ** from **عَفْوٌ** *effacement*, and **الْغَارِزُ** and **الدَّاعِرُ** from **غَزَوْ** *raiding* and **دَعَا** *a call* (Tsr): (b) before the **ة** of feminization, as in **شَحِيَّةٌ** *sad* (Aud), said of a woman (Jh), an *act. part.* [on the measure of **فَعَلَةٌ** (Jh)] from **شَجْوٌ** *sadness* (Tsr); **أَكْسِيَّةٌ** [246] (Aud), *pl. of كَسَاءٌ* [683] (Tsr); **غَارِيَّةٌ** *raider* [724] (Aud), a [*fem.*] *act. part.* from **غَزَوْ** (Tsr); and **عُرَيْقِيَّةٌ** (Aud) and **تُرَيْقِيَّةٌ** [283] (Tsr), *dim. of عَرَقْرُقَةٌ* [248, 301, 675] (Aud) and **تَرَقْرُقَةٌ** [385, 675]: (a) the **و**, in the whole [of these *exs.*] is converted into **ى** because of its occurrence as a final after a Kasra, since the **ة** of feminization is virtually separate [266]: (b) the **و**, in **عُرَيْقِيَّةٌ** [or **تُرَيْقِيَّةٌ**] ought not to be converted into

ى , because the word is [*orig.*] formed with the *ṣ* , as is proved by [the fact] that we have no *infl. n.* ending in a , preceded by Damma, which shows that عَرَقَوۡة [or تَرَقَوۡة] is on a par with عُنْفُوۡان [721]; but they make no distinction here between the word's being [*orig.*] formed with the *ṣ* and its not being so (Tsr) : (c) سَوَاسِوۡة pl. of سَوَآء [with Fath of the س , i. q. مُسْتَوٍ equal, as سَوَاسِوۡة النَّاسُ] *فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ* The people are equal in this matter (Tsr), and مَقَاتِوۡة meaning servants [below] are anomalous (Aud) : (α) سَوَاسِوۡة is, as it were, pl. of مُسْتَوٍ [above] by elision of the *aug.*, except that another س is added in it (Tsr) : (β) its measure is فَعَاِفِلَة : and it is anomalous in several [other (Sn)] respects, *firstly* the repetition of the ف in the pl., notwithstanding its not being repeated in the *sing.*, which is the counterpart of the repetition of the ع [in the *dim.* (Tsr)] in عَشِيۡشِيۡة [286] (Tsr, Sn), *dim.* of عَشِيۡة , notwithstanding its not being repeated in the *non-dim.* (Sn) : *secondly* the pluralization of فَعَال upon this measure, the pl. required by analogy being اَسْوِيۡة , like اَقْبِيۡة pl. of قَبَاء tunic [246] : *thirdly* [the repetition of the ف as an *aug.*, notwithstanding that the ع is not repeated with it, since (Sn)] the rule is that, when the ف is repeated as an *aug.*, the ع [also (Tsr)] should be repeated with it, as in مَرَمَرِيۡس [370, 671]; and

that, when it is repeated alone, it should be *rad.*, as in قَرَفٌ and سُنْدُسٌ [671] (Tsr, Sn): so in the Tsr (Sn): (γ) مَقَاتِرَةٌ [above] is [said by Dm to be (Sn)] *pl.* of مَقْتَرٍ *act. part.* (Tsr, Sn) of اِقْتَرَى i. q. خَدَمَ served (Sn), from قَتَرٌ i. q. خِدْمَةٌ service (Tsr), being *orig.*, [as in the Tsr (Sn),] مَقْتَرٍ; but having the [second (Sn)] و, converted into ي, because final after a Kasra; and being then subjected to the same transformation as قَاضٍ [16] (Tsr, Sn); [so that its sound *pl.* is مَقْتَرُونَ, like قَاضُونَ (234),] as

مَتَى كُنَّا لِأَهْلِكَ مَقْتَرِينَ

When were we servants to thy family? [below] (Tsr): [but the author of the KF says that] اِقْتَرَاهُ is i. q. اِسْتَخْدَمَهُ took him as a servant, anomalous, because اِفْعَلَ is *intrans.* [494A, 496]; and [that] the *sing.* of مَقَاتِرَةٌ and مَقَاتِيَّةٌ [below] is مَقْتَرِيٌّ, [like اَشْعَثِيٌّ *sing.* of اَشَاعِثَةٌ (253, 265)] (KF): (δ) the servant is called مَقْتَرِيٌّ with Fath of the م, and doubling of the ي, as though it were a *rel. n.* [300] from مَقْتَرٍ service, which is an *inf. n.*; but the ي of relation may be made single, [as in يَبَان (311), in which case مَقْتَرِيٌّ becomes مَقْتَرٍ; the sound *pl.* of which is مَقْتَرُونَ, like قَاضُونَ (234),] as in the saying of 'Amr Ibn Kulthūm

نَهَدَدُنَا وَنُوعِدُنَا رُؤَيْدًا * مَتَى كُنَّا لِأُمِّكَ مَقْتَرِينَ

[above] (Jh) *Thou browbeatest us, and threatenest us. Gently! When were we servants to thy mother, (that thou shouldst browbeat us, and threaten us)?*: [while some say that] the [sound] *pl.* is formed by rejecting the *ي* of relation; so that you say مَقْتَرُونَ in the *nom.*, and مَقْتَرِينَ in the *acc.* and *gen.* (EM): S says "They asked Khl about مَقْتَرِي *pl.* مَقْتَرُونَ; and he said that it was on a par with أَشْعَرِي *pl.* أَشْعَرُونَ [253]" (Jh): (ε) these two [anomalous formations] have no third: ISd says in the Muhkam that F said "IAmb told me, on the authority of Th, that the latter had not heard any [formation] like مَقَاتِرَةٌ, except one word that AUd had told him, vid. سَوَاسِوَةٌ meaning سَوَآءٌ" (Tsr): (ζ) سَوَآءٌ i. q. مُسْتَوٍ is predicable of one or more, as لَيْسُوا سَوَآءٌ III. 109. *They are not equal*, because it is *orig.* an *inf. n.* [143], i. q. اِسْتِوَاءٌ *equality* (ML): (η) they say سَوَاسِيَةٌ also, according to the general rule in transformation (Tsr, Sn); and the *pl.* of مَقْتَرٍ ought to be مَقَاتِيَةٌ [above]: (θ) IBr says in the Glosses on the Jh that سَوَاسِيَةٌ is a heteromorphous *pl.* of سَوَآءٌ, like أَبَاطِيلُ *pl.* of بَاطِلٌ [255]; as though it were *pl.* of سَوَسَاةٌ: and that the measure of سَوَسَاةٌ is فَعْلَلَةٌ, like [that of] شَوْشَاةٌ *agile*; not فَعْلَلَةٌ, because

the *cat.* of سَلِس [674] is extraordinary; nor فَعَعَلَةٌ , because the *cat.* of كَوَكَبٌ [373, 671, 672] is extraordinary; nor فَعَعَلَةٌ , because the ف is not repeated alone: so that [the notion of] سَوَاسِيَةٌ's being فَعَالِيَّةٌ or فَوَاعِلَةٌ or فَعَانِلَةٌ is vain; and it must be فَعَالِلَةٌ: and this is a fine discourse, which the author of the Aud transcribes in the Glosses [on the IM]: (c) before the ا of femininization, (a) abbreviated, as when you form from غَزَوْ a word [on the measure of فِعْلِلَى ,] like هِنْدَبَى [397, 399], in which case you say غَزَوِيَا ; (b) prolonged, as when you form from غَزَوْ a word [on the measure of اَفْعَلَاءُ ,] like اَرْبَعَاءُ [273, 390], in which case you say اَغْرِيَاءُ (Tsr): (d) before the *aug.* ا and ن , [which resembles the two ا s of femininization (Tsr),] as in your saying غَرِيَانُ [686] on the pattern of قَطِرَانُ [385] from غَزَوْ (Aud), because the two ا s of femininization [263] and what resembles them are virtually separate [from the *n.* ending therein] (Tsr): (2) where the و occurs as ع of an *inf. n.* of a *v.* transformed in the ع , and is preceded by a Kasra, and followed by an ا , as in صِيَامُ *fasting* and قِيَامُ *standing* [713] (Aud), *inf. ns.* of the [unaugmented] *tril.* (Tsr); and انْقِيَادُ *submissiveness* [713] and اِعْتِيَادُ *accustoming oneself* (Aud), *inf. ns.* of the augmented [*tril.*]: *orig.*

صَوَامٌ and قَوَامٌ, and انْقَوَاتٌ and اَعْدَوَاتٌ, the و in which is converted into ى, because it is transformed in their *vs.* by conversion into ا [684, 703]; while its remaining sound in the *inf. n.* after a Kasra, and before a letter resembling the ى in prolongation, would be deemed heavy; so that it is transformed in the *inf. n.* by conversion into ى, for the purpose of making the *inf. n.* accord with its *v.* in [the fact, if not the mode, of] transformation, in order that the action on the crude-form may become uniform [as a euphonic change of the ع] (Tsr): contrary to such as (a) سَوَارٌ *bracelet* [below] and سَوَالٌ *tooth-pick* (Aud), generic *ns.* [3], where the و is not converted into ى (Tsr), because the quality of *inf. n.* is non-existent; (b) لَوَاتٌ *inf. n.* of لَوَدَ *sought refuge*, one with another, and جَوَارٌ *inf. n.* of جَاوَرَ *was neighbour to*, [where, though they are *inf. ns.*, the و is not converted into ع (Tsr),] because the ع of the *v.* [لَوَدَ and جَاوَرَ (Tsr)] is sounded true; (c) رَوَاحٌ *inf. n.* of رَاحَ *went in the evening*, for lack of the Kasra (Aud) before it (Tsr); (d) حَوَلٌ [below] *inf. n.* of حَالَ *shifted* and عَوَدٌ *inf. n.* of عَادَ *visited the sick*, [where, though they are *inf. ns.* whose *vs.* حَالَ and عَادَ are transformed by conversion of their ع into ا, the و is not converted into ى (Tsr)] for lack of the ا (Aud) after them (Tsr): (a) in this case, [i. e., where the ا is lacking (Tsr),] transformation

is rare, as جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ قِيَمًا وَآرَازُتُوهُمْ IV. 4. [*And give not unto lunatics your goods, which*] *God hath made to be a support for you ; but maintain them*, in the reading of Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir, [i. q. قِيَمًا, like عَوْدٌ i. q. عِيَادٌ seeking protection (K, B),] and جَعَلَ اللَّهُ الْكَعْبَةَ الْآبِيَّتَ V. 98. [156] *to be a station for men*, [where the fearful shall take refuge, and the weak be safe, and the merchant shall gain, and whereto the pilgrims and settlers shall repair (B),] in the reading of Ibn 'Āmir (Aud), their o. f. being قَوْمًا, but the , being converted into ى because the preceding letter is pronounced with Kasr (Tsr): (α) قِيمٌ is an *inf. n.* on [the measure of] فَعَلَ, like شَبِعَ [348], its ع being transformed [into ى], as it is transformed [into ا] in its v. (B on V. 98.): (b) sounding [the ,] true, notwithstanding the fulfilment of the conditions, in نَارِ الطَّبِيبَةِ *inf. n.* of نَارٌ *inf. n.* of نَفَرَتْ, is anomalous (Aud): (α) by rule it should be نِيَارٌ; but it occurs with the , sounded true, as in the saying of Al'Ajjāj

يَخْلُطْنَ بِالتَّائِسِ التَّوَارًا

They mingle shyness with familiarity, cited by IJ (Tsr): (β) no counterpart of it has been heard (Aud), says IM in the CK (Tsr): (γ) 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar reads قَوْمًا

with the و [in IV. 4. above]; but [this is not an *inf. n.*, since] قَوَامٌ is *what a thing is supported by*, like مَلَاكٌ for *what a matter is governed by* (K): (3) where the و occurs as ع of a *pl.* sound in the ل , and is preceded by a Kasra; while, in the *sing.*, it is (a) transformed, [i. e., converted (Tsr),] as in دِيَارٌ *pl.* of دَارٌ *house*, حِيَلٌ *pl.* of حِيلَةٌ *artifice* [684], دِيَمٌ *pl.* of دِيَمَةٌ [below], قِيَمٌ *pl.* of قِيَمَةٌ *value, price* [238, 278], and قِيَمٌ *pl.* of قَامَةٌ *stature* [238] (Aud): (α) the *o. f.* is دَوَارٌ , حَوْلٌ , دَوْمٌ , and قَوْمٌ ; but, since the و is preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr in the whole [of these *exs.*], and in the *sing.* is transformed by conversion into ا in the first and last, and into ي in the intermediate [*exs.*], it becomes weak, so that the Kasra overpowers it: (b) we deduce from the multiplication of the *exs.* that, when the و is transformed in the *sing.*, the occurrence of the ا after it [in the *pl.*], as in دِيَارٌ [above], is not prescribed as a condition, contrary to the opinion of IUK (Tsr): (c) حَوَجٌ *pl.* of حَاجَةٌ *need* is anomalous (Aud), the regular form being حَيْجٌ , because the و is preceded by Kasra, and is transformed in the *sing.* [by conversion into ا] (Tsr): (b) quasi-transformed, i. e., quiescent, in which the condition of conversion is that it be followed in the *pl.* by an ا , as in سَيَاطٌ *pl.* of سَيَاطٌ *whip* [242, 713], حَيَاضٌ *pl.* of حَوْضٌ *cistern*, and رِيَاضٌ *pl.* of رِيَاضٌ *garden*

pl. of رَوْضٌ [238, 254, 713] (Aud) : (α) their *o. f.* is سَوَاطِ ,
 حَوَاضٌ , and رَوَاضٌ : but, since the , is preceded by a letter
 pronounced with Kasra in the whole [of them], and is
 quiescent in the *sing.*, it becomes weak, so that the
 Kasra overpowers it ; while the overpowering effect of
 the Kasra is strengthened by the presence of the † (Tsr),
 because of what is mentioned [in case 2] above, that the
 † resembles the ى [in prolongation] (Sn) : (b) it results
 that conversion of the , into ى in this case has five
 conditions, (α) that the expression be a *pl.*; (β) that
 the , in its *sing.* be dead by reason of quiescence; (γ, δ)
 that the , in the *pl.* be preceded by a Kasra, and
 followed by an †; (ε) that it be sound in the † (A) : (c)
 if the † be missing, the , is sounded true, as in كَوَزَةٌ *pl.* of
 كَوْزٌ *mug*, and عَوْدَةٌ *pl.* of عَوْدٌ with Fath of its initial,
 meaning *an old camel* (Aud), because, when the † is
 lacking, the work of the tongue is less ; so that the
 articulation of the , after the Kasra is lightened : for
 which reason the , is sounded true ; and may not be
 transformed, because to the lack of transformation [in
 the *sing.*] is joined the protection of the , by its distance
 from the end [of the word], in consequence of the ‡ of
 feminization, [which is regarded as an outwork protect-
 ing the , on its weak side, i. e., towards the end, where
 alteration is prevalent] (Tsr) : (α) ثِيَبَةٌ [*pl.* of ثَوْرٌ *bull*, by

change of the , into ي (Tsr),] is anomalous (Aud), the regular form being ثَوْرٌ with the , sounded true: (β) it is said that the o. f. is ثَوْرٌ with quiescence of the , , which is transformed [into ثَيْرٌ (257)] by conversion of the , into ي [case 5 below]; and that the ي is afterwards pronounced with Fath: (γ) Mb asserts that it is contracted from فَعَالَةٌ [237], being orig. ثَيَارَةٌ, for which reason it is transformed, [because of the presence of the ا]; and that it is afterwards contracted [into ثَيْرٌ]: so IM transmits from him: (δ) the [explanation generally] recognized as his, however, is that they say ثَيْرٌ in order that the conversion [of the , into ي] may be an indication that it is pl. of ثَوْرٌ bull, meaning the animal, not of ثَوْرٌ slab, meaning of dried curd, the distinctive peculiarity [of ثَوْرٌ in the former sense] being that, since they say ثَيْرَانٌ [256], by conversion of the , into ي, because quiescent, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [case 5 below], as pl. of ثَوْرٌ bull, meaning the animal, they make its pl. ثَيْرٌ accord therewith; whereas the pl. ثَوْرٌ slabs, meaning of dried curd, has no [such alternative] form, wherewith it might be made to accord in conversion: so says Jrb (Tsr): (d) the , is also sounded true, (α) if it be mobile in the sing., as in طَوَالٌ pl. of

وَأَنَّ أَعَزَّاءَ آلِ حَجَّ [246, 279, 713]: while the saying [246, 713] is anomalous (Aud), by rule and usage, the regular form being طَوَّالُهَا, as K1 gives in his version of it (Tsr); and hence, as is said XXX-VIII. 30. *The horses standing upon three legs and the point of the toe of the fourth leg, the coursers* (Aud), pl. of جَوَادٌ (Tsr): though الْجِيَادُ [in the text (Tsr)] is said to be [not anomalous, but only (Tsr)] pl. of [جَوْدٌ *courser* or (B)] جَيْدٌ [251], not of جَوَادٌ (Aud); and, says IM in the CK, as for طَوَّيَالٌ pl. of طَوَّيْلٌ, possibly it may be regarded as [a heteromorphous pl.,] of the *cat.* of جِيَادٌ pl. of جَوَادٌ, as though it were pl. of طَاوَلٌ from طَالَهُ meaning *surpassed him in tallness* (Tsr): (β) if the J be unsound, [a ي or و, the first (Tsr)] as in رِيَانٌ [343, 348] (Aud), فَعْلَانٌ from رِيٌّ [348], orig. رَوْيَانٌ, the و being converted into ي, which is incorporated into the ي [case 7 below] (Tsr); and [the second as in (Tsr)] جَوْرٌ with [Fath of the ج, and (Tsr)] doubling of the و, (Aud), the *air* (KF), i. e., *what is between the sky and the earth*, and [Jaww,] the name of a district in *Al Yamāma* (Tsr): in which case one says [in their pl. (Tsr)] رَوَّاءٌ [278, 713] and جَوَّاءٌ [below] (Aud), like رَجَالٌ [235, 237] (Tsr), with the ع, [vid. the و, (Tsr),] sounded true (Aud);

orig. رَوَى and جَوَاوُ , the ي and [second] و , being changed into Hamza, because final after an *aug.* † [683]: while transformation of their ع is not allowable with that [transformation of their ج] (Tsr), lest two transformations occur consecutively (Aud); so that one is restricted to transformation of the ج , because it is the seat of alteration (Tsr): and similarly in what resembles them (Aud), i. e., where the ج is transformed by being changed into Hamza, and the ع is [therefore] sounded true (Tsr): (4) where the و occurs as a final, fourth or upwards [727] (Aud), [and] after a Fatha (IA, A), because, in that case, the expression containing it does not lack a transformable counterpart, with which it is made to accord——so says BD——whether the و be in a *n.* or *v.* (Tsr):——you say عَطَوْتُ [I took (Tsr)] and زَكَوْتُ [I throve, by retaining the و in its own form, because it is third (Tsr)]; but, when you put the Hamza or reduplication [433], you say أُعْطَيْتُ I gave and زَكِّيتُ I purified, [by changing the و into ي, because it becomes fourth (Tsr)]: and you say, in the *pass. part.* [of أُعْطِيتُ and زَكِّيتُ, when the sign of dualization is attached to it (Tsr)], مُعْطَيَانِ and مُزَكِّيَانِ (Aud), by changing the و into ي [229]: (a) the reason why it is changed into ي in the *pret.* and *pass. part.* of the augmented *v.*, although it is not after a Kasra, is that (Tsr) they make the *pret.* [أُعْطِيتُ and زَكِّيتُ (Tsr)]

accord with the *aor.* [يُعْطَى and يُزَكَّى (Tsr)], and the *pass. part.* [مُعْطِيَان and مُزَكِّيَان (Tsr)] with the *act. part.* [مُعْطِيَان and مُزَكِّيَان with Kasr of the ط and ك (Tsr)], since each of them, [i. e., of the *aor.* and *act. part.* (Tsr),] has a Kasra before its final [case 1] (Aud): (a) they make the *deriv.*, [i. e., the *pass. part.*,] accord with its original, [the *act. part.*,] as they make the original, [i. e., the *pret.*,] accord with its *deriv.*, [the *aor.*] (Tsr): (b) S asked [his master (Tsr)] Khl about the reason for the transformation of [the , in] such [*prets.*] as تَغَارَيْنَا We raided one another [727] and تَدَاعَيْنَا We called one another, [orig. تَغَارَوْنَا and تَدَاعَوْنَا, the , being changed into ي (Tsr),] notwithstanding that the *aor.* [تَغَارَى and تَدَاعَى (Tsr)] has no Kasra before its final: and he answered that the transformation existed [in the *pret.*] before the coming of the initial ت, vid. in غَارَيْنَا and دَاعَيْنَا, for conformity with [the *aor.*] نَغَارَى and نَدَاعَى [with Kasr of their penultimate (Tsr)]; and that it was afterwards retained in company with the ت [of تَفَاعَل] (Aud), as with the ة of feminization in such as مُعْطَاة given (Tsr), the ا of which is converted from a ي, because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684]; while this ي is converted from a , because occurring fourth [and] after a Fatha (Sn): and this is a

good explanation of the reason (Tsr): (c) their saying يَشَائِنَ [727] in the aor. of [the unaugmented tril.] شَأْ [with Fath of the Hamza, as likewise is the aor., (Sn)], meaning *preceded, outwent*, is anomalous, the regular form being يَشَائِرَانِ, because it is from شَأْ; while [in the aor.] there is no Kasra before the , , on account of which it might be converted into ي; nor is the , converted in the pret., with which the aor. might be made to accord: if, indeed, the Hamza of transport be prefixed to it, you say يَشَائِنِ [in the pass. (Sn)], for conformity with the act. (A) يَشِئَانِ, the , of which is converted into ي on account of the Kasra before it (Sn): (5) where the , , when quiescent, [and] single, follows immediately after a Kasra, as in مِيزَانٌ *a balance*, [orig. مِزَانٌ, because from وَزَنٌ *weighing* (Tsr),] and مِيقَاتٌ *time appointed for performance of an action* [278] (Aud), orig. مَوْقَاتٌ, because from وَقْتُ *time*, where the , is converted into ي, because quiescent [and single] and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr (Tsr): contrary to such as (a) صَوَانٌ *receptacle of a thing* (Tsr)] and سَوَارٌ [above] (Aud), because the , in them is mobile, not quiescent (Tsr); (b) اِجْلَوَانٌ (Aud) *continuance, together with swiftness, of journeying* [332, 482, 494] (Tsr), and اِعْلَوَانٌ (Aud) *clinging to the neck*, as اِعْلَوَانٌ بَعِيرَةٍ

meaning *He clung to the neck of his camel, and mounted him* [482, 494, 675], because the , in them is double, not single : (a) اِجْلِيَاً is anomalous, not to be copied : so says IM in the Tashil (Tsr) : (6) where the , is a ل of نُعَلَى with Damm, when an ep. [272], as in اِنَّا زَيْنَا السَّمَاءَ [272], as in اِنَّا زَيْنَا السَّمَاءَ XXXVII. 6. *Verily We have adorned the heaven nearest [to you (K, B)] and your saying لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ الدَّرَجَةُ* لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ *For the pious is the highest rank* [725] (Aud), orig. عَلُوُّ and الدُّنْوَى , because from دُنُو nearness and عُلُو elevation, the , in them being converted into ي , because the , with the Damma [of the initial] and the sign of feminization, is deemed heavy in the ep., [which is considered heavier than the substantive ;] so that its ل is lightened by conversion into ي : (a) the proof that نُعَلَى [here] is an ep. is its being preceded by its qualified, as exemplified : (b) this is the original use [of الدُّنْيَا] ; while their use of it [as a substantive, which is] not preceded by a qualified [359], is a divergence from the original, but is subject to the same treatment [of the ل] (Tsr) : (c) as for the saying of the Hijāzīs اَلْمَسَافَةُ اَلْقُصْرَى [The farthest distance, with the , sounded true (Tsr)], it is anomalous by rule, [but] chaste by usage, serving to notify the o. f., as [it is notified (Tsr)] in [the v., like (Tsr)] اِسْتَحْوَذَ mastered, and [the substantive, like (Tsr)] قَوْدَ [684, 711] (Aud), by rule اِسْتَحَاذَ and قَادَ

with transformation, which is omitted for notification of the o. f. [725]: (d) the Banù Tamīm say الْقُصَيَّا with transformation, according to rule (Tsr): (e) if فُعْلَى be a substantive, [not an ep., the ل in (Tsr)] it is not altered [by being changed into ي; but the , is retained in its o. f., to distinguish the substantive from the ep. (Tsr)], as in the saying [of Dhu-rRumma (MN, Tsr)]

أَدَارًا بِحُزْوَى هَجَّتْ لِلْعَيْنِ عَبْرَةً * فَبَاءَ آلْهَرَى يَرْفُضُ أَوْ يَتَرَقُّ

[725] (Aud) *O abode in Huzwā [272], thou hast excited for the eye a flow of tears, so that the water of emotion gushes part after part, or remains fluctuating in the eye, coming and going* (MN, Tsr), with the , in حُزْوَى retained in its [original] state: and they do not reverse [the rule], because the substantive is lighter than the ep.: (f) in what the author of the Aud mentions, vid. that the ل of فُعْلَى, when a , , is changed in the ep., and preserved in the substantive, he follows IM; while IUK says that this [rule laid down by IM] is contrary to the saying of the Etymologists, who reverse [it], changing the , in the substantive, not in the ep., so that they make حُزْوَى anomalous [725] (Tsr): but IM says, in one of his books, ["The GG say that this is peculiar to the substantive, though they exemplify only by a pure ep., or by الدُّنْيَا, where the substantivity is adventitious; and they assert that the sounding (of the ,) true in

حَزَزِي is anomalous, like that in حَيَوَة (below): but this is a doctrine of whose correctness there is no evidence; whereas" (A)] "what I say is confirmed by evidence, and is agreeable with [the doctrine of (Tsr)] the Masters of lexicology: [for] Az quotes Fr and JSk as saying that whatever *ep.* is like الدُّنْيَا and اَنْعَلِيَا is with the ي, since they deem the , heavy with the Damma of its initial," [and with the heaviness of the *ep.* (Sn)]; "nor is there any dispute about it, except that the people of AlHijāz display the , in اَلْقَصَوِي [above], while the Banū Tamīm say اَلْقَصِيَا " (A, Tsr): and, as for the saying of IH "contrary to the *ep.*, as اَلْغَزَوِي " [725], meaning the *fem.* of اَلْأَغْزَى the greatest raider, BD says "It is an exemplification of his own, and is not accompanied by any report [of its having been heard from the Arabs]; while analogy requires that اَلْغُرِيَا should be said, as اَلْعَلِيَا is said" (A): (7) where the , and ي meet, [and are combined (Tsr),] in a [single (Tsr)] word (Aud), or what is virtually a [single] word, like مُسْلِمِي my Muslims (A), in the *nom.*, because the *pre.* and *post.* are like one thing, especially when the *post.* is the ي of the 1st *pers.* [129] (Sn); while the first of the two [unsound letters] is quiescent, original in nature and quiescence [716] (Aud): for, when these conditions are combined, the , must be converted into ي, whether the , precede or

follow, because it is heavier than the **ي**, in order that lightness may, so far as possible, be attained (Tsr); and then the [first] **ي** must be incorporated into the [second] **ي** [747] (Aud), because of the combination of two likes [731] (Tsr): (a) *exs.* of that, (α) where the **ي** precedes [the **و** (Tsr)], are **سَيِّدٌ** and **مَيِّتٌ** [251, 703], *orig.* **سَيِّوُدٌ** and **مَيِّوَتٌ** [683, 716] (Aud), because from **سَادٌ** *was lord*, aor. **يَسُوْدُ** by common consent, and **مَاتٌ** *died*, aor. **يَمُوْتُ** according to one of the two *dials.* [482]: (α) their measure, according to critical judges, vid. the BB, is **فَيَعِلُ** with Kasr of the **ع**: (β) the Bdd hold it to be **فَيَعِلُ** with Fath of the **ع**, like **ضَيِّغٌ** and **صَيِّرٌ** [373], transferred to **فَيَعِلُ** with Kasr of the **ع**, because, say they, we do not see, in the sound, any *n.* on [the measure of] **فَيَعِلُ** with Kasr: but this [argument] is weak, because what does not occur in the sound sometimes occurs in the unsound, which is a separate sort; so that this may be a formation peculiar to the unsound [251], like **فَاعِلٌ** *pl.* of **فَاعَلَ**, as **رَمَاةٌ** and **قُضَاةٌ** [247]; and, if **سَيِّدٌ** were **فَيَعِلُ** with Fath, they would say **سَيِّدٌ** with Fath (Tsr): (b) where the **و** precedes [the **ي** (Tsr)], are **طَوَّيْتُ** and **لَوَّيْتُ** [278, 302], *inf. ns.* of **طَوَّيْتُ** *I folded* and **كَوَّيْتُ** *I twisted*, *orig.* **طَوَّيْتُ** and **كَوَّيْتُ** (Aud), with Fath of their first, and quiescence of their second [letter], their **و**, being converted into **ي**, and incorporated into

the ی (Tsr) : (b) sounding [the , (Tsr)] true is necessary, (α) if the , and ی be in two words, as ^سيَدْعُو يَاسِرٌ *Yāsir calls* [with the , preceding the ی (Tsr)], and ^ييَرْمِي وَاعِدٌ *A threatener will shoot* (Aud) with the ی preceding the , (Tsr) : (b) if the first of them be (α) mobile, as ^لطَوِيلٌ [with the , mobilized with Kasr (Tsr)], and ^رغَيْرٌ [348,714] (Aud) with the ی mobilized with Damm (Tsr) : (β) adventitious in nature (Aud), [not, however, as Kh distinguishes, when necessarily so, but only when] allowably, which is [explained by him as] of three sorts, substituted for an ا [686], as ^رسَوِيرٌ [716]; substituted for a ی [686], as when you form from ^عبَيْعٌ a [v.] commensurable with ^ربَيْطَرٌ [482], saying ^عبَيَّعَ, and then put it into the *pass.*, saying ^عبُرِعَ; and substituted for a Hamza [658] (Tsr), as ^ررَوِيَّةٌ alleviated form of ^ررَوِيَّةٌ *sight* (Aud) : for in the whole of that there is no change [of , into ی], nor any incorporation, because the first [unsound] letter is [allowably] adventitious; contrary to ^مأَيِّمٌ alleviated form of ^مأَوِيْمٌ, which is on the model of ^مأَبْلَمٌ [372] from ^مأَيِّمَةٌ *being without husband*, or *without wife* : since the second Hamza is changed into , [as in ^نأَوْتَمِنَ], because the one before it is pronounced with Damm [661], so that ^مأَوِيْمٌ becomes ^مأَوِيْمٌ; and this change is necessary [661] : and then the , is converted into ی, which is incorporated

into the [second] $ي$, so that $أَوَيْمُ$ becomes $أَيْمُ$; and this [process also of] change and incorporation is necessary, because the $ي$ is necessarily adventitious in nature, since it is *orig.* [a second] Hamza, [the alleviation of which is necessary;] the adventitiousness that defends from change being only the allowable, not the necessary, adventitiousness (Tsr): (γ) adventitious in quiescence, as $قَوَى$ [with quiescence of the $ي$ (Tsr)], *orig.* [$قَوَى$] with Kasr [above] (Aud), because it is a *pret. v.* (Tsr); but made quiescent [in the medial] for lightness, as $عَلِمَ$ [with quiescence of the $ل$ (Tsr)] is said for $عَلِمَ$ [482] (Aud) with Kasr of it: though some allow $قَيَّ$ with incorporation after conversion (Tsr): (c) three sorts deviate anomalously from what we have mentioned, (α) a sort [in] which [the $ي$,] is transformed, though it does not fulfil the conditions, like the reading [$بَلَدِيَّ$] in XII. 43. [498] with change [of the Hamza into $ي$, and of the $ي$ into $ي$,] and incorporation [of the first $ي$ into the second] (Aud), although the $ي$ is [allowably] adventitious in nature, because it is alleviated from the [single] Hamza [658]: (α) Ks, who heard this reading, transmits that [doctrine of its anomalousness]; but some, says IM in the CK, transmit that it is regular, according to one *dial.* (Tsr): (β) a sort [in] which [the $ي$,] is sounded true, notwithstanding [its] fulfilment of them, [i. e., of the

conditions. (Tsr),] as ضَيُون [male cat (Tsr)], أَيُّوم [below], عَوِيَّة *inf. n.* of عَوَى الْكَلْبُ *The dog howled*, and رَجَاءُ بَنُ حَيوة *Rajā Ibn Haiwa* (Aud) : (α) you do not incorporate in ضَيُون [below], because it is a [*prim.* (Jh)] substantive, which is not conformable to the *v.* (Jh, Tsr); and similarly in حَيوة [below], a man's name; both being different [in this respect] from هَيِّنٌ, مَيِّتٌ, سَيِّدٌ, and جَيِّدٌ [251] (Jh): so says Jh: (β) أَيُّوم is on the measure of أَفْعَلٌ: they say, on a day wherein hardship has befallen them, يَوْمٌ أَيُّومٌ *a most hard day*, i. e., كَثِيرُ الشِّدَّةِ (Tsr): (γ) حَيوة *Haiwa*, [says Jh in the Ṣaḥāḥ (Tsr),] is not subjected to incorporation, [as هَيِّنٌ and مَيِّتٌ are (Jh),] because it is a [*coined, prim.* (Jh),] name [4] (Jh, Tsr) of a man (Tsr), not conformable to the *v.* (Jh); [and it is] diptote because of the quality of proper name and femininization [18] (Tsr): (c) a sort in which the ع is changed into و, into which the [preceding] و is incorporated, [according to the converse of the rule (Tsr),] as عَوَّة [inf. n. of عَوَى الْكَلْبُ (above), by rule عَيَّة (Tsr),] and نَهَوَّ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ [686] (Aud), by rule نَهَى [722], because *orig.* نَهَوَّى, being فَعُولٌ from نَهَى *forbidding* (Tsr): (d) [both] transformation and sounding true are regular in the *dim.* of that *n.* [mobile in the و (Tsr)] whose broken *pl.* is on

[the measure of] مَفَاعِلُ [18, 253, 256], as جَدَوُلُ [369] (Aud), *pl.* جَدَاوِلُ [253]; and أَسَوْدُ, when [a substantive (Tsr)] denoting *serpent* (Aud), *pl.* أَسَاوِدُ (Jh, Tsr), because it is a substantive; whereas, if it were an *ep.* [below], its *pl.* would be [سَوْدُ] on [the measure of] فُعْلُ [249] (Jh): so that, in the *dim.* of جَدَوُلُ and أَسَوْدُ, you say جَدَيُولُ and أُسَيُودُ [279], by sounding [the و] true; and جَدَيْلُ and أُسَيْدُ [279], by transforming [it into ي], and incorporating the ي of the *dim.* into it]: (a) as for the transformation, which is the preferable [method], it is the same process as in سَيْدُ and مَيْتُ [above], according to the rule; and, as for the sounding true, it is because you treat this ي [of the *dim.*] like the ا of جَدَاوِلُ and أَسَاوِدُ [279], since the ي of the *dim.* and the ا of the broken *pl.* are each put to denote a meaning; (b) if أَسَوْدُ were an *ep.* [348], transformation would be necessary in [the *dim.* of] it, because it does not take the *pl.* أَسَاوِدُ: so says BD (Tsr); [but Jh says that] the *dim.* of أَسَوْدُ *black* is أُسَيْدُ, and, if you will, أُسَيُودُ, [meaning *blackish*,] i.e., *approximating to blackness* [287] (Jh): (c) by our saying “mobile in the و” [above] we guard against such as عَجُوزُ and عُبُودُ, because, though their broken *pl.* [246] is on [the measure of] مَفَاعِلُ [above], transformation [of the و] is necessary in their *dim.*, as

عَجَزٌ [279] and عَمِيدٌ; and sounding true is not allowable: the difference being that the mobile is strong [279], and the quiescent weak; while the vowel of [the , in] the *dim.* [أَسِيدٌ and جَدِيدٌ] is not taken into account, because it is adventitious: so says IAz (Tsr): (d) the *pl.* of ضَيَّوْنٌ [above] is ضَيَّانٌ [715], the , being sounded true in its *pl.*, because sounded true in the *sing.*: but, for its *dim.*, S says ضَيِّينٌ, transforming it, and making it like أَسِيدٌ, [which is allowable as *dim.* of أَسَوْدُ serpent,] although its *pl.* is أَسَاوِدٌ; while there is nothing to prevent those who say أَسِيدٌ for the *dim.* [of أَسَوْدُ] from saying ضَيِّينٌ (Jh): (8) where the , is the ل of the مَفْعُولُ [of the *v.* (Tsr)] whose *pret.* is on [the measure of] فَعَلَ with Kasr of the ع, [the *trans.* and *intrans.* being alike in that respect, the first (Tsr)] as رَضِيَ approved it, *pass. part.* مَرْضَى approved [722]; and [the second as (Tsr)] قَوَّى عَلَى زَيْدٍ overpowered Zaid, *pass. part.* مَقْوًى عَلَى overpowered (Aud); *orig.* مَرَضُو [722] and مَقْرُو, with two , s after the ع, the first being the , of مَفْعُولُ [347], and the second their ل: (a) their ل is converted into ي, in order that the *n.* may be made to accord with the *v.*, where transformation is necessary

in that case, since the letter before the final is pronounced with Kasr [case 1]; so that they become مَرْضَوِي and مَقْرُوِي, in which the و and ي are combined, while the first of them is quiescent [case 7], for which reason the و is converted into ي, and the [first] ي incorporated into the [second] ي; while the Damma is changed into Kasra, in order that the ي may be preserved from conversion into و, (Tsr): (a) the reading مَرْضَايَةَ مَرْضَوِيَّةَ

LXXXIX. 28. *Approving* [what thou hast been vouchsafed (K, B)], *approved* [before God (K, B), with the و, sounded true (Tsr)], is anomalous (Aud); but IM in the Tashīl pronounces it to be [merely] inferior (Tsr): (b) if the ع of the v. be pronounced with Fath, sounding true is necessary, as مَغْزُوٌ *raided* [722] and مَدْعُوٌ *called* (Aud), orig. مَغْزُوٌ and مَدْعُوٌ, with two و s, the و of مَفْعُول [347], and the ل of the word; so that the first is incorporated into the second, because of the combination of the two likes [731] (Tsr): (a) transformation [here] is anomalous, as in

وَقَدْ عَلِمَتْ عِرْسِي مُلَيْكَةُ أَنَّنِي * أَنَا اللَّيْتُ مَعْدِيًّا عَلَيْهِ وَعَادِيًّا

[722] (Aud), by 'Abd Yaghūth [Ibn Waḳḳāṣ (MN)] alHārithī, *And my wife Mulaika has known that I am the lion, when assailed, and when assailing*, where he transforms [the ل of] مَعْدِي [684], orig. مَعْدُو (MN,

Tsr), upon the measure of مَفْعُول (MN) : (α) Mz recites this verse with مَعْدُورًا , by sounding [the ج] true : but others recite it with transformation (A, Tsr) ; and IM indicates the allowability of this by his saying “ And sound the [ج of] مَفْعُول from such as عَدَا true ; or transform, if you do not aim at the more excellent [method]” : (β) sounding true is for conformity with the *act. v.*, and transformation for conformity with the *pass. v.* [722]; but sounding true is more proper, because conformity with the *act. v.* is so (Ts.) : (γ) مَعْدِيًّا عَلَيْهِ وَعَادِيًّا occurs thus, with the undotted ع and و , in the MSS of [the commentary by] IUK : but مَغْرِيًّا عَلَيْهِ وَغَارِيًّا when *raided, and when raiding*, with the dotted غ and ز , occurs in Z’s book, [the M,] where he says “ They say عُتُو and مَغَزُو ; but they do say عَتِي and مَغْرِي , as

وَقَدْ عَلِمْتَ عِرْسِي مُلَيْكَةً أَنَّنِي * أَنَا اللَّيْتُ مَغْرِيًّا عَلَيْهِ وَغَارِيًّا

[722]” ; and the more correct [version] is what is mentioned by Z, [because he is as trustworthy as Ḥadhām in the adage] “ When Ḥadhām says [anything], then believe her ; for verily the [true] saying is what Ḥadhām has said ” [194] (MN) : [so says Al’Ainī, who perhaps saw this version in some MS of the M ; but Broch and Jahn print مَعْدِيًّا أَحْ in the text of the M ; and this is the version given by IY, as also by R, IHsh, and A ;

while either version suits the argument in the Aud:] (9) where the و is the ل of فَعُول [with Damm of the ف (Tsr)], when a pl., as عَصَى pl. of عَصَا [243, 299, 684, 722], ثَفَى pl. of ثَقَا [328], and دَلَى pl. of دَلَو [237, 243] (Aud):

(a) the o. f. is عَصَوُ , ثَفَوُ , and دَلَوُ : but, deeming the combination of two و s heavy in the pl., they convert the last و into ي ; and then the first is transformed by conversion into ي , and incorporation [case 7]; while the letter before the [first] ي is pronounced with Kasr, in order that the ي may sound true (Tsr): (α) sounding [the ل] true [in the pl.] is anomalous, as أَخُو and أَبُو , [pls. of أَب father and أَخ brother, both transmitted by IAr (Tsr)]; نَحَوُ [with an undotted ح (Tsr)], pl. of نَحَوُ . i. q. جَهَةٌ direction; نَجَوُ with a ج , pl. of نَجَوُ , which is the cloud that pours down its water; and بَهُو pl. of بَهُو , which is [the cavity of (KF)] the chest (Aud), transmitted by AHm on the authority of AZ: (α) the pls. mentioned are pronounced with Damm of the first and second [letters], orig. أَبَوُ , أَخَوُ , نَحَوُ , نَجَوُ , and بَهُو , with two و s, the first of which is incorporated into the second (Tsr): (b) if فَعُول be a sing., sounding [the ل] true is necessary, as وَعَتُوا عَتَا كَبِيرًا XXV. 23. And have exceeded [the limit in wrong-doing (K, B)] with great excess, لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ XXVIII. 83. Seek not

elevation in the earth, ^{نُمُو} *inf. n.* of ^{نَمَا} أَلْمَالُ *The wealth increased*, and ^{سُمُو} *inf. n.* of ^{سَمَا} زَيْدٌ *Zaid was exalted* (Aud), all of these *exs.* being *sing. inf. ns.*, pronounced with Damm of the first and second [letters], *orig.* عَتُو , عُلُو , ^{نُمُو} , and ^{سُمُو} , with two , s, the first of which is incorporated into the second (Tsr) : (a) sometimes, however, the *sing.* is tranformed (Aud), by conversion of the last , into ي , and transformation of the first, like the transformation of [the , in] طَى [case 7] (Tsr), as عَتَى [684, 722], *inf. n.* of عَتَا الشَّيْخُ *The old man became decrepit* ; and قَسَى , *inf. n.* of قَسَا قَلْبُهُ *His heart was hard* (Aud) : (c) what is [said by IM] in the *Alfiya* necessarily implies that the *pl.* [فُعُولٌ] and the *sing.* [فُعُولٌ] are equal [in this respect, that sounding true is preferable to transformation] ; for [immediately after “And sound the (ل of) مَفْعُولٌ from such as عَدَا true ; or transform, etc.”, cited above under case 8,] he says “Similarly the فُعُولٌ from the [crude-form] containing the , , when this letter appears as a ل of a *pl.* or *sing.*, occurs biform” : whereas transformation is more suitable in the *pl.*, because of its heaviness ; and sounding true in the *sing.*, because of its lightness (Tsr) : (10) where the , is an ع of فَعَّلٌ [with Damm of the ف , and doubling of the ع (Tsr)], when a *pl.* sound in the ل , like صَيِّمٌ [*pl.* of صَاتِمٌ (Tsr)] and نَيِّمٌ (Aud) *pl.* of نَاتِمٌ , the ع [in

both] of which is a , [247, 715, 716, 722]: (a) their *o. f.* is صَوْمٌ and نَوْمٌ [below]; but, two , s and a Damma being combined in the *pl.*, it is as though three , s were combined, in addition to the heaviness of the *pl.*, which therefore deviates to alleviation by conversion of the two , s into ى s, because two ى s are lighter than two , s (Tsr): (a) the more frequent [method] is to sound [the ,] true, [according to the *o. f.* (Tsr),] as صَوْمٌ and نَوْمٌ [above] (Aud); but a frequent, common, [method] is transformation, which is indicated by IM's saying "And such as نَوْمٌ for نِيمٌ is common" (Tsr): (b) sounding true is necessary if the ى be (a) unsound, lest two transformations [of the ع and ى (Tsr)] occur consecutively, as شَوِيٌّ and غَوِيٌّ, *pls. of شَارٌ roasting and غَارٌ erring* (Aud), *orig. شَوِيٌّ and غَوِيٌّ*, the ى being transformed by conversion into ا [684], because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath; and then elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents, [the ا and Tanwīn]: so that, if the ع were transformed by conversion into ى, two transformations would occur consecutively in the [same] word; and that is considered disagreeable by them (Tsr): (b) separated from the ع [by an ا (Tsr)], as صَوَامٌ and قَوَامٌ [384, 715], because the ع is then far from the end, [which is the seat of alteration (MKh)]; while the saying

فَ لَا طَرَقَتْنَا مَيَّةُ ابْنَةُ مُنْدِيرٍ * فَمَا أَرَقَ النَّيَّامُ إِلَّا كَلَامُهَا

[715, 716, 722] (Aud), by Dhu-rRumma (IY on §. 715), [or] by Abu-lGhamr alKilābī, *Now Mayya, the daughter of Mundhir, came to us at night; and not aught kept the sleepers*, [i. e., those whose habit was to sleep at the time wherein she came (J),] *awake save her talking* (MN, Jsh, J), or, in an alternative version, *سَلَامُهَا* *her greeting* (Jsh), recited with *النَّيَّامُ* by IAr (IY), is anomalous (Aud), by rule *النَّوَامُ*, with the *و*, sounded true, which IM indicates by his saying "But the anomaly of such as *نَيَّامُ* is attributed" (Tsr) to the learned (Sn, MKh) in Arabic (Sn), i. e., is transmitted [by them] (A, Tsr) in *فَمَا أَرَقَ أَلَحْ* [above] (A). And the *ي* is [regularly] substituted in place of the *ا* and *و*, in [the *gen.* and *acc.* of] such as *مُسْلِمَانِ* [16, 228] and *مُسْلِمُونَ* [16, 234] (R). Its substitution, (1) for the *ا*, is (M, SH) (a) regular in such as (M, R) (a) *مُفَيْتِيحٌ* and *مَفَاتِيحُ* [above] (M), *فُرَيْطِيصٌ* [274, 283] and *فَرَاطِيصٌ* [253] (IY, R); (b) *حُمَيْرٌ* [281, 282, 293, 298] (R): (b) anomalous in such as *حُبَلَى* [643, 686] (SH): (a) *حُبَلَى* with the *ي* is regular, according to Fazāra; so that IH should rather say "weak" [643], not "anomalous" (R): (2) for the *و*, is (a) [regular (M), obligatory (SH),] in such as (a) *مِيقَاتٌ* (M, SH) and *مِيرَانٌ* [above], whence

رِيحٌ *wind* and دِيمَةٌ *still rain* [278], because from رَوَّحٌ *being windy, breezy, cool* and دَرَمَتِ السَّحَابَةُ *The cloud rained continually* (IY); (b) عَصَى [above] (M); (c) غَارٍ (M, SH) and غَارِيَّةٌ [above]; (d) أَدْلٍ [243, 721] (M); (e) قِيَامٌ (M, SH) and انْقِيَادٌ [above] (M); (f) حِيَاضٌ [above] (M, SH); (g) دِيمٌ [above] (SH); (h) سَيِّدٌ [above] (M, SH) and لَيْئَةٌ (M), *orig. لَوِيَّةٌ*, being فَعْلَةٌ [336] from لَوَّى يَدَهُ *twisted his hand* and لَوَّى غَرِيمَهُ *put off his creditor* (IY); (i) أَغْرَيْتُ *I equipped for raiding* [629, 674, 719, 727] (M, R) and اسْتَغْرَيْتُ *I urged to raid* (M), for conformity with the *aor.* يُغْرِى and يَسْتَغْرِى (IY); (b) irregular (M), anomalous (SH), in such as (a) صَبِيَّةٌ [246, 257, 724] (M, SH) and صَبِيَّانٌ [246], *orig. صَبَوَةٌ* and صَبَوَانٌ, from صَبَوْتُ *I was a boy, or boyish*, *aor.* أَصْبُو, where the و is converted into ي because of the Kasra of the ص before it, the ب between them not being [regarded as] a separative, because of its weakness by reason of quiescence (IY); (b) ثَيْرَةٌ [above]; (c) عَلِيَّانٌ (M), *fem. عَلَيَانَةٌ*, *tall, corpulent*, from عَلَوْتُ *I was high*, where they convert the و into ي because of the Kasra before it, not taking the quiescent [ل] between them into account [as a separative], because of its weakness (IY); (d) صِيمٌ [above] (SH); (e) يَيْجَلُ

[333, 701] (M, SH), with conversion of the , into ى without Kasr of the aoristic letter [404], by treating the mobile ى here like the quiescent, for which reason they convert the , into ى, on the principle of سَيْدٌ and مَيْتٌ [above], as they treat the quiescent [ى and ,] like the mobile in [يَاجُلْ] and دَارِيٌّ and طَائِيٌّ [684] (IY on §. 684): (α) [according to R, however,] such as صِيمٌ is regular, though weak: (β) so is such as يَيْجَلْ: F says "It is regular, according to some folk, although it is weak"; but Z decides that يَيْجَلْ, صَبِيَّةٌ, and ثَيْرَةٌ are anomalous (R). Its substitution for the Hamza is (1) [regular, but not obligatory (R),] in such as ذَيْبٌ [278, 642] (M, SH), for ذَنْبٌ *wolf* (IY on §. 658), *orig.* with Hamza (Jh, Jrb); and مَيْرٌ [by alleviation of مَيْرٌ *pl.* of مَيْرَةٌ, which is *exciting dissension among the people* (IY on §. 658)] according to what has been stated in [the chapter on] Alleviation of the Hamza (M), *vid.* that the Hamza, whether quiescent or pronounced with Fath, is converted into ى when the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr [658] (IY): (2) necessary in [such as] اَيْتٌ [659, 661] (R). The [necessary] substitution of the , [686] and ى for the Hamza occurs in two *cats.*, (1) the *pl.* upon [the measure of (Tsr)] مَفَاعِلُ [726]: (2) the two Hamzas concurring in a [single (Tsr)] word [661]

(Aud). The **ي** is substituted, by way of anomaly, not to be copied, for a good many letters, which we proceed to discuss, according to what Z [or IH] mentions (IY). The substitution of the **ي** for the [six] remaining [letters mentioned (MASH)] is confined to hearsay. It is frequent in such as (1) **أَمَلَيْتُ** and **قَصَيْتُ** [below] (SH): (a) by "such as" IH means an augmented *tril.*, wherein two similar letters are combined, but incorporation is not possible, because the second is quiescent [731], as in **أَمَلَلْتُ** [below]; or three similar letters, the first of which is incorporated into the second, so that incorporation into the third is not possible as in **قَصَصْتُ** and **تَقَضَّضَ الْبَارِي** [below]: for the combination of similar letters is disliked, while they have no way to incorporation; so that they seek relief in conversion of the second [or third (MAR)] into **ي**, because of the heaviness: (b) if the expression be an unaugmented *tril.*, the second [similar letter] is not converted; so that **مَدَدْتُ** for **مَدَيْتُ** *I extended* is not said: and, as for their saying **فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ** Then no, by thy Lord!, i. e., **وَرَبِّكَ** [below], it is anomalous: (c) they also substitute the **ي** for the first of the duplicate letters in [the *n. on*] the measure of **فِعَالٌ**, when a simple substantive, not an *inf. n.*, as in **دِيَّاسٌ**, **دِيَّاجٌ**, **دِينَارٌ**, **قِيرَاطٌ**, and **شِيرَازٌ** [below], according to him

that says [in the *pl.*] دَمَامِيسُ , دَبَابِيجُ , [(MAZ), دَنَانِيرُ] [278], and شَرَارِيزُ; but this substitution is regular, since فِعَالٌ , when *non-inf.*, does not occur except with the first of its duplicate letters changed into ی , to distinguish the simple substantive from the *inf. n.*, in which it is not changed, as كَذَّبَ *inf. n.* of كَذَّابٌ [332]: (a) when the simple substantive is with the ة , as in صِنَارَةٌ [head of the spindle (MAR)] and دِنَابَةٌ [short (MAR)], it is not changed, because of the freedom from ambiguity: (b) as for him that says دِيَامِيسُ and دِيَابِيجُ , it may be (α) that, since the ی is inseparable from their *sings.*, he does not restore them [in the *pl.*] to their *o. f.*, although the Kasra is [there] removed; or (β) that their *sings.* are *orig.* on the measure of فِيعَالٌ [377] (R), the ی not being a *subst.* (IY, R) for [the first of] the duplicate letters (R), but an *aug.* for co-ordination with سِرْدَاحٌ [396] (IY): (c) as for their saying شَوَارِيزُ , with the و , in the *pl.* of شِيرَازٌ [below], it is based upon [the supposition] that شَوَرَّازٌ is *orig.* شِيرَازٌ, although there is no فِوَعَالٌ in their language [377]; or شَوَارِيزُ may be *orig.* شِيرَازِيزُ , the ی being changed into و , by assimilation to the ا in خَرَاتِمُ *pl.* خَرَاتِمٌ [247, 686], in which case its *o. f.* [in the *sing.*] is شِيرَازٌ: (d) اِخْرِیَوَاطٌ [713, 716] and اِجْلِیَوَانٌ occur in

the *inf. n.* of جَلَوْدَ [332, 482, 494] and اِخْرَوَطَ [482, 494, 667, 675] (R): (e) the substitution of the ي for one of the duplicate [or triplicate] letters is [exemplified] in (a) اُمْلِيْتُ اَلْكِتَابَ *I dictated the writing* (M, Jrb), *aor.* اُمْلِي , *inf. n.* اُمْلَاءُ [for اُمْلَايَ] (Jrb), *orig.* اُمْلَنْتُ [above] (IY); the K̤ur has فَهِيَ تُمْلِي عَلَيْهِ بُكْرَةً وَأَصِيلاً XXV. 6. *And they are dictated to him morning and evening* (IY, Jrb) and وَلْيُمْلِلِ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ اَلْكَفُّ II. 282. *And let him on whom lies the debt dictate* [below] (IY); and the poet says

فَأَلَيْتُ لَا أَمْلَاهُ حَتَّى يُفَارِقَا

Then I swore I would not weary of him until he should depart, i. e., لَا أَمْلُهُ : (α) they say that the *o. f.* of اَمْلَاهُ is اَمْلَهُ , *inf. n.* اُمْلَالٌ , as in II. 282. [above] (Jrb): but [some hold that (Jrb) properly (IY)] they are two [excellent (Jh)] *dial. vars.*, [both occurring in the K̤ur (Jh),] because their employment is uniform (IY, Jrb), as اَمْلَى اَلْكِتَابَ , *aor.* اُمْلِي , *inf. n.* اُمْلَاءُ , and اَمَلَّ اَلْكِتَابَ , *aor.* اُمْلِ , *inf. n.* اُمْلَالٌ (IY; so that to make one of them original, and the other *deriv.*, is not more appropriate than the converse (IY, Jrb): (b) قَصَّيْتُ اَظْفَارِي *I clipped my nails* [below] (M, Jrb), transmitted by ISK (IY), for قَصَّصْتُ (IY, Jrb), where they substitute a ي for the third ص , because of the heaviness of the reduplication (IY): (c) لَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا أَفْعَلُ *No, by thy Lord, I will*

not do! (M), meaning وَرَبَّكَ [above], where they substitute a ي for the second ب, because of the heaviness of the reduplication (IY): (d) تَسَرَّيْتُ (M), orig. تَسَرَّرْتُ I took a concubine, تَفَعَّلْتُ from سِرَّ i. q. نِكَاح [331], which is named سِرَّ secrecy, because he that intends it *hides*, and seeks to conceal himself (IY): (α) سُرِّيَّةُ concubine is فُعْلِيَّةُ, [a rel. n. (Jh)] from سِرَّ (Jh, IY), i. e., copulation, [for the reason just given,] or concealment, because the man often secretes her, and hides her from his free-born [wife]; while its س is pronounced with Damm, because formations are sometimes altered, especially in the rel. n., as أَرْضٌ سَهْلَةٌ and دَهْرٌ and سَهْلِيٌّ and دَهْرِيٌّ [311], rel. ns. of دَهْرٌ and سَهْلَةٌ smooth ground (Jh): but Akh says that it is فُعْلِيَّةُ (IY), derived (Jh)] from سُرُورٌ gladness, because her master is gladdened by her (Jh, IY): (e) تَطَنَّنْتُ (M), orig. تَطَنَّنْتُ I exercised thought, التَّطَنُّنُ being the exercise of thought, orig. التَّطَنُّنُ, one of whose ن s they change into ي, because of the heaviness of the reduplication (IY): and لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ [read by Hamza and Ks in (B)] II. 261. [644, 647] (M), orig. لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ It hath not been altered from مِنْ حَبَا مسنون XV. 26, 28, 33. (IY), meaning of [black (K)] clay wrought into shape (K, B), i. e., altered, a ي being substituted for the third ن, and then converted into ا

because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684], so that *يَتَسَنَّ* becomes *يَتَسَنِّي*; and the *ا* being afterwards elided for apocopation [404, 720], so that *لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ* becomes *لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ*: this is the saying of IAl [below] (IY): (f) *تَقْضَى الْبَارِي* *The falcon stooped, or swooped* (M), i. e. *تَقْضَضُ* [344], from *اِنْقَضَ الطَّائِرُ* meaning *The bird dropped in its flight* (IY): (α) they do not use its *تَفَعَّلَ* except changed (Jh, IY), as *تَقْضَى*, where, deeming three *ض* s heavy, they substitute a *ي* for one of them (Jh): Al'Ajjāj says

تَقْضَى الْبَارِي إِذَا الْبَارِي كَسَرَ

[below] (Jh, IY): (g) the saying

*فَزُورْ أَمْرًا أَمَّا آلَاءُ فَيَتَّقِي * وَأَمَّا بِفِعْلِ الصَّالِحِينَ فَيَأْتِي*

We will visit a man such that, whate'er betide, God he fears, and, whate'er betide, by the deed of the righteous he takes example (M), recited by ISk on the authority of IAr, where the poet means *يَأْتِي*, but substitutes a *ي* for the second *م* (IY): (h) *تَصْدِيَّةٌ* (M), [as] in VIII. 35. *وَمَا كَانَ صَلَوتُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْبَيْتِ إِلَّا مُكَاءٌ وَتَصْدِيَّةٌ* [21, 682], where the *ي* is a *subst.* for the [second] *د* (IY), according to those who pronounce it to be from *صَدَّ*, *aor. يَصِدُّ* (M); i. e., *clapping of hands and making a noise*, whence *إِذَا قَوْمُكَ مِنْهُ يَصِدُّونَ* XLIII. 57. [below],

i. e., *Lo, thy people* [Kuraish (K, B)] *clamour, and cry out, at it*; one of the two د s being transmuted into ى : this is the saying of AU: (α) تَفْعِلُهُ is تُصَدِّقُهُ, [being orig. تَصَدِّقُهُ, then by incorporation تَصَدَّقُهُ,] like تَحِلُّهُ expiation and تَعْلُهُ diversion; but, when the second د is converted into ى, incorporation is impossible, from the difference of the two letters (IY): (i) تَلَعَّيْتُ [I ate endive (IY)], from لُعَاعَةُ endive (M), which is a delicate herb, according to what ISk transmits, on the authority of IAr; whence, says As, the world is called لُعَاعَةٌ: (α) its o. f. is تَلَعَّعْتُ; but they substitute a ى for one of the ع s, from dislike to the combination of [three] ع s (IY): (j) دَهْدَيْتُ and صَهَّيْتُ [below] (M): they say (α) دَهْدَيْتُ اَلْحَجَرُ I rolled the stone down, aor. اُدْهَدَى, inf. n. دَهْدَاؤُ and دِهْدَاؤُ, quasi-pass. تَدَهَّدَى It rolled down, i. e., دَهْدَهْتُ, quasi-pass. تَدَهَّدَهُ (IY), a ى being substituted for the [second] ع (Jh): Dhu-rRumma says

كَمَا تَدَهْدَى مِنَ الْعَرَضِ الْجَلَامِيدُ

As rocks roll down from the mountain (Jh, IY); and Abu-nNajm says

كَأَنَّ صَوْتَ جَرْعِهَا الْمُسْتَعَجَلِ * جَنْدَلَةٌ دَهْدَيْتَهَا مِنْ جَنْدَلٍ

As though the sound of her hurried swallowing were a stone that thou hadst rolled down from stones: while their

saying *دَهْدُهُ الْجَعَلِ* for *what the black-beetle rolls together* indicates that the o. f. is *دَهْدَهُتْ* (β) : *صَهْصَيْتْ* [below], for *صَهْصَهُتْ* meaning *I said صَهْ صَهْ* “Hush! hush!” [187], i. e., “Be silent”, the *ي* being a *subst.* for the *س*, from dislike to the reduplication (IY) : (k) *مَكَائِي* [for *مَكَائِكُ* (IY)] *pl.* of *مَكُونُ* (below) (M), according to what AZ transmits, the [second] *ك* being followed by two *ي* s, the first a *subst.* for the *و* of *مَكُونُ* [683], which becomes a *ي* in the *pl.*, because the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr; and the second a *subst.* for the [third] *ك*, because of [the heaviness of] the reduplication (IY) : (l) *دِيَاچِ* *pl.* of *دِيَجُوجُ* [below] (M) *dark*, as *دِيَاچِيچُ* meaning *intensely dark night*, orig. *دِيَاچِيچِ*, where, disliking the reduplication, they substitute a *ي* for the last *چ*; and, this *ي* being then combined with the one before it, they lighten [the word] by elision of one of the two *ي* s; so that it becomes *دِيَاچِ*, of the class of the defective [16] (IY) : (m) *دِيَوَانُ* register [332, 716], *دِيَبَاچِ* brocade [above], and *قِيرَاطُ* carat [278, 332] (M), orig. (α) *دِيَوَانُ*, the paradigm of which is *فِعَالُ*, the *ن* in it being a *ل*, because they say *دَوْنْتُ* *I registered*, and, in the *dim.*, *دُوَيُونُ*: if, then, it be said “Then wherefore do you not convert the *و* [of *دِيَوَانُ*] into *ي*, because of the

ی's occurring quiescent before it, on the principle of its conversion in سَيِّدٌ and مَيِّتٌ [above]?", the reply is "Because that would lead to destruction of the object: for, disliking the reduplication in دَوَّانٌ, they change [the first و, into ی], in order that the two letters may be different; so that, if they were afterwards to change the [second] و, [into ی], saying دَيَّانٌ, they would revert to [a reduplication] such as what they have fled from: and besides the ی is not inseparable, being only substituted for lightness, since they say دَوَّارِيْنٌ, restoring the و, when the Kasra is removed from before it; so that it is plain to you that this ی is not inseparable; because, in some circumstances, it return to its *o. f.*; though some say دَيَّارِيْنٌ, making the *subst.* inseparable": دَبَّاجٌ (β), that being indicated by their saying دَبَّايِجٌ [above], with the ب, in the *pl.*, as though they disliked reduplication [in the *sing.*], and therefore changed [the first ب into ی]: قَرَّاطٌ (γ), where, because of the heaviness of the reduplication, they substitute a ی for the first و, that being indicated by the *pl.* قَرَّارِيْطٌ [278], where the appearance of the و is an indication of what we have said (IY): (n) شِيْرَازٌ curd (M), coagulated milk, the water of which is extracted (KF), orig. شَرَّازٌ, like قَرَّاطٌ (IY); and دِيْمَاسٌ [377] (M) a dungeon [belonging to AlḤajjāj

(Jh, KF) Ibn Yūsuf (Jh)], and *a burrow, den*, [orig. دِمَاسُ,] the ی being substituted for the [first] م (IY) : according to him that says شَرَارِيزُ and دَمَامِيسُ [above] (M) in the pl. (IY) ; (o) the saying of the poet, [describing a wild cow in search of her calf (Jsh),]

قَامَتْ بِهَا تَنْشُدُ كُلَّ الْمُنْشِدِ * فَأَيَّتَصَلَتْ بِمِثْلِ ضَوْءِ الْفَرْقَدِ

[below] (M) *She stood in it* (the بَقْعَةُ patch of ground), *seeking with all inquiry*, الْمُنْشِدِ in the shape of the pass. part. being a mīmī inf. n. [333], and joined a calf like the light of the asterism called *AlFarḳad* (Jsh), by which one guides oneself (KF), where he means اتَّصَلَتْ [689], but dislikes the reduplication (IY) : (2) أَنْاسِي [248, 253] (SH), orig. أَنْاسِينُ [248, 274], because it is pl. of إِنْسَانٌ (Jrb) ; (a) أَنْاسِي may be pl. of (a) إِنْسِي, in which case the ی is not a subst. for the ن : so says Mb : (b) إِنْسَانٌ, [by conversion of the ن into ی (K, B on XXV. 51.),] its o. f. being أَنْاسِينُ [above], which also is used ; so that it is like ظَرَابِي [248, 274], pl. of ظَرَبَانٌ [237, 385] (R), the o. f. being ظَرَابِينُ [250] (K). As for the ع, the ب, the س, and the ث, they are [sometimes replaced by the ی], as in (1) the saying

وَمَنْهَلٍ لَيْسَ لَهُ حَوَارِيقُ * وَلِضَفَادِي جَبَّةٍ نَقَانِيقُ

[below] (R) *And many a watering-place, which has no sides preventing any one from coming down to it, but to which every one is able to come down from all of its sides, and the frogs of whose main part have croakings !*

(Jsh), where the poet means ضَفَادِع , but substitutes the ي for the ع by poetic license (IY) : (2) the saying

لَهَا أَشَارِيرُ مِنْ لَحْمٍ تُتَبَّرُهُ * مِنْ أَلْتَّعَالِي وَوَحْزٌ مِنْ أَرَانِيهَا

[682] (R), by Abù Kāhil AnNamir Ibn Taulab alYashkuri, describing a female eaglet, named غُبَّة *Ghubba*, belonging to the Banù Yashkur, *She has bits of flesh that she dries, of foxes, and a little of her hares* (MN),

where the poet means أَرَانِيهَا and أَلْتَّعَالِي ; but, being constrained to make [the ب] quiescent, which is not possible for him, he substitutes for the ب ا ي, [which is] quiescent in the position of the *gen.* [16, 720] (IY) : (3) the saying

إِذَا مَا عَدَّ أَرْبَعَةً فِسَالٌ * فَزَوْجِكَ خَامِسٌ وَأَبُوكَ سَادِي

[below] (R) *Whenever four mean unmanly fellows are reckoned, thy husband is fifth, and thy father sixth* (Jsh), where the poet means سَادِس , but substitutes a ي for the س by poetic license (IY) : (4) the saying

يَفْدِيكَ يَا زُرْعَ أَبِي وَخَالِي * قَدْ مَرَّ يَوْمَانِ وَهَذَا أَلْتَّالِي

وَأَنْتَ بِأَلْهَجْرَانِ لَا تَبَالِي

[below] (R) *My father and my maternal uncle shall be a ransom for thee, O Zur'a! Two days have passed, and this is the third; and thou carest not for the desertion* (Jsh), where the poet substitutes a ي for the second ث [of the الثَّالِثُ (Jsh)], as though he disliked the *cat.* of سَلَسَ and [الْأَرَانِي and الثَّعَالِي, الضَّفَادِي] [674] (IY). But السَّادِي, and الثَّالِي are weak (SH), because unheard from trustworthy Arabs (MASH). And sometimes the ي is substituted for the ج, as شَيْبَةٌ and شَيْبَةٌ for شَجَرَةٌ [684] and شُجَيْرَةٌ (R). It is [therefore said by A to be] substituted for eighteen letters, (1) the ا, as in مَصَابِيحُ and غُلِيمٌ [above]: (2) the و, as in أَغْرَيْتُ [above] and the variations [of the *inf. n.* (Sn)] thereof, [as يُغْرِى and مُغْرِى (Sn)]: (3) the Hamza, as in بَثْرٌ for بِيْرٌ [642, 658]: (4) the ء in دَهْدَيْتُ and صَهَصَيْتُ [above]: (5) the س in إِذَا مَا عُدَّ آلْحُ [above]: (6) the ب in الْأَرَانِي and الثَّعَالِي [above]: (7) the ر in شِيرَازٌ and قِيرَاطٌ [above]: (8) the ن in (a) أَنَاسِيٌ and ظَرَائِيٌ [above]; (b) تَطَنَيْتُ [above]; (c) as IAl holds, لَمْ يَتَسَنَّ II. 261. [above]; (d) دِينَارٌ [above], *orig.* دِنَارٌ, because of their saying دِنَانِيرُ [18] and دُنَيْيَرٌ [278]; (e) إِيْسَانٌ, with the ي, for إِنْسَانٌ *man*: (9) the ص in قَصَيْتُ أَظْفَارِي [above]: (10) the ض in

إِذَا الْكِرَامُ ابْتَدَرُوا الْبَاعَ بَدْرٌ * تَقْضَى الْبَارِي إِذَا الْبَارِي كَسَرَ
 [above] (A) When the generous hasten to the noble deed, he hastens with the swoop of the falcon, when the falcon contracts his wings (Sn), i. e., تَقْضَى الْبَارِي, [taken (Sn)] from انْقِضَاؤُ, [this being pronounced a *taking*, not a *derivation*; so that the objection that an augmented *inf. n.* is not derived from a more augmented is averted (Sn)]: (11) the ل in اَمَلَيْتُ [above]: (12) the م in نَزُورُ امْرَأَ الْاَحْ [above], where, says IAr, the poet means تَلَعَّيْتُ [above]; (b) وَمَنْهَلِ الْاَحْ [above]; (13) the ع in (a) يَأْتُمُ [above]: (14) the د in تَصَدِيَّةٌ [above], orig. تَصَدِدَةٌ (A); and so in اَلتَّصَدَّى : Fm says in the Msb “ تَصَدَّيْتُ لِلْأَمْرِ ” *I applied, and devoted, myself exclusively to the matter*, orig. تَصَدَّدْتُ, then changed for lightness” (Sn): (15) the ت in اَوَّيْتُ بِمِثْلِ الْاَحْ [above]; (16) the ث in قَدْ مَرَّ الْاَحْ [above], i. e., الثَّالِثُ : (17) the ج in (a) دِيَاجِيٌّ [684], i. e., مِنْ شَجَرَاتٍ; (b) دِيَاجِيٌّ (A): YH says “so that the ي of the *pl.* is elided, and the [last] ج then converted into ي”; and analogy requires that the like of this should be said on A’s saying “orig. مَكَكِيكَ” [below]: but this is correct only when the ي of دِيَاجِيٌّ

and مَكَائِي [with Tanwīn دِيَاچ and مَكَان] is single ; not when it is double, as the ی of مَكَائِي is marked in such correct Mss of the KF as I have seen : nay, [in دِيَاچِي and مَكَائِي] the quiescent ی is the ی of the *pl.*, [being a *subst.* for the , of دِيَجُوج and مَكُون , which becomes a ی in the *pl.*, because the preceding letter is pronounced with Kasr ;] while that which follows it is a *subst.* for the ج [or ك] (Sn) : (18) the ك in مَكَائِي *pl.* of مَكُون [above], *orig.* مَكَائِيك [above] (A).

§. 686. The , is substituted for (M, SH, A) three letters (A), (1, 2) its two sisters [697] (M, SH), by which are meant (IY) the † and ی (IY, Jrb, A), because all [three] are letters of prolongation and softness (IY) ; (3) the Hamza (M, SH, A). As for its substitution for the † , it is in one case, *vid.* where the letter before it is pronounced with Damm [below] (Aud), whether it be in (1) a *v.* (Tsr), as in بُوِيْع and ضُرِبَ [below] (Aud) : (a) their *o. f.*, before they are put into the *pass.*, is بَايَع *trafficked with* [683], *swore allegiance to*, and ضَارَب *fought with* [490] ; but, when you put them into the *pass.*, you pronounce their initial with Damm [436] ; while it is impossible for the † to remain after a Damma, because the letter before the † is pronounced only with Fath ; so that the † is converted into , , for homogeneity

with the vowel of the letter before it (Tsr); (b) the Revelation has مَا وُورِيَ عَنْهُمْ VII. 19. *What was hidden from them* [683] (Aud): or (2) a *n.*, as in ضَوِيرٌ *dim.* of ضَارِبٌ [below]; if the ا be not second, converted from a ي, as in نَابٌ meaning [canine] tooth, [fang,] in which case it returns to its *o. f.*, vid. the ي, as in نَيْبٌ [278] (Tsr). And, as for its substitution for the ي, it is in four cases, (1) where the ي is quiescent, single, and [in a *sing.* (IA),] not in a *pl.* (Aud), [and is] after a Damma (IA), whether it be in (a) a *n.* (Tsr), as in مُوقِنٌ [278] and مُوسِرٌ [278, 682, 699] (Aud), *orig.* مُيَقِّنٌ and مُيَسِّرٌ, *act. parts.* [of أَيقَنَ *was certain* and أَيَسَرَ *was well off* (A)] from يَقِينٌ *certain* and يَسِيرٌ *easy*, the ي in both being changed into و, because occurring after a Damma; or (b) a *v.*, as in يُوقِنُ *is certain* and يُوسِرُ *is well off* (Tsr): (α) the ي must be preserved [from change (Tsr)] if it be (α) mobile, [because by means of the vowel it resists change (Tsr),] as in هَيَامٌ (Aud), i. e., says Jh, *most violent thirst, and delirium from love, and a distemper that seizes camels, so that they wander about the land, and do not graze* (Tsr): (β) incorporated [into its like (Tsr)], as in حَيْضٌ (Aud), *pl.* of حَائِضٌ [247], where the ي is not changed, because the incorporated and [what it is] incorporated into are equivalent to one letter, the

tongue removing them with one movement, for which reason two quiescents may be combined when the first is a soft letter, and the second is incorporated [663], as in ^سدَابَّة [665], because the softness and prolongation of the first [quiescent] letter are like a vowel in it, while the incorporated [letter] is like the mobile [663, 731]; and, since that is so, the [preceding] vowel [Damma] does not succeed in converting the incorporated ^ي into ^و: but this *ex.* [حَيْضٌ] is also excluded by IHsh's saying "not in a *pl.*" [above]; and the [best way to obtain an] excellent *ex.* is for you to form a [*sing.*] like ^سحَمَاض [384] from ^يبَيْعٌ, saying ^يبَيَّاعٌ, [the ^ي in] which, for the [first] reason that we mentioned [in the case of ^يحَيْضٌ], is not transformed (Tsr): (γ) in a *pl.*: but in this [case (Tsr)] the Damma [occurring before the single ^ي in the *pl.* (Tsr)] must be converted into Kasra, [because of the heaviness of Damma, ^ي, and the *pl.* (Tsr),] as in the [^يفَعَلٌ] *pl.* of ^يأَفْعَلٌ and ^يفَعَلَاء [248, 249, 710], like ^يهَيْمٌ *wandering about*, [*pl.* of ^يأَهْيَمٌ and ^يهَيْمَاء (Tsr),] and ^يبَيْضٌ *white* (Aud), *pl.* of ^يأَبْيَضٌ and ^يبَيْضَاء; or of another [measure], like ^يعَيْطٌ *pl.* of ^يعَائِطٌ, on the principle of ^يبَارِلٌ *pl.* of ^يبَارِلٌ [247], ^يعَائِطٌ being the she-camel *that does not conceive* [718], *pls.* ^يعَيْطٌ and ^يعُرُطٌ [247] (Tsr): (2) where the ^ي occurs after a Damma, and is the J of (a) ^يفَعَلٌ [468, 476],

like *فَهُوَ الرَّجُلُ* *How intelligent the man is!* and *قَضَرُ* *What a good judge he is !*, [with Fath of their first, and Damm of their second (Tsr),] i. q. *مَا أَنْهَاهُ*, i. e., *أَعَقَلَهُ*, and *مَا أَقْضَاهُ* (Aud), i. e. *أَحْكَمَهُ*, orig. *نَهَى* and *قَضَى* from *نَهَيْتُ* *I forbade* and *قَضَيْتُ* *I judged*, the *ي* in them being changed into *و*, because occurring after a Damma (Tsr) : (b) a *n.* ending in a [fundamental, inseparable] *ة* [266] (Aud) of femininization (Tsr), with which the word is formed [from the very first, and which has not been previously elided (Tsr)], as when you form from *رَمَى* a [*n.* ending in *ة* (Tsr),] like *مَقْدَرَةٌ* [333], [with Damm of the *د* (Tsr),] in which case you say *مَرْمُوءٌ* [with the *و*, orig. *مَرْمِيَّةٌ*, the *ي* being changed into *و*, because occurring after a Damma (Tsr)], contrary to [what happens when the *ة* is affixed after the formation of the word, in which case the Damma must be converted into Kasra, in order that the *ي* may be preserved, as in (Tsr)] such [formations] as *تَوَانِيَّةٌ* *inf. n. un.* of *تَوَانَى* *flagged* [336] : for its *o. f.*, before affixion of the *ة*, is *تَوَانِي* with Damm [of the *ن*, because it is of the *cat.* of *تَفَاعَلٌ*, since *تَوَانٍ* *inf. n.* of *تَوَانَى* is (Tsr)] like *تَكَاسَلٌ* [with Damm of the *س* (Tsr),] *inf. n.* of *تَكَاسَلٌ* *was sluggish*; but its Damma is changed into Kasra, in order that the *ي* may be preserved from conversion [into *و*, (Tsr)]; and afterwards

the š supervenes, to import *unity* [336]; while the transformation [of the *Ḍamma* into *Kasra* (Tsr). remains in its state (Aud), the predicament [of the *ل*] not being altered by restoration of the *Ḍamma* to its original place, and change of the *ي* into *و*, because that would lead to the occurrence of an *inf. n.* ending in a *و*, preceded by an inseparable *Ḍamma* [721], since the adventitious š , being virtually separate [266], is not taken into account (Tsr): (c) a *n.* ending in the [*aug.* (Tsr)] *ا* and *ن*, as when you form from *رَمَى* [a name (Tsr)] on the measure of *سَبْعَانُ* *Sabu'ān* [with *Ḍamm* of the *ب* (Tsr)], the name of the *place* about which Ibn Aḥmar [or rather Tamīm Abn Abi Muḥbil, according to the correct opinion (Tsr),] says *أَلَا يَا دِيَارَ الْكَيِّ الْحِج* [236]; in which case you say *رَمَوَانُ* *Ramuwān* (Aud) with *Ḍamm* of the *م*, *orig.* *رَمْيَانُ*, the *ي* being changed into *و*, because occurring after a *Ḍamma*: (α) you may, however, say that, when a [*n.*] like *ظَرْبَانُ* [237, 250] is formed from *غَزَوْ*, then *غَزِيَانُ* [685, 723] is said, the letter before the *ا* and *ن* being given the predicament of what occurs as a genuine final, like [the *ل* of] *رَضَى* [685]: while this necessarily requires that, in the like of *رَمَى* from *سَبْعَانُ* [above], *رَمَوَانُ* should not be said, because, in the paradigm of *عَضِدُ* [368] from *رَمَى*, it is not allowable to say *رَمُو*, since we have no *decl. n.* ending in an inseparable *و*,

after a Damma [721]; but the Damma must be converted into Kasra, in order that the **ي** may be preserved, so that you say **رَمَ** [724]; and similarly **رَمِيَانُ** must be said, by transforming the vowel, not the consonant: so says the author of the Aud in the Glosses [on the IM] (Tsr): (3) where the **ي** is the **ل** of **فَعَلَى** with Fath of the **ف**, when a substantive, not an *ep.*, as **تَقْوَى** *piety, reverence* [689, 725], **شَرَوَى** [272], [i. q. **مِثْلُ**, as **كَكَ سَرَوَاهُ** *Thou hast its like, or match*, i. e., **مِثْلُهُ**, transmitted by IJ (Tsr),] and **فَتَوَى** [248] (Aud), *orig.* **تَقْيَا**, **شَرِيَا**, and **فَتِيَا**, because from **تَقَيْتُ** *I feared, revered*, **شَرَيْتُ** *I sold*, and **فَتَيْتُ** *I was youthful*, the **ي** in them being changed into **و**, to distinguish the substantive from the *ep.*; while they appropriate transformation to the substantive in particular, because, being lighter than the *ep.*, it is more tolerant of heaviness (Tsr); (a) IM [in the CK (Tsr)] and his son [in the C (Tsr)] say that **سَعْيَا** *Sa'yà*, [a name (Tsr)] for *a* [certain (Tsr)] *place*, [a district in AlYaman or its immediate neighbourhood, by rule, says IJ, **سَعْوَى** (Bk),] and **رِيَا** for the [nice (EM)] *odour*, and **طَعْيَا** [with Fath, says Th (Jh),] for the *young of* **الْبَقَرَةُ الْوَحْشِيَّةُ** *the wild cow, or bovine antelope*, are anomalous: but [this requires consideration, since (Tsr)] the first, [vid. **سَعْيَا** from **سَعَى** *striving* (Tsr),] may be

transferred from an *ep.* [4], like *خَزِيَا* and *صَدْيَا* [725], *fems.* of *خَزْيَانُ* [250] and *صَدْيَانُ* *thirsty* (Aud), the sounding [of its *ي*] true being retained as an accompaniment after its being made a name, as F explains (Tsr); while the second, [vid. *رَيَا* from *رِي* (348) (Tsr),] is said by the GG, [S and others (Tsr),] to be an *ep.* wherein the quality of substantive predominates [149], the *o. f.* being *رَيَا* *رَائِحَةً* a *fragrant odour*, i. e., *filled with perfume*; and the third, [vid. *طَغْيَا* from *طَغْيَانُ* *inordinate wickedness* (Tsr),] is more often pronounced with Damm of the ط [below], so that perhaps they retain the sounding [of the *ي*] true as an accompaniment when they pronounce [the ط] with Fath for lightness (Aud): (b) thus they criticize IM; and the author of the Aud follows them: but afterwards he says in the Glosses “It has since appeared to me that IM’s meaning [by ‘anomalous’] is anomalousness in usage; for I have read, in his [own] handwriting, a marginal annotation here ‘The substitution of the و for the *ي*, when a ل of *فَعَلَى*, is not to be taken as a precedent, because there is no cause [for it], while it necessarily involves increase of heaviness””: (c) various spellings of *طَغْيَا* [272] are transmitted: As says “with Damm of the ط [above], like *حُبَلَى*”; while Th says “with Fath of the ط [above], on the paradigm of *سَكَرَى*”; and AU says “with Fath

of the ط , and Tanwīn ”: so says ISd (Tsr): (4) where the ي is the ع of فَعْلَى [718], with Damm [of the ف (Tsr)], when (a) a substantive, like طُوبَى happiness, [i. q. طَيْبٌ (Tsr),] an *inf. n.* of طَابَ *was happy* (Aud), *aor.* يَطِيبُ (Tsr), like بُشِّرَى [272, 331] and رَفَى [272] (K, B on XIII. 28.); or Tūbā, a name for *Paradise* (Aud), whence شَجَرَةُ طُوبَى *the tree of Paradise* (Tsr): (a) the meaning of طُوبَى لَكَ *Mayst thou be happy! or Happiness be thine!* is أَصَبْتَ خَيْرًا وَطَيْبًا *Mayst thou find good fortune and happiness!*; while the [syntactical] place of طُوبَى is the *acc.* or *nom.*, as in طَيْبًا لَكَ or طَيْبٌ , and سَلَامًا لَكَ [41] or سَلَامٌ [25, 28], its two places being indicated to you by the reading of طُوبَى لَهُمْ وَحُسْنُ مَآبٍ XIII. 28. *Happiness be theirs, or May they find happiness, and beauty of abiding-place!* [718], with the *nom.* and *acc.*; and [in the construction with the *acc.*] the ل denotes *explanation*, as in سَقِيًّا لَكَ [41, 62, 504] (K): (b) an *ep.* acting as a substantive [in not being preceded by a qualified, and in being put immediately after the *ops.* (Tsr)], which is the فَعْلَى of أَفْعَلَ [272, 355], like الطُّوبَى *the happy state, or life*, أَلْكُوسَى *the shrewd woman*, and أَلْخُورَى *the good woman*, *fems.* of أَطِيبٌ [718], أَكْبَسُ , and أَخَيْرُ [351] (Aud), *ns.* of superiority acting as *prim.* substantives (Tsr): (a) what indicates that

they are acting as [*prim.* (Tsr)] substantives is that the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority takes the *pl.* *أَفَاعِلُ* [249], as *الْأَفَاضِلُ* the learned and *الْأَكَابِرُ* the great, [*pls.* of *الْأَفْضَلُ* and *الْأَكْبَرُ* (Tsr),] like *أَفَاكِلُ* *pl.* of *أَفْكَلُ* [249] (Aud), which is a *prim.* substantive : (b) the *o. f.* is *الطَّيِّبَى*, *الْكَيْسَى*, and *الْخَيْرَى* with Damm of their initial ; but the *ي* is changed into , because quiescent and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm (Tsr), as in *مُوقِنٌ* and *مُوسِرٌ* [above] (K on XIII. 28.) : (c) if *فُعْلَى* be a pure *ep.*, [i. e., preceded by a qualified (Tsr),] its Damma must be converted into Kasra, [in order that the *ي* may be preserved from conversion into , , to distinguish the *ep.* from the substantive (Tsr)] ; but no instance of that has been heard except [two words (Tsr),] *قِسْمَةٌ ضَيْرَى* an iniquitous division, i. e., *جَائِرَةٌ* wrong'ul, [from *صَارَهُ حَقَّهُ* deprived, or defrauded, him of his right, aor. *يَضِيرُهُ*, i. q. *جَارَ عَلَيْهِ* diminished to him his right and *حَقَّهُ* wronged him (Tsr),] and *مِشْيَةٌ حَيْكَى* an elegant, or affected, gait, i. e., wherein the shoulders move [272, 718] (Aud), from *حَانَ فِي مَشْيِهِ* meaning moved his shoulders in his walk, orig. *ضَيْرَى* and *حَيْكَى* with Damm of their initial, the Damma being changed into Kasra in order that the *ي* may be sounded true, as in *بَيْضٌ* *pl.* of *أَبْيَضٌ*

[above] (Tsr) : (d) this is the language of the GG : but IM [in the *Alfiya* (Tsr)] and his son [in the C (Tsr)] say that before the *ع* of *فُعَلَى*, when an *ep.*, the *Ḍamma* may [either] be preserved, the *ي* being converted into *و*; or be changed into *Kasra*, the *ي* being preserved : so that you say *الْطُّوبَى* *the happiest* or *الطَّيِّبَى* [below], *الْكُوسَى* *the shrewdest* or *الْكَيْسَى*, and *الضُّوْقَى* *the narrowest* or *الضِّيقَى* (Aud), from vacillating between conformity with its *masc.* [by retention of the *ي*] at one time, and observance of the measure [by retention of the *Ḍamma*] at another : (e) this differs from the language of the GG, S and his followers, in two respects, (α) that IM and his son allow two forms in *فُعَلَى* when an *ep.* : whereas the GG decide upon one of them, saying that the *ي* [occurring as the *ع*] of *فُعَلَى*, when a substantive, is converted into *و*, as *طُوبَى* and *كُوسَى*; while, in the *ep.*, it is not converted, but the letter before it is pronounced with *Kasr*, so that the *ي* is preserved, as *قِسْمَةٌ* *ضَيْرَى* and *مِشْيَةٌ حَيْكَى* : (β) that the GG mention the *fem.* of *الْأَفْعَلُ* in the *cat.* of the substantives [718, 725]; and assign to it the predicament of the substantives in retention of the *Ḍamma* and conversion of the *ي* into *و*; whereas IM mentions it in the *cat.* of the *eps.*; but allows the two forms in it, unequivocally declaring that both are heard from the Arabs : (f) Shl says " No instance

of this [formation] occurs [with its ع] converted, except the ^{فَعْلَى} of ^{أَفْعَلُ}, [apparently regarding ^{فَعْلَى} as an *ep.* throughout case 4] (Tsr): (g) Makwaza alA'rābī reads ^{طَيِّبَى} لَهْمُ in XIII. 28. [above], pronouncing the ط with Kasr [in the substantive], in order that the ^ي may be preserved, as ^{بَيْضُ} [above] and ^{مَعِيشَةُ} [333, 710] are said (K). Its substitution, (1) for the ا, is (a) [obligatory (SH)] in such as (a) ^{ضَوَارِبُ} [18] (M, SH), *pl.* of ^{ضَارِبَةٌ} [247, 278, 383] (Jrb); and ^{ضَوَيْرِبُ} (M, SH), *dim.* of ^{ضَارِبُ} [278, 682] (Jrb): i. e., in [the ultimate *pl.*, and the *dim.*, of (R) such as (IY)] ^{فَاعِلُ} and ^{فَاعِلٌ} [above] (IY, R), like ^{ضَارِبُ} and ^{خَاتِمُ} [373]; and ^{فَاعُولُ} and ^{فَاعَالُ}, like ^{عَاقُولُ} and ^{سَابَاطُ} [377]: for, whenever you mean to form the *dim.*, or [ultimate] broken *pl.*, from any of those [ns.], you convert its ا into و, as ^{ضَوَيْرِبُ} and ^{ضَوَارِبُ} [above], ^{خَوَيْرِبُ} and ^{خَوَاتِمُ} [247], ^{عَوَائِيلُ} and ^{عَوَائِيلُ}, and ^{سَوَائِيظُ} and ^{سَوَائِيظُ}: (α) the cause of its conversion in the *dim.* [278] is obvious, vid. the fact that the letter before it is pronounced with Damm [above]: (β) as for its conversion in the broken *pl.* [247], it is by conformity with the *dim.*: for, when you say ^{ضَوَارِبُ} and ^{خَوَاتِمُ} [above], there is no Damma on the ض and خ necessitating conversion of the ا into و; but, since you say ^{خَوَيْرِبُ}

in the *dim.*, you say خَوَاتِمُ in the broken *pl.*, which is made to accord with the *dim.* in this [conversion], because they follow one course [247, 274, 279], this broken *pl.* being treated like the *dim.* in many of its predicaments, in that the sign of the *dim.* is a quiescent ى third preceded by a Fathā [274], and the sign of the [ultimate] broken *pl.* is a quiescent | third [256], preceded by a Fathā, while the ى is the sister of the |, as above shown; and that the letter after the ى of the *dim.* is pronounced with Kasr [274], as is the letter after the | of the [ultimate] broken *pl.* [256] (IY): (b) ضَوَيْرِيبُ [below], *dim.* of ضَيْرَابُ [278], *inf. n.* of ضَارَبَ [332, 685]: (c) أُؤَيِّدُمُ and أُؤَادِمُ [247, 278, 661] (M), which they treat like خَوَاتِمُ and خَوَيْتِمُ [above], since the substitution is obligatory, because of the combination of two Hamzas (IY): (d) ضَوْرِبُ [above] (IY, R) and تَضَوْرِبُ (R), where you convert the | of the [*act.*] v. ضَارَبَ [and تَضَارَبَ] into , , according to the rule mentioned [above], because the letter before it is pronounced with Damm (IY): (e) رَحَوِيَّ and عَصَوِيَّ [294, 300] (M, SH), and the like [*rel. ns.*] from the abbreviated (IY), where the | third or fourth [300] has the ى of relation affixed to it, in which case you convert the | into , (R), whether the | be [converted] from a , or ى (IY, R), because of the occurrence of the

double ى after it : (α) the reason of its being converted into , , and the reason of this , 's not being converted into ! , notwithstanding its being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, have been explained [300, 684] (R) : (f) إِلَوَان [229, 639], *du.* of إِلَى [500], when [used as (IY)] a name (M); and similarly لَدَوَان [229], إِذَوَان , إِلَوَان , and إِمَوَان , *dus.* of لَدَى [205], إِذَا [204], whether [an *adv.* of] *time* or *place*, إِلَّا [559], and إِمَّا [543, 544], when you name a *man* by one of these things: and so, if you made one of them a name of a *woman*, and then pluralized it with the ! and ت , you would say إِلَوَاتٌ , إِذَوَاتٌ [234], and the like : (α) the cause of the conversion of such [! s] as those into , is that they are original, neither *aug.*, nor substituted ; so that, since they have no *o. f.* to which they might be restored when mobile, nor has *Imāla* been heard in them [639], the predicament of the , is assigned to them, and therefore they are converted into , when they need a vowel : (β) if it be said “Since they are original, not substituted, why is their conversion into , not disallowed, because they have no *o. f.* as , or ى ?”, the answer is that the matter is so, except that, when these words are used as names, they are translated to the predicament of *ns.*: so that what is predicated of the ! s in those *ns.* which it is not good to pronounce with *Imāla*,

such as عَصَا [626, 629] and قَطَا sand-grouse, is predicated of their ا; and, as you say عَصَوَان [229] and قَطَوَان, so you say اِلَوَان and لَدَوَان: and somewhat similarly, if you named a man ضَرَب [482], you would inflect it, saying هَذَا ضَرَبٌ *This is Darab*, رَأَيْتُ ضَرَبًا *I saw Darab*, and مَرَرْتُ بِضَرَبٍ *I passed by Darab*, although, before use as a name, it is not invaded by inflection [402, 403]; so that, as ضَرَب, when used as a name, is transferred to the predicament of *ns.*, and is therefore *infl.* [194, 206], so اِلَى, لَدَى, and اِمَّا, when used as names, are transferred to the predicament of *ns.*, and their اs are decided to be [converted] from the و, since they are original, and Imāla has not been heard in them (IY): (b) weak in [such as] اَنْعَو for اَنْعَى *viper* [in pause] (R), [where] some of Tayyi say حَبَلَو with the و, [for حَبَلَى] (M on §. 643); (a) Fazāra and some of Kais convert every-final ا, whether for feminization, as in حَبَلَى [248, 272], or not, as in كَثَرَى [401, 671, 673], into ى [in pause]; so say the GG; but IH makes that peculiar to the ا of “such as حَبَلَى” [643, 685], which is not proper: (b) the reason why they convert it into ى is that the ا is faint; and becomes plain only when you put another letter after it, vid. in the state of continuity, where your beginning to sound another letter makes the sound of the ا plain, even though it be faint: whereas, when

paused upon, it becomes so extremely faint that you think it to be non-existent, for which reason هُوَلَا [648] and يَا رَبَّ [54] are said, with the † of silence [615] after it; so that in pause they substitute [for it] a letter homogeneous with, but plainer than, it, vid. the ي; (c) it is only for the object mentioned, vid. plainness, that, in the state of pause, which ought to be lighter than the state of continuity, they tolerate the heaviness of the ي, which is heavier than the †; and also because the letter before it is pronounced with Fath, which somewhat lightens the heaviness of the ي: (d) this is also an excuse for the conversion of the † into Hamza [643], although it is heavier than the †: (e) Tayyi leave it, in continuity, in the same state as in pause, saying أَنْعَى with the ي in both states: (f) some of Tayyi convert the † into , [in pause], because , is plainer than ي, and plainness is intended: for the † is [sounded] farther in the mouth than the ي, because it is [emitted] from the throat [732]; and after it the ي, because it is from the middle of the tongue; and after it the , , because it is from the lips: (g) the ي is more frequent than the , , in the *dial.* of Tayyi, in such a position, because the lightness suitable to pause ought to be observed together with the observance of plainness: (h) those who convert the † into , [in pause] leave the , , in continuity, in the same state as in pause, all of that being

because continuity is treated like pause [647] : (i) the reason why the **ا** is converted into **ى** or **و**, is that the three resemble one another in prolongation and width of outlet (R on Pause) : (2) for the **ى**, is (a) [obligatory (SH)] in such as (α) **مُوقِنٌ** (M, SH) and **مُوسِرٌ** [above] (IY), **طَوْبَى** [above], and **بُوطِرٌ** (M, SH), *orig.* **بُيْطِرٌ** (Jrb), *pass.* of **بَيْطَرَ** [482] (IY), from **بَيْطَرَةٌ** [332], whence **بَيْطَارٌ** [377] (Jrb) ; *vid.* where the **ى** is quiescent and unincorporated, and is preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm (M, R), and followed by two or more letters [below], except in such as **بِيضَانٌ** [249], and **حِيكَى** and **ضِيْرَى** [above] (R) : (α) if the **و** in **مُوقِنٌ** and **مُوسِرٌ** become mobile, or the Damma before it be removed, the word reverts to its original **ى**, as in the *dim.* **مُيَيِّقِنٌ** and **مُيَسِّرٌ** [278], and the broken *pl.* **مَيَّاقِيْنٌ** and **مَيَّاسِيْرٌ** [252] (IY) : (β) our saying “ [and followed by] two or more letters ” [above] is to guard against such as **بِيضٌ** [above] (R) : (γ) as for **ضُرَيْبٌ** [above], the **و** in it is a *subst.* for the **ى** substituted for the **ا** of **فَاعَلَ** ; while the last **ى** is a *subst.* for the **ا** of **فِيْعَالٌ** [332] (IY) : (b) **بَقَوَى** *sparing, taking compassion on* [725] (M, SH), *orig.* **بَقِيَا**, [a *quasi-inf. n.* (KF)] from **أَبْقَى عَلَيْهِ** *spared him*, i. q. **أَشْفَقَ عَلَيْهِ** *took compassion on him*, from **بَقِيَ** *remained*,

as though he *desired him to remain* (Jrb); and تَقَرَّى [above], from وَقَيْتُ [689] (IY) : (c) عَمَرِي [294, 301] (R) : (b) [anomalous, weak (SH),] in such as (a) هَذَا أَمْرٌ مَمْضُوٌّ This is a matter accomplished (M, SH), orig. مَمْضُوٌّ (R, Jrb), from مَضَى [below] (Jrb), the last و, in it being a *subst.* for the ي, which is a ل in مَضَيْتُ (IY), because it is from مَضَى, aor. يَمْضِي (R) : (b) [هُوَ أَمْرٌ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ] (R) : (b) [هُوَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ] [He is (M, R) a strong enjoiner of good conduct (IY, R),] a strong forbiddener of bad conduct [685] (M, SH), which is from نَهَيْتُ I forbade (IY), [being] orig. نَهَوِي (R, Jrb), from نَهَى (Jrb), as though the ي were converted into و, in order that نَهَوِي might correspond to أَمْرٌ; whereas, if they converted the و, [of فَعُول] into ي, the Damma would be turned into Kasra, and نَهَوِي would become نَهِي [722], which would not correspond to أَمْرٌ (R); and شَرِبْتُ مَشْوًا I drank a purgative (IY, R), which is the medicine that moves the stomach (R), from مَشَيْتُ I moved, because the laxative necessitates motion : (α) they change the ي into و, because they mean the formation فَعُول; and therefore dislike it to be confounded with the formation فَعِيل, [as would happen] if نَهِي and مَشِي [722] were said (IY) : (c) جَبَاوَةٌ (M, SH), for جَبَايَةٌ inf. n. of جَبَّيْتُ الْخَرَاجَ

I collected the tax (IY, R, Jrb) : (α) [the assertion] that the [last] و of مَمْضُو is a *subst.* for the ی is said to require consideration, because one says مَضَيْتُ عَلَى الْأَمْرِ *I accomplished the matter*, inf. n. مُضِي [above], and مَضَرْتُ مَضَرٌ , inf. n. مُضَرٌ ; and similarly [the assertion] that the و in جَبَاوَةٌ is a *subst.* for the ی , because جَبَاوَةٌ and جَبَايَةٌ are two *dial. vars.*, since Jh says in the Ṣaḥāḥ “ [Ks says (Jh)] جَبَيْتُ الْمَاءَ فِي الْكَوْضِ *I collected the water in the trough or cistern* and جَبَوْتُ ”, the inf. n. of the first being, it is said, جَبِي , and of the second جَبَوُ ; and Jh also says “ جَبَيْتُ الْخَرَاجَ , inf. n. جَبَايَةٌ , and جَبَوْتُ , inf. n. جَبَاوَةٌ ”: so they mention ; but it is [a] feeble [argument], because, from the [mere] use of the two [forms], it does not necessarily follow that both are o. fs., since substitution may be recognizable [in one of the two forms] here by the paucity of [its] usage [682] (Jrb) ; and [R says that] the whole are anomalous [substitutions of و for ی] (R). They say شَوِيٌّ and عَوِيْنَةٌ as dims. of شَيْءٌ *thing* and عَيْنٌ *eye*, respectively, converting the ی in them into و ; but the chastest [practice] is to say شَيْئٌ and عَيْنَةٌ with retention of the ی , and Damm of their initial ; though Kasr of their initial is allowed in the *dim.* [274, 721], on account of the ی , in order that the consonant and vowel may be conformable, one to

another. And of this class is their saying ضَرِيعَةٌ and بُيُوتٌ as *dims.* of ضَرِيعَةٌ *real property*, or *estate*, and بَيْتٌ *tent*, *house*, respectively : whereas the form adopted in them is ضَرِيعَةٌ and بَيْتٌ, as in a verse by AlKhalil Ibn Ahmad that I have had recited to me

إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَكَ جَدَى * أَغْنَاكَ خَلٌّ وَرَبِيتُ
أَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ ذَا وَلَا ذَا * فَكِسْرَةٌ وَبَيْتُ

*If there be not a kid for thee, vinegar and olive-oil will suffice thee ; or, if there be not this, nor this, then a fragment of bread, and a little tent (D) ; or [ضَرِيعَةٌ and] بَيْتُ [274, 721] (Jh, KF), with Kasr of the initial, as also in the *dims.* of شَيْخٌ [274], عَيْرٌ *ass*, شَيْءٌ [above], and their likes (Jh). This [retention of the ي, however,] is not obligatory, which is proclaimed by H's saying "the chastest"; and therefore his reckoning that [conversion of the ي into و,] among the "mistakes" [which the D, by its title "The Pearl of the Diver on the Mistakes of the Distinguished", professes to expose,] is an excess of language. And IM distinctly declares in the Tashīl that the ع before the letter [ي characteristic] of the *dim.* is made into a و, (1) necessarily, if it be an ا converted from a و ; so that you say بُوَيْبٌ as *dim.* of بَابٌ [278] : (2) allowably, though less approvably, if it be a ي or an ا converted from a ي : so that نُوَيْبٌ and شُوَيْحٌ*

are allowable as *dims.* of شَيْخ and نَاب [278]. And similarly ضَوَيْعَة and نُؤَيْت [above]. And what H disallows is allowed by some, who transmit it from the KK, saying "They say شَوَى as *dim.* of شَى": so that what H mentions is of no account (CD). Or شَوَى is a weak *dial. var.*, on the authority of Idrīs Ibn Mūsā, the Grammarian (KF). The substitution of the و for the Hamza [685] is (1) [allowable (R)] in such as جُونَة [642], *pl.* جُون (M, SH), *orig.* جُونَة and جُون with Hamza: (a) the *ex.* is said to be a blunder, because the composition جَان is neglected in the language, and thus the ع in جُونَة is not known to be *orig.* Hamza: the author of the Ṣaḥāḥ says "And جُونَة with Damm is the *inf. n.* [331] of the جُون intensely black, [*pl.* جُون (Jh),] of horses, [like غُبْسَة dingy whiteness and وَرَقَة bright bay color (Jh)]; and جُونَة is also the جُونَة of the perfumer [below]: and they are seldom pronounced with Hamza", where his saying "they are seldom pronounced with Hamza" obviously means the reverse of what is mentioned by [Z and] IH, because Jh makes it *orig.* unsound [in the ع], and the Hamza in it a *subst.* for the و; (b) "the جُونَة of the perfumer" [above] is his حَقَّة small round box (Jrb): (2) necessary in (a) [such as (MASH)] اُوْمِنْ I believe [661]: (b) such as حَمْرَاوَان

[230, 726], according to the most recognised [usage]; and حَمْرَاوَات [248]; and حَمْرَاوِي [304] (R). [On the substitution of the , for the ʾ see §. 687.]

§. 687. The م is substituted for [four letters (IY, A),] (1) the , , [necessarily (SH, Aud),] in فَم [16, 667] (M, SH, Aud, A), according to most (A), alone (M, SH), the م not being substituted for the , except in فَم , but this substitution being obligatory (R), lest [the , be elided, so that (R)] the *infl.* [*n.* (Jrb)] remain *unil.* [below] (R, Jrb), according to what has been mentioned [278] (Jrb): (a) its *o. f.* is فَوْه [16, 306] (IY, R, Aud, A), like فَرْج *crowd* (A), its ع being a , , and its ل a ʾ (IY), as is proved by [its broken *pl.* (IY, Tsr)] أَفْوَاهُ (IY, R, Aud, A) and its *dim.* فَوِيَّة [275] (IY), because the broken *pl.* [or the *dim.*] restores things to their *o. f.* [260, 278] (Tsr), and by أَفْوُهُ *wide-mouthed* and تَفَوَّهْتُ *I opened my mouth* (R); and its measure being فَعْلٌ with Fath of the first [letter], and quiescence of the second (IY): but the ʾ [that occurs in it, being assimilated to the unsound letters (IY),] is elided (IY, R, Aud, A), as the unsound letters are elided from such as يَدٌ and دَمٌ [231, 260, 275, 719] (IY), on account of its faintness (R, Tsr), for the sake of alleviation (Aud, A), because this word is sometimes *pre.* to the *pron.*, in which case فَوْهَةٌ would be said, which would be deemed heavy (A);

and, when the *s* is elided, the *n.* remains of two letters, the second a , , and the first pronounced with Fatḥ [below]: while its retention in this state would lead to conversion of the , into ِ [684], on the principle of [the conversion in] عَصَا and رَحَى [719], because of its being mobile with the vowels of inflection, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥ; and, this ِ being elided, as in عَصَا [643, 683], because of the concurrence of two quiescents, upon affixion of Tanwīn to it, the *decl. n.* would remain *unil.* [below], which is not found (IY): and [since, according to what has just been mentioned, the *n.* requires the , to be retained (IY),] they substitute the م for the , (IY, R, Aud, A), because the م [is a sound letter, on which the vowels are not heavy; and (IY)] is from the same outlet as the , [732] (IY, Tsr), both being from the mouth; and has in it a nasality akin to the softness of the ,: (a) if it be said “What is the proof that the ف is pronounced with Fatḥ [above] to the exclusion of Damm or Kasr?”, the answer is “The [common] pronunciation testifies to that”: and then, if it be said “AZ transmits فٌم and فٌم, with Damm and Kasr, for فٌم”, the answer is “That is not common in it; and the decision is [based] only upon the most frequent [pronunciation], which is Fatḥ, Damm and Kasr being rare, of the *cat.* of blunder, the explanation of which is that, seeing [the vowel of] the ف in this *n.* vary, when

the *n.* is *pre.* [otherwise than to the *ی* of the 1st *pers.*], as *هَذَا فُوكَ* *This is thy mouth*, *رَأَيْتُ فَاكَ* *I saw thy mouth*, and *مَرَرْتُ بِفِيكَ* *I passed by thy mouth* [16], they treat it in the same way when the *n.* is *aprophetic*: (b) as for the saying of the poet [Al'Ajjāj (AKB)]

يَا لَيْتَهَا قَدْ خَرَجَتْ مِنْ فُيِّهِ * حَتَّى يَعُودَ إِلَيْكَ فِي أُسْطَهِ

[O would that it, by which he may have meant *كَلِمَةً* *α* word that was to be spoken, had issued from his mouth, so that the kingdom might return to its owner, and its rightful claimant !, i. e., says Jh, *فِي أَهْلِهِ* and *حَقِّهِ* (AKB)], it is related with *Damm* and *Fath* of the *ف*, together with doubling of the *م*:—as for the *Damm* of the *ف*, the answer to it has been given above: and, as for the doubling, there is no foundation for it in the word, because they say for its *pl.* *أَفْوَاهٌ*, and for its *dim.* *فَوِيَّةٌ* [above], not *أَفْمَامٌ* [below] nor *فُمَيْمٌ*; but the explanation of it is that they double the *م* in pause, as they double [the final] in *يَجْعَلُ* and *خَالِدٌ* [640]; and that continuity is then treated like pause [647], as in *الْقَصَبَا* and *سَبَسَا* [640, 647, 648] (IY): (c) if *فَمٌ* be *pre.* [to an explicit *n.* or a *pron.* (Tsr)], it is returned to the *o. f.*, [vid. the *و*, (Tsr),] as *فُو زَيْدٍ* *Zaid's mouth* and (Tsr) *فُوكَ* *thy mouth* [below] (Aud, A), because prefixion

restores things to their *o. fs.* (Tsr): and the substitution seldom remains, as in [the saying of the Prophet (Tsr)]
 لَخُلُوقٍ فَمِ الصَّائِمِ أَطْيَبُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ رِيحِ الْمِسْكِ *Assuredly*
the perfume of the mouth of the faster is pleasanter to
God than the odour of musk (Aud, A) and the saying of
 Ru'ba [Ibn Al'Ajjāj (MN)]

يُصْبِحُ ظَمَانٌ وَفِي الْبَحْرِ فَمَةٌ

[16] (Tsr), where ظَمَان is i. q. عَطْشَان, which thus occurs in some places (MN); but F asserts [in the Baghdādiyāt cited below] that the م is not retained except in poetry, which is refuted by the preceding tradition (Tsr): (b) Akh says that the م is a *subst.* for the ه [below], its *o. f.* being فَوْه, which, being transposed, becomes فَهْو, whereupon the ه is elided, and the ه made into a م; and, in proof of that, he cites هَذَا نَفْثَا الْحَمَلِ لَا تَقْلُرَاهَا الْحَمَلِ [below], which, according to him, is like [153] in restoration of the elided [ه] by poetic license (R): (c) as for [the explicit *n.* in] فَوَكْ [above], it has three states, (a) severance from prefixion, where the ه must be changed into م from the impossibility of eliding or retaining it, because by elision the *decl. n.* would remain *unil.* [above], which is not allowable, since the inflection rotates only upon the final of the word, so that it does not rotate upon a word whose final is its initial; while

retention would lead, when [the *n.* was] pronounced with Tanwīn, to the combination of two quiescents, [one of which would have to be elided,] so that its case would be ultimately reducible to [the *decl. n.* 's] remaining *unil.*: (b) prefixion to the *ى* of the 1st *pers.*, where it has two *dial. vars.*:—(α) the more notorious of them is *فِي* [130] in the three cases [of inflection]: by analogy, it is *orig.* *فَرَى*, like *غَدَى* *my morrow*; then *فَأَى* [684], because of the *و*'s being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥ: but since, in what is *infl.* with vowels, [like *غَلَامٌ*,] the custom runs that, when it is *pre.* to the *ى*, [as in *غُلَامِي*,] one is confined, out of all the [inflectional] vowels, to Kasra [129], [which is then put not for inflection, but] for affinity [to the *ى*]; while here the *ع* is like an inflectional vowel, the *و* being like Damma, the *ى* like Kasra, and the *ا* like Fatha [16]; therefore the *ى* is made obligatory in the three cases [of inflection] before the *ى* of the 1st *pers.*, in place of the Kasra [of affinity], although the [latter] Kasra is not inflectional, by assimilating the Kasra [of affinity], which, according to IH, is not a sign of inflection or uninflectedness, or, according to [some of] the GG, the uninflectional Kasra, to the inflectional Kasra, because of its adventitiousness, as the uninflectional Damma in *يَا* *يَا* is assimilated to the inflectional, so that the *و* and

are put in its place in *يَا زَيْدَان* and *يَا زَيْدُونَ* [48]; and [as] the uninflectional Fatha in *لَا رَجُلَ* is assimilated to the inflectional, so that the *ي* is put in its place in *لَا رَجُلَيْنِ* and *لَا مُسْلِمَيْنِ* [99]; all of this being because of adventitiousness: and therefore, since the *ي*, which is an *ع* in *فِي*, becomes assimilated to the inflectional [*ي*], and what is before the inflectional *ي* in the six *ns.* [16] is pronounced with Kasr, therefore the *ف* in *فِي* is pronounced with Kasr: (β) sometimes *فَبِي* [130], *فَبُهُ*, and *فَمُ زَيْدٍ* [above] are said in all the states of prefixion, as *كَالْحَوْتِ لَا الْحِ* [16]: (γ) the first [*dial. var.*] is more correct and chaste, because the cause of the need for change of the *و* into *م*, upon severance from prefixion, is fear of elision of the *ع* on account of the [concurrence of] two quiescents; whereas, in the state of prefixion, there are no two quiescents, since there is no TanwIn in the *pre.* [110, 609]; so that the change of the *و* into *م* is more properly omitted: (c) prefixion to [an explicit *n.* or a *pron.*] other than the *ي* of the 1st *pers.*, where the more recognised [practice] is to inflect it with consonants, as mentioned [16]; but *فَمُ زَيْدٍ* [or *فَبُهُ*] occurs, as above shown: (α) the poet has combined the *م* and *و*, saying *هُمَا نَفْتَا الْحِ* [231, 233, 306], which is a combination of the *subst.* and original, [vid. the *م* and *و*, (AKB)]; but

some endeavour to excuse it by saying that the م is a *subst.* for the & [above], which is the J put before the ع (R on IH upon the Genitives): (β) the constructive meaning of the first saying, as [shown] in [the Kitāb (IKhn) alMasā'il (IKhn, BW, HKh)] alBaghdādiyāt [above] by F, is that the poet, by poetic license, prefixes م with the ع substituted for its م, as in وَفِي الْبَحْرِ فَمٌ [above]; and then puts the و, which is an ع, though the م is a compensation for it; so that this is a combination of the *subst.* and original, by poetic license, which combination we sometimes find among their methods, as أَقُولُ يَا اللَّهُمَّ الْحَمْدُ [56], where the poet combines the premonitory p. [551] and the two م s which are a compensation for it [52]: and, according to this account, two poetic licenses are combined in فَمُوبِهِمَا, prefixion of فَمٌ with the م, its predicament being that it should not be pre. therewith; and combination of the *subst.* and original: but I say that prefixion of فَمٌ with the م is chaste; and is not a poetic license, this being refuted by the tradition لَخَلُوقُ فَمٍ الصَّائِمِ الْحَمْدُ [above]: (γ) as for the second saying, it [evidently coincides with the saying of Akh recorded in (b) above; but, according to AKB,] looks like the opinion of S, who, in the chapter on Relation, the name of which, according to him, is the chapter on الْأَصَانَةُ, says the following words:—"As for فَمٌ, two

letters have gone from its *o. f.*, because it is *orig.* **فَوْرَةٌ**; but they substitute the **م** in place of the **و**, [in order that it may resemble the aprothetic *ns.* of their language (S);] so that this **م** is equivalent to the **ع**, like the **م** of **دَم**, being retained in the *n.* [through its variations in the *gen.* and *acc.*, the *rel. n.*, and the *du.* (S)]: and therefore he that leaves **دَم** in its [curtailed] state, when he forms its *rel. n.* [306], leaves **فَم** in its [curtailed] state; while he that restores the **ل** to **دَم** restores the **ع** to **فَم**, putting it into the place of the **ل**. as they put the **م** into the place of the **ع** in **فَم**: the poet says **هَمَا نَفْتَا آلِخ**, and they say **فَمَوَان** [231] (AKB); so that you restore [the elided letter] in the *rel. n.*, as you restore [it] in the *du.* [231], and [in] the *pl.* with the **ت** [234], forming the [*rel.*] *n.* [with it], as you dualize with it, except that the *rel. n.* has more power of restoration (S), for which reason he that says **فَمَان** has the option of saying, at his will, **فَمَوِي** or **فَمِي**; while he that says **فَمَوَان** says **فَمَوِي** in every case [306]": this is the language of S: (δ) F in the Baghdādīyāt, although he does not report the opinion of S there, reports another mode of accounting for **فَمَوَانِهَا**, saying "It is said that AlFarazdaq substitutes a **م** for the **ع**, which is a **و**, as it is substituted when the *n.* is aprothetic; and then substitutes a **و** for

the س , which is a ج : and that substitution of و for س [686] is not strange, its permissibility being indicated by [the fact] that they are [sometimes] interchangeable in a single word, like عِصَّة [306], the ج of which is judged sometimes to be س , because of their saying عِصَاهُ [275, 311]; and sometimes to be و , because of their saying عِصَوَاتُ [234, 244, 275, 311]": (ε) IJ holds فَمَوِيَّهَما to be *du.* of فَمَا [below] with abbreviation, saying on يَا حَبْدًا آلِخ [233] that أَلْفَمَا may be an abbreviated *n.*, like عَصَا [16]; and that هُمَا نَفْسَا آلِخ occurs accordingly (AKB): (d) فَمٌ has [ten] *dial. vars.*:—(a) the most notorious and chaste of them is (α) inflection with consonants in prefixion to [an explicit *n.* or a *pron.*] other than the ي of the 1st *pers.* [16]; (β) Fath of the ف , together with a single م , in the state of severance [from prefixion]; and (γ) change of the و into ي upon prefixion to the ي [130]: (b) the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th are فُمٌ, with the ف triply vocalized, and the ج elided as forgotten, unrestrictedly, [i. e., in the three states (α—γ) just detailed,] together with change of the و into م : (α) the triple vocalization of the ف is founded upon [the fact] that, in the state of prefixion, the و , for which the م is substituted, is converted into ا and ي [in the *acc.* and *gen.* respectively], for which reason the ف is then triply vocalized in the three cases [of inflection], not for inflection, [but

for affinity]; so that, in the aprothetic state also, it is allowed to be triply vocalized otherwise than for inflection: (c) the 5th, 6th, and 7th are فَمَا, with the ف triply vocalized, [and the ا] abbreviated, unrestrictedly, [i. e., in the three states ($\alpha - \gamma$) detailed under the 1st var.,] as though it were a combination of the *subst.* and original, or the م were a *subst.* for the ل put before the ع, as above mentioned [in (c, c, α)]; so that فَمَوِيَّهَمَا is *du.* of فَمَا [above]: (d) the 8th and 9th are فُم, with the م doubled, unrestrictedly, [i. e., in the three states ($\alpha - \gamma$) detailed under the 1st var.,] and the ف pronounced with Damm or Fath, as in يَا لَيْتَهَا قَدْ آلَخ [above]: (α) IJ says "It is a poetic license, and is not a *dial. var.*": (β) it is as though the two م s were substituted for the ع and ل; and the *pl.* is أَفَمَام [above]: (e) the 10th is making the ف imitate the م in the vowels of inflection, as هَذَا فَمٌ *This is a mouth*, رَأَيْتُ فَمَا, *I saw a mouth*, and نَظَرْتُ إِلَى فَمٍ *I looked at a mouth*: (α) it is as though the state of prefixion without a م — I mean فَوَكَ [above], فَانَ, and فَيْكَ — were considered here: (β) sometimes the ف of مَرَّةٌ also is made to imitate its inflectional letter [in its vowels], as مَرَّةٌ, مَرَّةٌ, and مَرَّةٌ; while the ع of امْرُؤٌ and ابْنٌ imitates the inflectional letter, by common consent [16] (R on IH upon the Genitives):

(2) the **ج** [of determination (IY, SH, A), where its substitution is weak, occurring (SH)] in the *dial.* (M, SH, A) of some of the Arabs (IY) of AlYaman (A), [e. g.] of Tayyi [599, 667, 668] (M, SH), as in **لَيْسَ مِنْ أَمِيرِ آلِ ح** [599] (M, R), transmitted from the Apostle of God by AnNamir Ibn Taulab, who is said to have transmitted [from the Prophet (IY)] nothing but this (M) tradition (IY); while the poet says **ذَاكَ خَلِيلِي آلِ ح** [599] (Jrb): but, notwithstanding that [tradition and verse], it is anomalous, not to be copied (IY): (3) the **ن** (M, SH, Aud, A), (a) regularly (IY), necessarily (SH, Aud), when [it occurs (M, Aud)] quiescent before a **ب** (M, R, Aud, A), as in **عَنْبَرٌ** [677] (M, SH, A) and **شَنْبَاءٌ** (M, SH) *having sharp, serrated, canine teeth* (MASH), *fem.* of **أَشْنَبُ** (Jrb, MASH), and **عَنْ بَكْرٍ** *from Baker* (IY), whether the **ن** and **ب** be (Aud) in one word or two words (R, Aud), as **عَنْبَرٌ** [above] and **سَبْعٌ بَصِيرٌ** XXII. 74. *All-hearing, All-seeing* (R), [and] as **إِنْ أَنْبَعَتْ** **أَشْقَاهَا** XCI. 12. *When the most wretched of them arose*, [i. e., of Thamūd, vid. Kudār Ibn Sālif, or he and those who abetted him in the slaughter of the she-camel, because the **أَفْعَلُ** of superiority, when you prefix it, is applicable to the *sing.* and *pl.* (B),] and **مَنْ بَعَثْنَا** XXXVI. 52. [182] (Aud): (α) IM indicates that by his saying "And before a **ب** convert [below the **ب**] when it is

made quiescent, into م (Tsr), like مَنْ بَتَّ أَنْبَدًا [below]" (IM), i. e., *Whoso cuts (thee), do thou surely cast out (from thy mind, and reject)*, where the ا of أَنْبَدًا is a subst. for the single corrob. ن [614, 649, 684] (IA, A) : (b) that [conversion] is [only (Tsr)] because articulation of the quiescent ن before the ب is difficult, from the difference of their outlets [732], together with the incongruity between the softness and nasality of the ن and the rigidity of the ب [734] (A, Tsr) ; so that, when the ن occurs quiescent before the ب , it is converted into م (Tsr), the م being exclusively distinguished by that [substitution] (A), because it is from the same outlet as the ب , and is like the ن in nasality (A, Tsr) : (c) there is no difference in that [respect] between the [ن (Sn)] detached [from the ب , by its being in one word, while the ب is in another, notwithstanding their concurrence (Sn),] and the attached ; and IM has combined the two in his saying " like مَنْ بَتَّ أَنْبَدًا " [above] (A) : (d) it is written as a ن , but pronounced as a م (Jrb) : (e) they often term change of the ن into م " conversion", as IM does [above] ; but it should rather be termed " substitution", because of what I made known at the beginning of the chapter [682] (A), vid. that technically " conversion " is only in the unsound letter or the Hamza (Sn) : (b) weakly (SH), anomalously

(Aud, A), without a ب, when the ن is (a) quiescent, as in حَمْطَلٌ for حَنْطَلٌ [254, 677]: (b) mobile (A), as in بَنَامٌ (SH, A) for بَنَانٌ (Jrb, A), which are the [fingers or (KF)] *finger-tips* (Jrb), in [such as (Aud)] the saying [of Ru'ba (M, R, MN, Tsr, Jsh) Ibn AlAjāj (MN Jsh)]

يَا هَالِ ذَاتِ الْمَنْطِقِ التَّمْتَامِ * وَكَفِّكَ الْمَخْضَبِ الْبَنَامِ

(M, R, Aud, A), meaning يَا هَالَةَ [58] (Tsr), *O Hāla*, the [proper (Tsr)] name of a woman, *possessed of the lisping speech, and of thy hand dyed in [the tips of (MN, Jsh)] the fingers (MN, Tsr, Jsh) with henna (Jsh), orig. الْبَنَانِ (Aud), the م being substituted for the ن (MN, Tsr, Jsh), as in عَنَبَرٌ [above], حَمْطَلٌ, etc. (MN), for observance of the rhyme (Jsh), anomalously, since it does not precede a ب (Tsr); and in طَامَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْخَيْرِ God disposed him to good (M, SH), transmitted by ISk (IY), i. e., طَانَهُ (IY, R, Jrb), from طِينَةٌ disposition (IY, R); (α) the converse of that, [vid. substitution of the ن for the م (Tsr),] occurs in their saying [in describing hair (Tsr)] أَسْوَدُ قَاتِنٌ *black, dusky, orig. قَاتِمٌ* [688] (Aud, A): (4) the ب in (a) بَنَاتُ مَخْرٍ (M, SH, A), transmitted by As (IY), for بَنَاتُ بَخْرٍ; [with Fath of the ب and quiescence of the dotted خ, as in the KF (Sn),] which are [*thin (Jrb) white (IY, R,**

Jrb)] clouds (IY, R, Jrb, A), that come before the summer (IY, R, Jrb), rising high in the sky (R), the ب being the original (Jrb), because بُخَّرُ is from بُخَارُ (Jrb, A) : (a) IS says that it is [taken (IY)] from بُخَارُ vapour, exhalation (IY, R), because the clouds are from the بُخَارُ الْأَرْضِ vapour, or exhalation, of the ground ; and, according to this, the ب is original, and the م a subst. for it (IY) : but IJ says that, if بَنَاتُ مَخْرٍ were said to be from مَخْرٌ i. q. شَقَّ cleaving, from the text وَتَرَى الْفُلْكَ فِيهِ مَوَاحِرَ XXXV. 13. And thou seest the ships in it cleaving [the water by their running (K, B)], it would not be improbable (R) : (b) sometimes they say it with the undotted ح , as though it were from بَحْرٌ sea, because the clouds are from the vapour, or exhalation, of the sea (IY) : (b) عَلَى هَذَا (IY) [أَلَا مَرَّ] مَا زِلْتُ رَاتِبًا (IY, A)] I have not ceased to be constant (M, SH, A) to this (IY, A) matter, transmitted by IAl (IY), i. e., رَاتِبًا [below] (IY, Jrb), from رَتَبَ , inf. n. رُتِبَ , i. q. ثَبَتَ was constant (Jrb), the م being a subst. for the ب , [as is deducible] from the frequency, and versatility, of the ب , since you say رَتَبَ [above], aor. يَرْتَبُ , act. part. رَاتِبٌ [682], i. e., ثَابِتٌ constant ; but do not say رَتَمَ , aor. يَرْتَمُ , in this sense : so that the ب is the original (IY) : (a) AASh says that مَا زِلْتُ رَاتِبًا عَلَى هَذَا is for رَاتِبًا

[above], i. e., *مُقيماً* keeping, the م being a *subst.* for the ب, because رَقَمَ like رَقَبَ is not said : but IJ says that the م admits of being original, from رَقَمَةٌ, which is a *thread bound on the finger to remind one of a want*, and is also a kind of *tree* : the poet says

هَلْ يَنْفَعُنكَ الْيَوْمَ إِنْ هَمَّتْ بِهِمْ * كَثْرَةُ مَا تُوصِي وَتَعْقَادُ الرِّتَمِ

Shall the multiplicity of what thou enjoimest and the tying of the Ratam indeed profit thee if she care for them? : for, when one of their men meant [to go on] a journey, he would betake himself to two branches of two trees near one to the other, and tie one of them to its fellow ; then, if he returned, and saw the two branches tied together in the same state, he would say that his wife had not been unfaithful to him ; but, if not, he would say that she was unfaithful (R) : (c) رَأَيْتُهُ مِنْ كَثَمٍ

I saw him (M, Jrb, A)] from a near spot (M, SH, A), according to ISk (A), transmitted by Ya'kūb (IY, R),

for كَثَبٍ i. q. قُرْبٍ (IY, R, Jrb, A), where the ب ought to be original, and the م a *subst.* for it, because كَثَبَ is

[the crude-form] generally employed, as قَدْ أَكْثَبَ لَكَ الْأَمْرُ

The matter has drawn near to thee and كَثَبَ مِنْ كَثَبٍ He

shot him from a near spot, i. e., مِنْ قُرْبٍ (IY) : (d) the saying

فَبَادَرَتْ شَاتَهَا عَجَلَى مُثَابِرَةً

حَتَّى اسْتَقَت دُونَ مَخْنَى جِدِّهَا نَعْبًا

Then she hastened to her sheep, hurrying, persevering, until she drew water enough for gulps below the bend of her neck, meaning, [says IAr (M),] نَعْبًا (M, A), pl. of نَعْبَةٌ i. q. جُرْعَةٌ gulp (IY). The [reason why the م is used as a subst. for these four letters is that the] م and و [and ب] are labial; while the م is akin to the ل and ن in being vocal, and [intermediate] between rigidity and laxity [734] (R).

§. 688. The ن is substituted for [four letters (A),] (1) the و, [anomalously (SH),] in صَنْعَانِيَّ and بَهْرَانِيَّ [311] (M, SH, A), rel. ns. of صَنْعَاءَ and بَهْرَاءَ (R, A), orig. صَنْعَاوِيَّ and بَهْرَاوِيَّ [311], because the Hamza [substituted for the ا] of feminization [263, 683] is converted into و, in the rel. n. (A) : (a) by rule the rel. ns. of صَنْعَاءَ and بَهْرَاءَ should be صَنْعَاوِيَّ and بَهْرَاوِيَّ, as you say صَنْعَرَاوِيَّ from صَنْعَرَاءَ [304], and خَنْفَسَاوِيَّ from خَنْفَسَاءَ [247, 273, 390], substituting a و for the [aug.] Hamza, to distinguish it from the rad. Hamza (IY), as before explained [304] in [the chapter on (A)] the Relative Noun (IY, A); but they say صَنْعَانِيَّ and بَهْرَانِيَّ [311], irregularly : (b) authorities differ about that (IY) : —

(a) according to S, the ن is a *subst.* for the و (IY, R), as though they said صَنْعَارِي and بَهْرَارِي [311], like صَحْرَارِي [above], and then substituted a ن for the و (IY), because the regular form is صَنْعَارِي, like حَمْرَارِي from حَمْرَاء [304]: while the ن and و are akin, because of the nasality in them; and also [because] both are between the rigid and the lax, and are vocal [734]: (b) Mb says "Nay, the Hamza of فَعْلَاء is *orig.* ن"; and adduces, as evidence thereof, its return to the *o. f.* in صَنْعَانِي and بَهْرَانِي (R): (c) some say that the ن is a *subst.* for the Hamza [below] in صَنْعَاء and بَهْرَاء (IY, Jrb); but the first [opinion] is the most correct (Jrb): (c) the opinion of S is preferable (IY, R), because there is no affinity between the Hamza and the ن (IY, R, Jrb), since the ن is from the mouth, and the Hamza from the farthest [part] of the throat [732]; whereas the ن is akin to the و (IY, Jrb), and is therefore substituted for it (IY): (d) they make the ن a *subst.* for the و, not for the Hamza of feminization, in order that the *rel. n.* of the *n.* containing the [*aug.*] Hamza may be treated in one way as respects conversion of the Hamza into و (Sn): (2) the ج, [weakly (SH),] in لَعْنِي (M, SH, A), for لَعْل [537] (M, A); and لَا بِنَ فَعَلْتَ كَذَا No, but thou hast done such a thing, for بَل [545] (A): (a) it is said [by some] that (R) the ن is a *subst.* for the ج, [the *o. f.*

being *كَعَلَّ* (Jrb),] because *كَعَلَّ* is [more (R)] frequently [and generally (IY)] used (IY, R, Jrb) : while the ن approximates to the ل in outlet [732], for which reason (a) the ن is incorporated into the ل [749, 751], as *وَيُوتِ* IV. 44. *And will bestow from Himself a great reward* (IY, Jrb) ; and (b) the ن of protection is elided with the ل in *لَعَلِّي*, as with the ن in *إِنِّي* and *كَأَنِّي* [170, 671] (IY) ; (b) it is said [by others] (R, Jrb), [and] I [myself] think (IY), that both [forms] are original (R), [i. e.,] that they are two [separate] *dial. vars.* (IY, Jrb), because there is little variability in *ps.* (IY, R, Jrb) : (c) the poet says *فَيَا صَاحِبِي أَلْحِ* [696. A] : (d) the reason why IH predicates “anomalousness” of the first two [*exs.* cited by him in this section], and “weakness” of the third, is only that what is meant by “anomalous” is what is “contrary to analogy”, although it be agreeable with the usage of chaste speakers ; and by “weak” what is “contrary to the usage of chaste speakers” (Jrb) ; (3) the م in *أَيْنَ* for *أَيْمَ*, [with Fath of their Hamza, and quiescence of their ي (Sn),] denoting *serpent* ; and *قَاتِمَ* for *أَسْوَدُ قَاتِنَ* [687] (A), *قَاتِمَ* [in this phrase] being a *corrob.* of *أَسْوَدُ* (Sn) ; (4) the Hamza [above], *جَنَانُ* being transmitted by Fr for *جِنَانُ* [384], what is what is used as *a dye* (A). The ن in the *فَعْلَانُ*

of *فَعْلَى* is [said by S to be] a *subst.* for the Hamza [of *فَعْلَاءَ*], as the Hamza [in *حَمْرَاءَ*] is a *subst.* for the ا of *حَمْرَى* [263, 683] (S). As for the saying of Khl and S that the ن of the *فَعْلَانُ* whose *fem.* is *فَعْلَى*, like the ن of *سَكْرَانُ* and *غَضْبَانُ* [250], is a *subst.* for the Hamza of *فَعْلَاءَ*, what is meant by it is not this [technical (Sn)] substitution [under discussion (Sn)]; but only that the ن alternates with Hamza in this position [after *فَعْلَا*], as the ل of determination alternates with Tanwīn [262, 609] (A), because the Hamza is for the *fem.*, and the ن for the *masc.*, so that they are not combined. But the unrestricted application of "alternation" to that [appearance of the ن in *فَعْلَانُ*, and Hamza in *فَعْلَاءَ*,] is tropical, because alternating letters are in one word; whereas what is here is not so, since the *fem.* of *سَكْرَانُ* is *سَكْرَى* with abbreviation, not *سَكْرَاءَ* with prolongation (Sn).

§. 689. The ت is substituted for [seven letters (A),] (1, 2) the و and ي (M, SH, A), when [the و or ي is] (a) a ف [699] (M), in which case its substitution is (IY, SH) of two kinds, (a) regular (IY), obligatory (SH), in [اِفْتَعَلَ and its variations (IY),] such as اِتَّعَدَ *threatened* [below] (M, SH) and اِتَّزَنَ [492], يَتَّعِدُ and يَتَّزِنُ, and مُتَّعِدٌ [278]

and ^{مُتَزِّن} , where they convert the و into ت , and incorporate it into the ت of ^{اِفْتَعَلَ} ; and similarly ^{اِتَّلَجَ} entered [below] (IY) : and [such as (M)] ^{اِتَّسَرَ} divided into portions [below] (M, SH), from ^{يُسَرُّ} [368], where they substitute a ت for the ي , as for the و in ^{اِتَّعَدَ} and ^{اِتَّزَنَ} [above] (IY) : (α) IH means every و , or ي that is a ف of ^{اِفْتَعَلَ} [below], as [will be] mentioned in the chapter on Unsoundness [699, 701] (R) : (β) IM indicates that [substitution] by his saying (Tsr) “The soft [letter (IA, A), i. e., the و , or ي (Aud, A), not substituted for a Hamza (Tsr)], when a ف , is [necessarily (IA, A)] changed into ت , [according to the chastest *dial.* (A, Tsr),] in ^{اِفْتَعَالَ}” (IM) and its *derivs.* (IA, A) ; and incorporated into the ت of ^{اِفْتَعَالَ} and its variations (Aud), vid. the [*pret., aor., and imp.* (Tsr)] *v.*, and the *act. and pass. parts.* ; from the difficulty of articulating the quiescent soft letter together with the ت , on account of the proximity of their outlets [732], and incompatibility of their qualities (A, Tsr), since the soft letter is vocal, and the ت surd [734] (A) ; as, [in the case of the و , (A),] ^{اِتِّصَالَ} (IA, A), [492] (IA, Aud, A), ^{اِتَّصَلَ} (A), ^{اِتَّصِلْ} (IA, A), and ^{اِتَّصِلْ بِهِ} (A), from ^{رَضَلْ} (Aud), *orig.* [^{اِرْوِصَالَ} (IA, A),] ^{اِرْوِصَلَ} (IA, A, Tsr), ^{يُوتِصِلْ} (A), ^{اِرْوِصِلْ} (IA, A), and

وَعَدُّ (A); and [similarly] اِتَّعَدَ [above], from وَعَدُّ (Aud), orig. اَوَّعَدَ; the و being converted into ت, and incorporated into the ت of اِفْتَعَالَ, because incorporation removes the heaviness (Tsr): and as, [in the case of the ي اِتَّسَّرَ (A), interpreted by Frd as *playing at hazard with gaming-arrows*, which our Master confirms, accounting for its derivation from يَسَّرُ by the statement that the heathen used to think that such playing would occasion يَسَارَ *ease, opulence* (Sn),] اِتَّسَّرَ [above] (Aud, A), اِتَّسَّرَ, مِتَّسَّرَ [278], and مِتَّسَّرَ (A), from يَسَّرُ [above] (Aud), orig. [اِيتَّسَّرَ (A),] اِيتَّسَّرَ (A, Tsr), يِيتَّسَّرَ, اِيتَّسَّرَ, مِيتَّسَّرَ, and مِيتَّسَّرَ (A), the ي being converted into ت, and incorporated into the ت of اِفْتَعَالَ, from their anxiety for incorporation, because it makes two letters become like one (Tsr): the poet [Tarafa Ibn Al'Abd (MN, Tsr) alBakri (MN)] says

فَإِنَّ الْقَوَادِيَّ يَتَلَبَّجْنَ مَوَالِجًا * تَضَايِقَ عَنْهَا أَنْ تَوَلَّجَهَا الْآبَرُ
(IY, Aud), constructively اَلْآبَرُ تَوَلَّجَ عَنْهَا, And verily the rhymes, by which he means odes, enter places of entrance, from which the entrance of needles has been excluded (MN), orig. تَوَلَّجْنَ, from وَلَجٌ entrance

(MN, Tsr): and the [other (IY)] poet [AlA'shà Maimūn Ibn Kais (MN, Tsr), satirizing (MN), intimidating (Tsr), 'Alkama Ibn 'Ulātha (MN, Tsr),] says

فَإِنْ تَتَّعِدْنِي أَتَّعِدَكَ بِمِثْلِهَا * وَ سَوْفَ أَرْيِدُ الْبَاقِيَاتِ الْقَوَارِصَا

(IY, Aud) *And, if thou threaten me, I shall threaten thee with the like thereof: and I will add the lasting, biting (words) (MN), orig. تَوْتَعِدْنِي and أَتَّعِدَكَ (MN, Tsr):* (γ) the reason why they change the ف in that [formation] into ت is that, if they retained it, the vowel of the preceding letter would play with it [from desire of homogeneity (Sn)]; so that it would be a ي [rad. or converted from a , (Sn)] after Kasra [685], an ا [converted from a , or ي (Sn)] after Fatha [684, 701], and a و [rad. or converted from a ي (Sn)] after Damma [686]: and, since they see its liability to [perpetual] alteration because of the alteration in the [vocalic] states of the preceding letter, they substitute for it a letter that is constant to one form, vid. the ت , which [they choose because it (Sn)], among the *aug.* [issuing (Sn)] from [the fore part of (Sn)] the mouth, [vid. the lips, the central incisors, and the tip of the tongue (Sn),] is the nearest [in outlet (Sn)] to the و , [732]; [while they do not make the *subst.* a م (Sn),] in order that it may agree with, and therefore be incorporated into, the following letter, [vid. the ت of اِفْتَعَالَ]: (δ) some GG

say that the substitution, [even] in the cat. of اِتَّصَلَ , [where the ف is a و ,] is only for ي , because the و is not retained with the Kasra in اِتَّصَلَ and اِتَّصَلَ ; while the *aor.* and *act.* and *pass. parts.* are made to accord with the *inf. n.* and *pret.* (A): but [the advocates of] the first [theory] may say that the doctrine that و is not retained with Kasra [685 (case 5)] applies only when its retention in perpetuity is meant: whereas here the case is not so; and therefore the و is retained, but then changed into ت (Sn): (ε) “soft [letter]” comprises the و and ي , as above shown: but, as for the ا [697], it is not included in that, because it is not a ف [673]; nor [is it, when original (Sn),] an ع or a ل (A), which is not incompatible with its being an ع or a ل , when it is a *subst.*, as in قَامَ and دَمَى [684, 703, 719] (Sn): (ζ) some people of AlHijāz leave this substitution, and pronounce the ف of the word according to the vowels before it, saying اِيتَصَلَ [685], *aor.* يَاتَصَلُ [701], *act. part.* مُوْتَصِّلٌ ; and اِيتَسَّرَ , *aor.* يَاتَسِّرُ [701], *act. part.* مُوْتَسِّرٌ : and Jr transmits that some of the Arabs say اِئْتَصَلَ and اِئْتَسَّرَ , with [a second] Hamza, which is strange [661] (A): these two dialectic peculiarities are guarded against by A 's saying above “according to the chastest *dial.*” (Sn): (η) we have restricted the و and ي by saying, as in the Tashīl, “not substituted for a Hamza”, to guard

against such as اَوْتَمِنَ [661, 702], *inf. n.* اَيْتَمَانٌ, and اَيْتَزَرَ [699, 702] (Tsr) : (b) irregular (IY), anomalous (SH), in such as اَتَلَجَهُ (M, SH), *orig.* اَوَّلَجَهُ because from اَوَّلَجَ [above] (Jrb), as says the poet [Imra alKais (IY)]

رَبِّ رَامٍ مِنْ بَنِي ثُعَلٍ * مُتَلِجٍ كَفَيْهِ فِي قَتَرِهِ

(M, R) *Many a marksman of the Banu Thu'al, putting his two hands inside his lurking-places ! (MAR), lest the wild animals [see them, and] flee away (IY) ; and* اَتَكَاهُ *He smote him, so that he made him fall in a reclining posture (R), orig.* اَوَّلَكَاهُ (MAR) : (α) numerous expressions [illustrative] of that [irregular substitution of ت for the و when a ف occur (IY) : and hence (R) they say (IY, A) تُجَاهَهُ [408, 646, 671] (M, R, A) for وَجَاهَهُ (MAR), فُعَالٌ from وَجَهُ i. e., the location in front of everything, as فَلَانٌ تُجَاهَهُ زَيْدٌ *Such an one is in front of Zaid, i. e.,* قُدَّامُهُ *before him (IY) ; and* قُرَاتٌ [278, 307, 408, 671, 682] (M, A), as قَاتِلُونَ قَاتِلَاتٍ أَكْلًا *as* LXXXIX. 20. *And ye devour the inheritance with wholesale voracity, orig.* قُرَاتٌ, فُعَالٌ from قُرَاتٌ (IY) ; and the like (A) : and تَيَقُّورٌ (M, R), *orig.* وَيَقُورٌ (Jh), فَيَعُولٌ (IY) from وَقَارٌ *gravity, staidness (IY, R), as says the poet [Al'Ajjāj (S, Jh)]*

فَإِنْ يَكُنْ أَمْسَى الْبَلَى تَيَقُّورِي

Then, if wear have become the cause of my gravity (IY), meaning وَقَارِي (S, Jh) : and فُكْلَانُ (M, R) incapacity and reliance upon another (Jh, KF), فُعْلَانُ from وَكَلْتُ I committed, deputed, delegated, aor. أَكَلُ (IY) : and نَكَاةٌ staff to lean upon [682] (M), the ت being orig. ا, (Jh) ; and نَكَلَةٌ [307] (M, R), as رَجُلٌ نَكَلَةٌ for وَكَلَةٌ, i. e., a man incapable, committing his affair to another, whence وَكَيْلٌ commissioner, deputy, delegate, as though he were مَوْكُولٌ إِلَيْهِ commissioned, deputed, delegated, the root in them being one (IY) ; and نَخْمَةٌ [278, 646, 682] (M, R), a malady like cholera, from وَخَامَةٌ or وَخَمٌ, which is pestilence (IY) ; and تَهَمَةٌ suspicion (M, R), فُعْلَةٌ from اتَّهَمْتُ i. q. ظَنَنْتُ I thought, the [first] ت [of اتَّهَمْتُ] being a subst. for the و, because it is from وَهْمُ الْقَلْبِ the fancy of the mind (IY) : and تَقَيَّةٌ (M, MAR), تَقَوًى [331, 686] (M, R), and تُقَاةٌ (IY, R), respectively فَعِيلَةٌ, فَعَلَى, and فُعْلَةٌ from وَقَيْتُ I guarded, or was cautious (IY) : and تَتَرَى consecutively, uninterruptedly, or at intervals (M, R), فَعَلَى (IY) from مُوَاتَرَةٌ (IY, R), i. q. مُتَابَعَةٌ making consecutive, uninterrupted ; though Lh says "There is no مُوَاتَرَةٌ but amongst it is فَتْرَةٌ an interval, as ثُمَّ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا تَتَرَى XXIII. 46. Then We sent Our Apostles at intervals" : it has two dial. vars.

[282], Tanwin and omission thereof; and those who decline it is a diptote make its *l* denotative of femininization; while, according to those who decline it as a triptote, the *l* is co-ordinative (IY): and ^{تَوْرَاةٌ} *Pentateuch* (M, R), one of the Revealed Scriptures (IY), from ^{وَرَى} *producing fire* (R), orig. ^{وَرَاةٌ} (IY), ^{فَوَعَلَهُ} (IY, R) from ^{وَرَى آلَ زَنْدٍ} *The fire-stick produced fire* [699] (IY), because ^{تَفَعَّلَ} [below] is extraordinary (R); and [similarly (R)] ^{تَوَلَّجُ} [693] (M, R), the *covert* of the wild animal, into which he ^{يَلْجُ} *enters* (IY), ^{فَوَعَلَ} (Jh, IY, Jrb on §. 693), says S (Jh, Jrb), because you hardly ever find ^{تَفَعَّلَ} as a *n.* [in the language (Jh)], whereas ^{فَوَعَلَ} is frequent (Jh, Jrb), as says the Rājiz [Jarīr (Jh on ضَعَا)], describing a bull [taking cover (Jh)] among thorn-trees,

مَتَّخِذًا فِي ضِعَوَاتٍ تَوَلَّجًا

Making for himself a covert among trees of the kind called ضَعَا: the Bdd say that ^{تَوْرَاةٌ} is ^{تَفَعَّلَ} [above], and ^{تَوَلَّجُ} is ^{تَفَعَّلَ} [678]; but the correct [opinion] is the first, because ^{فَوَعَلَ} is more frequent than ^{تَفَعَّلَ} among *ns.*: and, according to us, if the Arabs did not convert the [initial], [of ^{وَرَاةٌ}] into ت in ^{تَوْرَاةٌ}, its conversion into Hamza would ensue, because of the combination of two *s*, as in ^{أَوَاصِلُ} pl. of ^{وَاصِلَةٌ} [683, 699, 730. A]; but, according to the Bdd,

that [conclusion] does not follow, because the ت, according to them, is an *aug.* [678], not a *subst.* [for a *rad.*, serving as the ف, so that there is no initial و to be converted] (IY): and قَوَّامٌ [253, 255] (R), the measure of (T) which is [construed, says Khl, to be (Jh),] فَوَعَلٌ (Jh, T); its o. f. being وَوَّامٌ, like تَوَلَّجٌ [above] from وَلَجَ entered (Jh); while its derivation is from وَثَّامٌ agreement, as though the child وَآءَمَ فِي آلَاتِيَّانٍ غَيْرَهُ agreed with another in coming, i. e., وَافَقَ (T): and تِلَادٌ (M) old property, vid. what was born in thy possession, contrary of طَارِفٌ newly-acquired; and تَلِيدٌ, vid. who was born in the territories of foreigners, and then carried away while young, so that he grew up in the territories of AlIslam, from وَلَادَةٌ birth (IY): (b) a ل (M), in (α) أُخْتُ [277] (M, R), orig. أَخَوَةٌ [234, 307]; but transferred from فَعَلٌ to فُعِلَ, like قُفِّلَ [646] (IY): and [similarly (IY)] بِنْتُ [277] (M, R), being orig. بَنُو [234, 307, 667], on the measure of فَعِلَ, like قَلِمٌ pen; and then transferred to فِعِلَ, like جِذْعٌ [646] (IY): (α) this final ت in بِنْتُ, and in أُخْتُ also, is a *rad.* ت [below], existing in continuity and pause [646] (D): [for] the ت is substituted for their ل s (IY); and is not [really (D)] the sign of femininization [268, 277, 295] (D, IY), as is proved by the quiescence of the preceding letter (IY),

because the letter before the ة of femininization is [only {IY}] pronounced with Fatḥ (D, IY), like the م in فَاطِمَةٌ *Fāṭima* and the ر in شَجَرَةٌ [254] (D), the ة being equivalent to a *n.* joined on to [266], and compounded with, a *n.*; so that the letter before it is pronounced with Fatḥ, like the Fatḥ of the letter before the second *n.* of حَضَرَمَوْتُ and بَعْلَبَكْ [215] (IY); unless it be an ا, like the ا in قَطَاةٌ [254] and قَنَاءَةٌ [683]: and, since the letter before the ت in بِنْتُ and أُخْتُ is quiescent, and is not an ا, this proves that the ت in them is *rad.* (D): (β) it is objected against H 's saying "is a *rad.* ت" [above] that the ت is [a co-ordinative] *aug.* [671], not a *rad.*; so that there is no reason for what he mentions: but this is refuted by [the reply] that, by its being "*rad.*", he means that it is a compensation for a *rad.* letter, vid. the ج of the word; or [that it is] *quasi-rad.*, because it is for co-ordination with such as جَذَعٌ [or قُفْلٌ] (CD): (γ) the sign of femininization in بِنْتُ and أُخْتُ is their formation in these two shapes, and their transfer from their first formation [307]; and, for that reason, the shape and the ة of femininization are interchangeable in بِنْتُ and ابْنَةٌ [667], where the shape of بِنْتُ corresponds to the ة of femininization in ابْنَةٌ (IY): (δ) the *dial. var.* more often used is ابْنَةٌ, with which the Ḳur speaks in.

وَمَرْيَمَ ابْنَةَ إِمْرَانَ LXVI. 12. *And Mary, the daughter of 'Imrān, and in Shu'aib's address to Moses* إِنْزَى أُرِيدُ XXVIII. 27. *Verily I wish to marry thee unto one of these my two daughters ; and to which the saying of Abu-l'Amaithal conforms, vid.*

لَقِيتُ ابْنَةَ السَّهْمِيِّ زَيْنَبَ عَنْ عُمْرٍ
وَنَحْنُ حَرَامُ مُسَى عَاشِرَةَ الْعَشْرِ
فَكَلَّمْتُهَا ثِنْتَيْنِ كَالثَّلْجِ مِنْهُمَا
عَلَى الدَّلُوحِ وَالْأُخْرَى أَحَرُّ مِنَ الْجَبْرِ

[*I met Zainab, the daughter of the Sahmī—a rel. n. from Sahm, a clan of Kuraish, and in Bāhila also—after a period, or time, when we were entering upon the state of pilgrimage, on the evening of the tenth of the first ten (days of Dhu-l-Hijja): and I spoke to her two (words, one) of which was like snow upon, i. e., with, thirst, and the other hotter than live coal (AKB)], where he means by the first “word” the greeting of arrival, and by the other the salutation of farewell (D): (ε) Sfsds the ت in بِنْتُ and the like to be the sign of feminization, for which reason, says he, it is elided in the perf. pl. أَخَوَاتٌ and بَنَاتٌ [234, 307]; while the quiescence of the preceding letter is because the ت is meant to be co-ordinative (IY): (b) هُنْتُ [263, 277, 307]*

(M, R), where also the ت is a *subst.* for و, because of the *pl.* هَنَوَات [234], as

أَرَى ابْنَ نِزَارٍ قَدْ جَفَانِي وَمَلَّنِي * عَلَى هَنَوَاتٍ شَأْنُهَا مُتَتَابِعٌ

I believe Ibn Nizār to have shunned me, and loathed me, on account of things whose course was uninterrupted

[690]; and is meant for co-ordination with فَعَلٌ, like بَكَرٌ

Bakr and عَمَرٌ, *Amr* (IY): (c) كِلْتَا [263, 277] (M),

which S [307] holds to be فَعْلَى, like ذِكْرَى [272], *orig.*

كِلْرَى, the و, being changed into ت [678]: so that

according to him, it is a *sing. n.* importing the sense of the *du.* [117], contrary to the opinion of the KK; and

is not of the crude-form, but [only] of the sense, of كَلٌّ

(IY): (d) أَصْنَتُوا (M, R), i. e., *They experienced drought*

(IY), from [the crude-form of (IY)] سَنَةٌ [234, 244, 260, 265, 275, 306] (IY, R), according to those who hold its

ل to be a و, because of the sayings سَنَةٌ سَنَوَاءٌ a *hard*

year and اسْتَأْجَرْتُهُ مُسَانَةً *I hired him by the year*: the

ت is said to be a *subst.* for (α) the و, which is a ل: (β)

ا ي, because the و, when it occurs fourth, is converted

into ي, as in أَغْزَيْتَ [685, 727]; and then the ت is sub-

stituted for the ي, which [opinion] is more agreeable

with analogy (IY): (e) ثِنْتَانِ [263, 277, 313] (M, A),

orig. ثَنِيَانِ [spelt by YH with Fathas (Sn)], because it

is [فَعَلٌ] from ثَنَيْتُ الْوَاحِدَ *I was a second to the one*, [of the *conjug.* of رَمَى (Sn),] *inf. n.* ثَنَى (A), i. e., *I became with him a second*: so in the Msb (Sn): (α) the ت in it is a *subst.* for the ي, as is proved by its being from ثَنَيْتُ *I doubled, or folded, or bent* [313], because one of the *two* is *doubled, or folded, or bent*, upon the other: (β) its *o. f.* is ثَنَى, like قَلَمٌ [above], as is proved by their making its *pl.* أَقْنَاء [307], like أَبْنَاء [307, 667] and آخَاء [260, 307]; but they transfer it from فَعَلٌ to فِعْلٌ, as they do in بَنَتْ [above]: (γ) as for the ت in اِثْنَتَانِ [307, 313, 667], it is like that in اِبْنَتَانِ *du. of ابْنَةٌ* [above]: whereas ثِنْتَانِ is like بِنْتَانِ [above] (IY): (f) كَيْتٌ and ذَيْتٌ [277] (M, A), *orig.* كَيَّةٌ and ذَيَّةٌ [227, 277], because they say كَانَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ كَيَّةً وَكَيَّةً and ذَيَّةً وَذَيَّةً [227] (IY, A), transmitted from the Arabs by AU (IY), the ة of feminization being elided; and a ت substituted for the [last (A)] ي, which is the ل (IY, A), of the word (A), by way of co-ordination, as in بِنْتَانِ [above]: so that they say كَيْتٌ and ذَيْتٌ: (α) these [forms] have three *dial. vars.*, being *uninfl.* upon Fath, as كَيْتٌ and ذَيْتٌ; Kasr, as كَيْتٍ and ذَيْتٍ; and Damm, as كَيْتٌ and ذَيْتٌ: whereas كَيَّةٌ and ذَيَّةٌ have only one form, which is *uninfl.* upon Fath: (β) if it be said

“Why do you not say that the ت is a *subst.* for , , the o. f. of كَيْة being كَيَوَة, but the , being converted into ي , as in سَيْدٌ and مَيْتٌ [685, 716]?” we say that it is not allowable, because you would arrive at what has no counterpart in their language, which contains no word like حَيَوَة [4, 685, 698], whose ع is a ي , and ل a , (IY): (γ) [Jh, however, says in article دَا that possibly] the o. f. of ذَيْتٌ is ذَيَر upon [the measure of] فَعَلٌ , quiescent in the ع ; the , being elided, so that ذَي remains *bil.*; and [its final] being therefore doubled, as [the final of] كَي is doubled when you make it a name [275]; and the ت being then put as a *subst.* for doubling: so that, if you elide the ت , and put the س , you must restore the doubling; [and thus] you say ذَيْتٌ كَانَ or ذِيَّة : (δ) if you form the *rel. n.* of ذَيْتٌ , you say ذَيَوِي , like بَنَوِي *rel. n.* of بِنْتُ [307] (Jh): (3) the س , in (a) طَسْتُ basin [below] (M, SH, A), alone [below] (SH), *orig.* طَس (IY, Jrb), because [its *dim.* is طَسَيْسٌ , and (IY, Jrb)] its [broken (IY)] *pl.* is (IY, R, Jrb) طَسَاسٌ (IY) [and] طَسُوسٌ (R, Jrb), not طَسُوتٌ [below] (R): (α) Fr says “Tayyi say طَسْتُ , and others طَس : the former are those who say لَصْتُ for لَص [below]; and, according to them, the *pl.* is طَسُوتٌ [above] and لَصُوتٌ [below]” (Jk): (b) if it be said “Its *pl.* is طَسُوتٌ also: then why do you decide that the

س is original, and the ت a *subst.*, and not the converse? ", we say " Because it is established that the ت is a letter of substitution, whereas such is not established in respect of the س [682, 696. A] " (Jrb): (c) IH says " alone " [above], notwithstanding سِت [below], because the substitution in the latter is for incorporation [682] (R): (b) the *num.* (A) سِت [307, 316, 671, 682, 758] (M, R, A): (a) its *o. f.* is سِدْس (IY, A), because it is (IY) from [the crude-form of (R)] تَبْدِيسُ *making six* (IY, R), since they say [in its *dim.* (Jh, IY)] سُدَيْسَةُ [282] (IY, A), and in the *pl.* أَسْدَاسُ (Jh): but they convert the last س into ت , in order that it may approximate [in outlet] to the د [732] before it; while [they choose the ت because], together with that [proximity to the د], it is surd, like the س [734]: so that سِدْس becomes constructively سِدْت (IY); and then, [since the د and ت are combined, and they approximate in outlet (IY),] the د is changed into ت , [because of their agreement in surdity (IY),] and incorporated (IY, A) into the ت , so that they say سِت (IY): (c) the saying of the poet

يَا قَاتِلَ اللَّهِ بَنَى السَّعَلَاتِ * عَمَرُو بَنٍ مَسْعُودٍ شِرَارَ النَّاتِ
غَيْرَ أَعْفَاءَ وَلَا أَكْيَاسِ

(M, R), meaning النَّاسِ and أَكْيَاسِ (IY), O, or O (my

people) [59, 551], *God fight against*, meaning *slay*, the sons of she-devils, 'Amr Ibn Mas'ūd, the worst of men, incontinent and not sharp-witted! (Jsh), where he substitutes a ت for the س (IY, Jsh), because of their agreement in being surd [734], *aug.* [671] letters, adjacent in outlet [732]; for extension of the vocabulary (IY), in order that النَّاسِ and أَكْيَاسِ may rhyme with اَلْيَسْعَالِ (Jsh); which is extraordinary (R): (4) the ص, in لَصَّتْ [below] (M, SH, A) and لُصَّتْ (IY), for لَصَّ (IY, R, A) and لُصَّ [682] (IY), the ت being a *subst.* for the ص, as is proved by their saying تَلَصَّصَ عَلَيْهِمْ *He committed robbery upon them* and هُوَ بَيِّنُ اللَّصُوصِيَّةِ *It is plain robbery* (IY, Jrb), with Damm and Fath of the ل (Jrb), and اَرْضٌ مَلَصَّةٌ *land infested by robbers* (IY): (a) the pl. is [لُصُوصٌ: seldom (IY)] لُصُوتٌ [above], as

فَتَرَكْنَ نَهْدًا عِيْلًا اَبْنَاوَهَا * وَبَنِي كِنَانَةَ كَاللُّصُوتِ الْمَرْدِ

(IY, R) *Then they le.î Nahd*—a clan of AlYaman—with its children destitute, and the Banù Kināna like insolent robbers (MAR); and those who say that make لُصَّتْ a *dial. var.* [682], because the ت is substituted for the ص [in its variations also]: (b) its derivation is from لَصَّصَ, which is *narrowness of the interstices between the teeth*, as though the thief, or robber,

narrowed himself, and made himself small, lest he should be seen (IY): (c) Jh mentions in the Ṣaḥāḥ that [according to Fr (Jh)] لَصْتُ⁹, with Fath of the ل, is i. q. لَصُّ in the *dial.* of Ṭayyi, who say طُسْتُ [above] for طُسْ; and that the *pl.* is لُصُوتُ: (d) it is mentioned in the CHd that لُصُّ is said with all three vowels of the ل, Kasr being the chastest; and لُصْتُ with Fath of the ل [682], *pl.* لُصُوتُ, like بَيْتُ, *pl.* بَيُوتُ [242, 256] (Jrb): (5) the ب, in دَعَالِيْتُ (M, SH, A) and دَعَالِيْتُ (IY), for دَعَالِبُ (M, A) and دَعَالِيْبُ (IY), as

صَفَقَةُ دِي دَعَالِيْتُ سَبُولِ * بَيْعُ آمَرِي لَيْسَ بِمُسْتَقِيلِ

[The bargain of the poor needy purchaser, wearer of worn-out rags is, in irrevocability and conclusiveness, like a sale by a man that is not desirous of rescinding (MAR)], i. e., دَعَالِبُ (R), the ت being a *subst.* for the ب (IY): (a) IJ says "They ought to be two *dial. vars.*; but", says he, "it is not improbable that the ت is substituted for the ب, since it is sometimes substituted for the , [above], which is the partner of the ب in [having its outlet from] the lip [732]": this is his language; and the better [opinion] is that the ت [in دَعَالِيْتُ] is *orig.* ب, because دَعَالِبُ is more often used, i. q. دَعَالِيْبُ [below], which are bits of worn-out rags (R): (b) دَعَالِبُ

[and دَعَالِيْبُ (A)] are [bits of rags, and of (IY)] worn-out clothes (M, A), as

مُنْسَرَحًا عَنْهُ دَعَالِيْبُ الْكَرْبِ

With the bits of rags stripped off him [below] (IY): (c) the sing. is دُعْلُوبٌ (IY, R, A), like عُصْفُورٌ [253, 396] (Sn): (d) Jh mentions in the Ṣaḥāḥ that (Jrb) دَعَالِيْبُ are bits of rags, as مُنْسَرَحًا عَنْهُ آلْح [above]: and [that (Jrb)] IAl says "And the ends of garments are called دَعَالِيْبُ, sing. دُعْلُوبٌ"; and cites by Jarīr

وَقَدْ أَكُونُ عَلَى الْحَاجَاتِ ذَا لَبَثٍ

وَأَحْوَذِيًّا إِذَا آنَضَمَ الدَّعَالِيْبُ

And indeed I am possessed of patience against needs, and am active when the ends of the garments are tucked up (Jh, Jrb): all of that is mentioned in the Ṣaḥāḥ: (e) hence one knows that دَعَالِيْبُ is orig. دَعَالِيْبُ [above] by conversion of its [sing.'s s] letter of prolongation into ي, as is the rule, like قِرْطَاسٌ pl. of قِرْطَاسٍ [253, 685] (Jrb): (f) the substitution in دُعَالِيْبُ and لِصْتٌ [above] is weak (SH): (6) the ط, in نُسْتَاطُ [with Damm of the ف, the tent (Sn),] orig. نُسْطَاطُ [385] (R, A), because they say in the pl. فَسَاطِيْطُ [390], not فَسَاتِيْطُ: (7) the د, in نَاقَةٌ فَتَاتُ a tractable she-camel, orig. دَرَبُوتُ, i. e., broken in,

because it is from ذُرْبَةٌ (A) *being accustomed to*, and *bold* towards, the thing, since, from the animal's *being accustomed to*, and *bold* towards, a thing, his *tractability* therein is ensured (Sn). IM says in the Tashīl that the ت is seldom substituted for the s. The *ex.* of it is the interpretation put by some upon the saying [of Abū Wajza asSa'dī, praising the family of AzZubair Ibn Al'Awwām (AKB),]

أَلْعَاطِفُونَ حِينَ مَا مِنْ عَاطِفٍ * وَالْمُطْعِمُونَ زَمَانَ أَيَّنَ الْمُطْعِمِ

[The kind when there is not any one kind, and the feeders at the time (of the question) "Where is the feeder?" (AKB)], that he means أَلْعَاطِفُونَ with the s of silence; and afterwards changes it into ت, which he mobilizes from metric exigency (A): but this is open to the objection that the metre would be correct without mobilizing it; so that there is no metric exigency, as will not escape the notice of those who have the least acquaintance with prosody (Sn). And some exemplify it by such as [رَحِمَتْ and جَنَّتْ] [646], because they hold the s to be [the] original [sign of femininization in the n.] (A).

§. 690. The s is substituted for [six letters (A),] (1) the Ḥamza (M, SH, A), as before mentioned [682] (A),

(a) when *aug.* (IY), as in (a) [أَلْمَاءُ (M, Jrb)] هَرَقْتُ
I poured out [658, 679, 682] (M, SH) the water.

(M, Jrb), i. e., ^{أَرَقَّتْهُ} (IY, Jrb) : (α) in ^{أَهْرَقْتُ} [349, 382, 671, 679] the *z* is *aug.*, a quasi-compensation for the departure of the vowel from the ع, as the س is *aug.* in ^{هَرَحْتُ} [671, 680, 682] (IY) : (b) ^{أَلَدَّابَةَ} (M, R, Jrb) [658, 682] (M, SH), i. e., ^{أَرَحْتُهَا} (IY, R, Jrb), meaning *I brought the beast back to the nightly resting-place* (Jrb) : (c) ^{هَنْرْتُ آلَثَوْبَ} *I put a woo to the cloth, or an ornamental border to the garment* (M, R), i. e., ^{أَنْرْتُهُ} (IY, R), ^{أَفْعَلْتُ} from ^{نَيْرٌ} (IY) : (d) ^{هَرَدْتُ الشَّيْءَ} *I wanted the thing* [682], transmitted by Lh (M, R), i. e., ^{أَرَدْتُهُ} (IY, R), aor. ^{أَهْرَيْدُهُ} with Fath of the *z*, like ^{هَرَقْتُهُ}, aor. ^{أَهْرِيقُهُ} [349] (R) : (α) those [four *exs.*] are all transmitted by ISk (IY) : (b) when *rad.* (IY), as in (a) ^{هِيَّانَ} [658, 682] (M, SH), for ^{إِيَّانَ} (IY, Jrb), whence ^{فَهِيَّانَ} [60] (IY, R), thus cited by Akh ; and the reading ^{هِيَّانَ نَعْبُدُ وَهِيَّانَ نَسْتَعِينُ} I. 4. [Part I, p. 39A] (IY) : the *z* being a *subst.*, because ^{إِيَّانَ} is more frequent (R) : (α, it is transmitted from Ktb that some say ^{أَيَّانَ}, [which is read in I. 4. (K, B),] with Fath of the Hamza ; and then substitute the *z* for it, saying ^{هِيَّانَ} (IY) : (b) ^{لَهْنَكَ} [521, 682] (M, SH), orig. ^{لَأَنَّكَ} (IY, Jrb), whence ^{أَلَا يَا سَنَا بَرِّقِ آلْحَ} [521] (IY) : (α) when the *l* of inception is prefixed, they alter the Hamza into *z*, because the *l* is not combined with ^{إِنَّ},

since they do not combine two *ps.* having one meaning (Jrb); and [then] they do not mind the succession of two *corrob. ps.* [521], because the form of the second is altered by the substitution (Sn on كَهَنَّكَ in §. 682): (c) [لَقَدْ كَانَ كَذًّا] (M) هَمَّا وَاللَّهِ Now, by God (M, R), assuredly such a thing did indeed happen! (M), meaning أَمَّا وَاللَّهِ [551] (IY, R): (d) [فَعَلْتُ] (M, Jrb) هُنَّ فَعَلْتُ If thou do (M, SH), I will do (M, Jrb), meaning إِنَّ (IY, Jrb), in [the *dial.* of (M, Jrb)] Tayyi (M, SH), who convert the Hamza of the *cond.* إِنَّ into ة (R): (e) هَذَا الَّذِي (SH): the poet says (R, Jrb)

وَأَتَى صَوَاحِبَهَا فَقُلْنَ هَذَا الَّذِي * مَنَحَ الْمَوَدَّةَ غَيْرَنَا وَجَفَانَا
(M, R, Jrb), cited by Akh M, R), And he came to her (his beloved's) companions; and they said "Is this he that bestowed affection on others than us, and forsook us? (Jsh), i. e., أَذَا الَّذِي (M, SH), the Hamza in أَذَا being interrog. (Jrb); while Ktb transmits هَزِيدٌ مُنْطَلِقٌ Is Zaid departing? in interrogation: (f) هَيَا for the *voc.* [p.] أَيَا [554] (R): (α) they [justly (IY)] change the Hamza into ة [in these cases (Jrb), by way of alleviation (IY)], because the Hamza is a rigid, independent letter, and the ة a surd, faint letter [734]; while their outlets are approximate [732] (IY, Jrb), except that the Hamza is [sounded] farther in the throat than the ة

(IY): (β) the substitution of the *ʔ* for the Hamza is confined to hearsay (SH): [for] this substitution, though often transmitted from them, according to what has been mentioned, is inconsiderable, trifling, in comparison with what is not changed, for which reason it may not be copied; so that you do not say *هَاحَدُ* for *أَحَدُ* *Aḥmad*, nor *إِبْرَاهِيمُ* for *هَبْرَاهِيمُ* *Abraham*, nor *هَتْرَجَةٌ* for *أَتْرَجَةٌ* *a citron*; but you follow what they say, and stop where they end (IY): (2) the *ا*, in (a) *أَنَّهُ* [648] (M, SH, A), where the *ʔ* may be (IY, R, A), (*ا*) as is said [here] (R), a *subst.* for the *ا* in pause [upon *أَنْ*; which is most likely (IY)], because [*أَنَا* with (IY)] the *ا* is more often used [in pause (R)] than [*أَنَّهُ* with (IY)] the *ʔ* (IY, R), which is rare (IY): (b) as we have mentioned in the chapter on Pause [and elsewhere], the *ʔ* of silence, as in *قَدْ* and *رَءٍ* [615, 644, 671, 679] (R), affixed (A) in pause (Sn), like the *ا* [161, 497, 647] (IY), to make the vowel [of the *و* (IY, Sn) in *أَنْ* (IY)] plain (IY, A); and not a *subst.* for the *ا* (IY, Sn): (b) *حَيْهَلَةٌ* (M, SH, A): (α) the *ا* in *حَيْهَلًا* is to make the vowel plain: and (IY) the [last (A)] *ʔ* [*حَيْهَلَةٌ*] is a *subst.* for the *ا* (IY, A) in *حَيْهَلًا* [615, 648] (A); or may be [affixed, like the *ا*,] to make the vowel plain, as is allowable in *أَنَّهُ* [above] (Sn): (c) *مَ* in interrogation

(SH), and هَنَءُ (Jsh), as in (R) the poet's saying قَدْ وَرَدَتْ [175, 181, 646] (M, R, A), where he substitutes ʾ in هَنَءُ for the ا (A), meaning مِنْ هُنَا (IY): while [مَ in] فَمَ may be an instance of that [substitution of ʾ for ا (Sn)], i. e., فَمَا أَصْنَعُ *Then what (shall I do)?* [below], or فَمَا آتَتْظَارِي لَهَا *Then what (is the good of my waiting for them)?*; or may be i. q. أَكْفَفَ [187], i. e., *They have come to water from every side, and have become numerous: then, if I quench not their thirst, do not thou blame me, but hold off from me* (A): (α) فَمَ admits of two alternatives:—(α) that he means فَمَا *Then what?*; but that, pause upon the ا being disliked, on account of its faintness, he substitutes the ʾ for it, because of their proximity in outlet [732]; what is meant being فَمَا أَصْنَعُ [above], or the like [181]: (β) that فَمَ is a *chiding*, i. e., *Then hold! (O man)*, as though he addressed, and *chid*, himself (IY): (b) [on the supposition that مَ here means مَا] the better [opinion] is that the ʾ is a *subst.* for the ا: but it may be said that the ا is elided from the *interrog.* مَا not governed in the *gen.*, as it is elided from the one governed in the *gen.*, as in إِلَامٌ and فِيمَ [181, 615, 648]; and that the م is then strengthened with the ʾ of silence, as [the ر and ق are] in رَهْ and قَهْ [above] (R): (d) يَا هَنَاءُ (SH), [as] وَدَدْ رَأَيْتِي الْحَ [Part I,

p. 15A], where the *ṣ* is substituted for the *ḥ* converted from the *ḥ*, [appearing] in هَنَوَات [234] (M), according to one opinion (SH): (α) there is a dispute about its [last (IY)] *ṣ* (IY, R):—(α) according to the BB (W, R), the *ṣ* [in هَنَا (W)] is a *subst.* for the *ḥ*, [below] (W, IY, R), which is the *ḥ* of the word (IY), in [هَنَوَك and (W, IY)] هَنَوَات [16, 234] (W, IY, R), [as] in عَلَى هَنَوَات [689] (IY); its *o. f.*, [according to them (R)], being هَنَا (IY, R), فَعَالٌ from هَن [14]; but the *ḥ*, being then changed into *ṣ* (IY); so that the *ṣ*, being a *subst.* for the *ḥ* of the word, may, for that reason, be pronounced with Damm [48]: while AZ says on مَرْحَبَاهُ [616] that the poet assimilates [the *ṣ* in] it to the letter of inflection, [i. e., the final of the *n.*,] and therefore pronounces it with Damm (W): (β) it is indicated by Z [and IH] that the *ḥ*, being final after an *aug. ḥ*, is converted into *ḥ* [below], the *ṣ* being a *subst.* for that *ḥ* (IY): (γ) according to AZ, Akh, and the KK, it is the *ṣ* of silence [615, 616] (R): [for] AZ holds that the *ṣ* is affixed after the *ḥ*, for pause, on account of the faintness of the *ḥ*, as it is affixed in lamentation, as in رَا زَيْدَا [55, 615]; and that it is mobilized by assimilation to the *rad. ṣ*, [as he says on مَرْحَبَاهُ above]: and this saying is transmitted from Akh also: while, according to them, the *ḥ* [not the *ṣ*] is a *subst.* for the *ḥ*, which is the *ḥ* of the

word ; but this is an unsound saying, inasmuch as the ء of silence is affixed only in pause, and, when you pass to continuity, you elide it decidedly ; and [because] it is found only quiescent, not mobile, for which reason the saying of AlMutanabbi

وَأَحَرَّ قَلْبَاهُ مِمَّنْ قَلْبُهُ شَيْمٌ * وَمَنْ بِحَسْبِي وَحَالِي عِنْدَهُ سَقَمٌ

[*Ah! the heat of my heart from its love for him whose heart is cold, and near whom sickness is in my body, and disorder in my state! (W)*] is rejected, because he expresses the ء of silence [in continuity (W)], and mobilizes it (IY) : (8) some hold that the ء [in هَنَا (IY)] is original, [not a *subst.*, but only the ل of the word, as in عَصَا *calumniated* and شَفَا *consumed* (IY),] which is [a (IY)] weak [saying (IY)], because the *cat.* of سَلِسَ and قَلِقَ is rare [674, 685, 690] (IY, R) : (b) the substitution of the ء for the ا is anomalous (SH) : (3) the , [671], in وَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ الْحَجَّ [above] : (a) that is disputed, the majority holding that the ء is substituted for the , [above], the *o. f.* being يَا هَنَا : while IJ says “ If the ء were said to be a *subst.* for the ا converted from the , occurring after the [*aug.*] ا , it would be a strong saying, since the ء is nearer [in outlet] to the ا than to the , [732]” ; [and his opinion is adopted by Z and IH above] (A) : (b) his meaning by “ the ا ” is apparently “ the Hamza ”, which is the [letter] substituted for the

, in the *cat.* of كَسَا [683] and غَطَا covering (Sn): (4) the ي (M, SH, A), in (a) هَذِهِ [648, 671] (IY, SH, A), with quiescence of the [last] ة (Sn), for هَذِي [174] (IY, A), [as] in هَذِهِ أُمَّةٌ لِلَّهِ [648] (M): (a) the ة of هَذِهِ is a *subst.* for the ي in pause, according to the Banu Tamim (R), who say هَذِهِ with quiescence of the ة, which is substituted because, in pause after the Kasra, the ي is faint, the ة being more apparent than it; while the ة is approximate [in outlet] to the sister of the ي [697], i. e., the ا [732]: but these [Arabs], when they continue, restore the ي, saying هَذِي هِنْدٌ *This is Hind*, because the ي is made plain by what follows it: (b) Kais and the people of Al-Hijaz make pause and continuity alike, [saying هَذِهِ] with the ة, as Tayyi make pause and continuity alike in أَفْعَى [686] (R on Pause): (c) this [substitution] is not regular in every ي, [as conversion into ي is regular, according to Tayyi, from every ا (R on Pause);] so that أَلَذِةٌ is not said for أَلَذِي [176] (R): (d) this ي is mostly converted into ة, in order that it may be assimilated to the ة of the *masc.* [*pron.*] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as in غَلَامِي and بِي [161, 648], and be therefore conjoined [with ي]: (e) the [*conj.*] ي is elided in pause: (f) هَذِهِ with quiescence is allowable in continuity and pause, but is rare

[in the former] (R on Pause) : [for] some of the Arabs make this \mathfrak{s} quiescent, like the \mathfrak{y} , in continuity and pause : while some assimilate it to the \mathfrak{s} of the *pron.*, because it is attached to a vague *indecl. n.* ; so that they pronounce it with Kasr in continuity, saying هِندٌ هِندٌ *This is Hind* [and هِذِهِ أُمَّةٌ آلِ اللَّهِ (IY on §. 648)], as you say نَظَرْتُ إِلَى غُلَامِهِ and مَرَرْتُ بِهِ [648] ; and terminate it by a \mathfrak{y} , [as هِذِهِ أُمَّةٌ آلِ اللَّهِ (648),] to make the Kasra of the \mathfrak{s} plain ; but [even] those who say this pause upon the \mathfrak{s} quiescent : (g) one proof that the \mathfrak{y} is [affixed] to make the vowel plain, and that the \mathfrak{s} is not for femininization [648], is that, if you named a man ذِهْ, you would inflect, and pronounce with Tanwīn, as هَذَا ذِهٌ *This is Dhih*, رَأَيْتُ ذِهًا *I saw Dhih*, and مَرَرْتُ بِذِهٍ *I passed by Dhih*, eliding the \mathfrak{y} , because rendered unnecessary by the vowels and triptote declension ; whereas, if the \mathfrak{s} were for femininization, you would not decline it as a triptote, as you do not decline طَلْحَةٌ and حَمْرَةٌ [18] as triptotes (IY) : (b) هَنِئَةٌ for هَنِئَةٌ [277] (A), which is the *trifling thing* (Sn) : (5) the ت (M, SH, A), in (a) the *cat.* of رَحْمَةٌ [682] (SH), i. e., the *n.* containing the \mathfrak{s} of femininization [646] (MASH), [e. g.] in [such as (IY, A)] طَلْحَةٌ (M, A) and حَمْرَةٌ (M), in pause (M, SH, A), according to the opinion of the BB (A) : (a) some treat

continuity like pause, saying ثَلَاثَةٌ أَرْبَعَةٌ [647, 663]; and some treat pause like continuity, saying بَدَ جَوْرٍ تَيْهَاءَ الْحِجْرِ [183, 640, 646] (IY) : (b) كَيْفَ and كَيْفَ الْبَنَاءِ وَالْبَنَاءِ [646], transmitted by Ktb from Ṭayyi (M, A), which are anomalous : (c) تَابُوتٌ for تَابُوتٌ chest (IY, A), which also is anomalous ; “ but,” says IJ, “ is read ” [in إِنَّ آيَةَ مُلْكِهِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوتُ II. 249. *Verily the sign of his kingship is that the ark should come to you*, where Ubayy and Zaid Ibn Thābit read التَّابُوتُ with the ʾ (K)], meaning “ among the anomalous [readings] ” (A) : (α) [many hold that] تَابُوتٌ [with the ʾ (Jh, K, IY)] is [a *dial. var.* (IY),] the *dial.* of the Anṣār (Jh, K, IY, KF) ; and تَابُوتٌ the *dial.* of ʔuraish : KIM says that [the *dials.* of (Jh)] the Anṣār and ʔuraish do not differ about anything in the ʔur except تَابُوتٌ (Jh, IY) : (b) the measure of تَابُوتٌ is فَعْلُوتٌ (K, IY, B), like رَحْمُوتٌ [678] (IY), from تَوْبٌ *returning*, because [it is a *receptacle wherein things are placed, and deposited*; so that (K)] what is taken out of it does not cease to *return* to it (K, B), and its owner *returns* to it for such of his *deposits* as he needs (K) : not فَاعُولٌ (K, B), because such [formations] as سَلَسَ and قَلِقَ [above] are rare ; and because تَبَت is an unrecognized crude-form, for which the recognized [crude-form تَوْب] may not be abandoned

(K): (c) it is like طَاغُوتُ *devil* (IY), which is فَلَغُوتُ from طَغُوتُ *I exceeded in wickedness* (KF); formed by transposition, because it is from طَغَا (Jh); [orig.] فَعَلُوتُ from طُغْيَانُ [686], its ع and ل being transposed (B): (d) its o. f. is تَوْبُوتُ, the [first] و of which they convert into ا [684] (IY): (e) as for those who read [التَّابُوتُ] with the ʾ (K, B), it is فَاعُوتُ, according to them, except among those who make its ʾ a *subst.* for the ت (K); [and] perhaps they [may all] substitute the ʾ for the ت (B), because these two letters participate in surdity [734] and augmentativeness [671], for which reason the ʾ is substituted for the ʾ of feminization [above] (K, B): (d) اللَّاتُ said by some, who pause upon اللَّاتُ *AlLāt* with the ʾ (IY): (e) قَعَدْنَا عَلَى الْفُرَاةِ [646], which some one was heard to say, meaning عَلَى الْفُرَاتِ: (6) the ح, in (a) طَهَّرَ الشَّيْءَ *made the thing remote*, i. q. طَحَّرَهُ, i. e., أَبْعَدَهُ: (b) مَتَخَهَا مَتَّهَ الدَّلْوُ *drew out the bucket*, i. q. مَتَحَهَا (A), which is said in the Msb to mean اسْتَخْرَجَهَا (Sn): (c) مَدَحَهُ *praised him*, i. q. مَدَحَهُ: (a) some distinguish between مَدَحَ with the ح and مَدَّ with the ʾ, holding مَدَحَ to be [*praise*] *in absence*, and مَدَّ to be [*praise*] *to one's face*; but the correct [opinion] is that they are synonymous, except that مَدَحَ is the o. f. (A).

§. 691. The J is substituted for [two letters, as before mentioned (A),] (1) the ن (S, M, SH, A) in أَصِيلَانُ (A), which [substitution] is [very (S)] rare, as أَصِيلَانُ (S, SH), which is [orig. (R) only (S)] أَصِيلَانُ (S, R), whence

وَقَفْتُ فِيهَا أَصِيلًا أَسْأَلُهَا * عَيْتَ جَوَابًا وَمَا بِالرَّعْمِ مِنْ أَحَدٍ
[682] (M), by An Nābigha adh Dhubyānī (IY, MN), praising AnNu'man Ibn AlMundhir, *I stopped in it a short time at evening, questioning it (about its inmates) : it was unable to answer, nor was any one in the abode* (MN), said by Khl to be recited with أَصِيلًا (ABk), meaning أَصِيلَانًا (IY), an irregular *dim.* of أَصِيلٌ [285, 286] (IY, MN); the [second (Sn)] J being a *subst.* for the ن (ABk, IY, MN, Sn): (a) I asked Khl about your saying أَصِيلًا آتِيكَ *I will come to thee for a short time at evening*: and he said "It is only أَصِيلَانُ, for [the ن of] which they substitute the J; and that is verified by the saying of the Arabs "آتِيكَ أَصِيلَانًا" (S): (b) [R says that] أَصِيلَانُ is *dim.* of أَصْلَانُ: and [that], if أَصْلَانُ be *pl.* of أَصِيلٌ, like رَغِفَانُ *pl.* of رَغِيفٌ [246], which is apparently the case, then أَصِيلَانُ is anomalous in two respects, the substitution of the J for the ن, and the formation of a homomorphous *dim.* from the *pl.* of multitude [285, 286]; but if أَصْلَانُ be a *sing.*, like مَمَّانُ

[677] and قُرْبَانٌ *oblation*, notwithstanding that it is not used, then أُصَيْلَلٌ is anomalous in one respect, vid. the conversion of the ن into ل (R): (c) [according to ABk,] whoever fancies that أُصَيْلَلٌ is *dim.* of [أَصْلَانٌ], the *pl.* of أَصِيلٌ, makes a mistake, because it is a *pl.* of multitude, which does not form a *dim.* [285] (ABk); and [IY holds that] أُصَيْلَلٌ is only a *sing. n.*, peculiar to the *dim.*, like عَشِيشَةٌ [or عَشِيشِيَّةٌ (KF) and أَبِينُونَ [234, 286] and such *ns.*, which are not used except in the *dim.* (IY): (d) the poet puts the *dim.* to indicate the *shortness of the time* (MN): (e) Akh says that, if you used أُصَيْلَلٌ as a name, it would be declined as a diptote, because the ن is quasi-retained, being indicated by the retention of the ل in the *dim.*, as in سَكَيْرَانٌ [274]; and similarly هَرَاقٌ [690], when you use it as a name, is diptote, because the Hamza is virtually retained (R): (2) the ض (M, SH, A) in اضْطَجَعَ (A), as الطَّجَعَ, which is corrupt (SH), whence

مَالَ إِلَى أَرْطَاةٍ حِقْفٍ فَالْطَّجَعَ

[647, 682] (M, R), meaning اضْطَجَعَ [692, 756], the ض in which is changed into ل: (a) there is a version فَاضْطَجَعَ (IY, MN), according to the *o. f.* (IY); and فَالْطَّجَعَ (IY, MN), where a ط is substituted for the ض,

and then incorporated into the ط , because of their connection in vocality and covering [734] (IY); and فَاصْجَعُ also : so IJ mentions (MN).

§. 692. The ط is substituted for [two letters (A),] (1) the ت (M, SH, A), (a) regularly (IY), necessarily (SH), in اِفْتَعَالٌ after the letters of covering (A), [i. e.,] when the ف of اِفْتَعَلٌ is one of the [elevated (R)] letters of covering, which are [four (IY),] the ص , the ض , the ط , and the ظ [734] (IY, R), as in اِصْطَبَرَ *had patience* [671, 682, 756] (M, SH), اِصْطَرَبَ *collided*, اِطَّرَدَ *was regular*, and اِظْطَلَمَ *put up with wrong* (IY), as [will be] mentioned [756] (A): (a) that [substitution] is because the ت is surd [732], with no covering in it; whereas these letters are vocal, covered : so that they choose an elevated letter [632, 734], having the same outlet as the ت , vid. the ط ; and put it in place of the ت , because it is akin to the ت in outlet, and to the ص , the ض , and the ط in covering [682] (R): (b) anomalously (IY, SH), in [the attached *nom. pron. of*] every [pret.] v. of the 1st or 2nd pers., whose J is one of the letters of covering (MASH), as in حُصِّطَ [below] (SH), خُضِّطَ *I waded*, اُحْطِّطَ *I surrounded*, and حَفِظُّطَ *I kept* (MASH): (a) this is the *dial.* of the Banù Tamīm (R, MASH), and is not frequent—I mean making the *pron.* a ط .

when the *l* of the word is a *ص* or *ض*, and similarly after the *ط* and *ظ*, as in *حَصَّ عَيْنَهُ* *I sealed its eye* [above] (R), and *فَكَصَّ بِرِجْلِي* *I scraped a hollow with my foot* [693] (M, R), and *أَحَطَّ* and *حَفِظُ* [above] (R) : (b) if the *l* of the *v.* be a *ط*, it is incorporated [into the *ط* of the *pron.*] (MASH) : (c) that [substitution] is (R, MASH) rare (R), [and] anomalous, because it is a complete alteration of a word, destructive of its *o. f.* : and therefore this dialectic variation is not commonly known among chaste speakers (MASH), because the *ت* of the *pron.*, being a complete word, is not to be altered; while it is also an independent word, upon which analogy requires that the letter of covering should not take effect : but those who convert it do so because, being *unil.*, [and] like part of the preceding word, as is proved by the fact that the letter before it is made quiescent [20, 403, 607], it is like the *ت* of *اِفْتَعَلَ* [above] (R) : (2) the *د* : Ya'kūb transmits from As *مَطَّ آلَ الْكَرَفِ* *He prolonged the letter, for مَدَّة*, and *إِبْعَاطُ* *removing to a distance for إِبْعَادُ* (A).

§. 693. The *د* is substituted for [three letters (A),] (1) the *ت* (M, SH, A), (a) in *اِفْتَعَلَ* after the *د*, the *ذ*, the *ز*, and the *ج*, as [will be] mentioned [756] (A), (α) regularly (IY), necessarily (SH), in [such as (SH)].

اِزْدَجَرَ checked (M, SH) and اِزْدَانَ was adorned ; and
 اِذْدَكَرَ remembered, when subjected to incorporation, ac-
 cording to what IAl transmits (M) from the Arabs (IY) ;
 and اِدَّكَرَ [below] (SH) : (α) when the ف [of the v. (R)]
 is [one of three letters (R),] a ز , [a د , or a ذ (R),] the ت
 of اِفْتَعَلَ is converted into د (IY, R), as اِزْدَجَرَ and اِزْدَانَ
 [above], orig. اِزْدَجَرَ and اِزْدَانَ (IY) : and the د and ذ
 are incorporated into it, as اِدَّانَ incurred a debt and اِدَّكَرَ
 [above] ; but it is allowable for the ذ not to be incorpo-
 rated, as اِذْدَكَرَ [above] : (β) the three letters being
 vocal, and the ت surd [734], the ت is converted into د ,
 because the د , being akin to the ذ and ز in vocality, and
 to the ت in outlet [732], is intermediate between the ت
 and them ; while the ذ , but not the ز , is incorporated
 into the د because the outlet of the ذ is near to, and the
 outlet of the ز far from, the outlet of the د : (γ) the
 incorporative conversion, however, is [properly] not part
 of what we are concerned with, as we mentioned at the
 beginning of this chapter [682] (R) ; and, as for اِدَّكَرَ
 [above] or اِذْدَكَرَ [671, 682], and اِذْرَى sifted, winnowed,
 those are not instances of what we are considering, but
 only of incorporative substitution (IY) : (δ) conversion
 of the ت into د after the ذ is necessary : and, after the
 conversion, incorporation is more frequent than omission
 thereof ; while, if you incorporate, you convert either

the first into the second, or the converse, as will be explained in the chapter on Incorporation [756] (R): (b) anomalously (SH), in *اجْدَمَعُوا* they gathered together and *اجْدَزَ* cut[below](M, SH), in some *dials.* (M): (α) conversion of the ت of *اِفْتَعَالُ* into د after the ج is anomalous, because, though the ج is vocal, and the ت surd [734], still the ج is nearer than the ز and ذ to the ت, since the articulation of the ت is easy after the ج, and difficult after the ز and ذ (R): (β) they say *اجْتَمَعُوا* for *اجْتَمَعُوا*, and *اجْدَزَ* for *اجْتَزَ* [above] (IY): the poet [Mudarris Ibn Rib'ī alAsadī (MN, Jsh), according to IBr (MN),] says

فَقُلْتُ لِصَاحِبِي لَا تَحْبِسَانَا * بِنَزْعِ أَصُولِهِ وَاجْدَزْ شَيْكََا

(M, R) Then I said to my companion "Do not thou detain us from roasting the flesh with pulling out [the tree by (MN)] its roots, but cut some wormwood," a well-known plant (MN, Jsh), where *تَحْبِسَانَا* is in the shape of the *du.* by poetic license, the *sing.* being meant by it (Jsh); for [Jh says that (MN)] sometimes the Arabs address the *sing.* with the form of the *du.*, as says the [other (Jh)] poet [Suwaid Ibn Kurā' al'Uklī (MN, Is), addressing 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān (Is),]

فَإِنْ تَرْجُرَانِي يَا أَبْنَ عَفَّانَ أَزْدَجِرْ

وَإِنْ تَدْعَانِي أَحْمَ عَرْضًا مُبْنَعًا

Then, if thou chide me, O Ibn 'Affān, I will forbear ; and, if thou let me alone, I will defend an inviolate honor (Jh, MN) : (γ) that [conversion] is not regular, but confined to hearsay ; so that اَجْدَرَآء is not said [for اَجْتَرَأَ venturing (IY, MAR)], nor اَجْدَرَح (IY, R) for اَجْتَرَح earned (IY, MAR) : (b) anomalously (SH), in (a) [such as (SH)] (α) فَرَدْتُ I succeeded, prospered (M, SH), like فَكْصَطُ [692] (R), the o. f. being فَرَزْتُ from فَوَزْتُ [331], where they substitute a د for the ت because of the influence of the ; (IY) ; (β) جَدُّ I was liberal for جَدْتُ , where its conversion after the د is likewise anomalous (R) : (b) دَوَّلَج (M, SH), for تَوَّلَج [689] (IY, Jrb), from وُلِّج (R, Jrb), the [first] , being converted into ت , and the ت then converted into د (R), as though, seeing the ت to be surd, and the , vocal [734], they substituted the د for the ت , because it is the sister of the ت in outlet [732], and of the , in vocality ; so that homogeneity of sound is attained (IY) : (α) that [theory] is [advanced] because تَوَّلَج is more used than دَوَّلَج (R) : (β) this [substitution] is rare, anomalous, in usage, though good in analogy ; and, from the rarity of its usage, is not to be copied (IY) : (γ) the conversion of the ت into د in اَزْدَجَر and اَجْدَمَعَ [above] is from affinity of sound, as in صَوِّق [695] (R) for سَوِّق meal,

gruel (MAR); contrary to دَوَّاج (R): (2) the ط: they say مَرَدَى for مَرَطَى [248, 272], which is *where the hair is plucked out round the navel* (A); but, in the KF, a *kind of running*: while مَرِيطَاءُ is *what is between the navel, or the breast, and the pubes*, with a string of other meanings; and moreover *what encloses the tuft of hair on the lower lip on both its sides*, like مَرِطَاوَانِ with Kasr; and the *arm-pit*: and مَرِيطَى, with abbreviation, is the *uvula* (Sn): (3) the ذ in ذَكَرَ pl. of ذِكْرَةٌ *remembrance* (A), like عِبْرَ pl. of عِبْرَةٌ *admonition*, as SBd says: (a) the author of the KF transmits from Lth that the ذ is changed into د in [الدِّكْرُ for] الدِّكْرُ pl. of ذِكْرَةٌ when synarthrous; but that, when anarthrous, ذَكَرَ with the ذ is said (Sn).

§. 694. The ج is substituted for the ي (S, M, SH, A), as before mentioned [643, 682] (A), when (1) double, (a) in pause (S, M, SH), as فُقَيْمِج [643] (SH), for فُقَيْمِي [311], a *rel. n.* (MASH): (α) the ج is substituted for the ي and nothing else (IY), because they are partners in vocality [734] (IY, R, Jrb) and outlet [732] (IY, Jrb), except that the ج is hard (IY, R), and, but for its hardness, would be a ي [643] (IY); while the ي, when doubled, becomes [extremely near to (R)] a ج (IY, R): Ya'kūb says "Some of the Arabs,

when they double the *ي*, make it become a *ج*, as *كَانَ* when they double the *ي*, make it become a *ج*, as *كَانَ* [below], meaning *الْأَيْل* [682] (IY); while both are from the middle of the tongue [732] (R, Jrb): but the *ج* is plainer [below] in pause, where plainness is desirable since the letter paused upon becomes faint, for which reason *حُبَلَى* with the *ي* and *حُبَلَوْ* with the *و*, are said [643, 685, 686] (R): (b) this substitution is *orig.* [employed] in pause upon the *ي*, because of its faintness and resemblance to the vowel (IY), as *عَوْنِي* and *عَلِي*, meaning *عَوْنِي* and *عَلِي* (S): IAl says "I said to a man of the Banu Hanzala 'Of whom art thou?', and he said *فُقَيْمِ*", [i. e., *فُقَيْمِي* *Fukaimi* (IY);] then I said 'Of which of them?', and he said *مُرِّي*" (M, Jrb), i. e., *مُرِّي* *Murri* (IY), which is anomalous (SH): (b) not in pause (R), [but] in continuity when treated like pause [647] (M, R on Pause), according to the GG (R on Pause), as in [the saying of the Rājiz (IY), an Arab of the desert (MN),]

خَالِي عَوَيْفٌ وَأَبُو عَلِيٍّ * الطَّعْمَانِ اللَّحْمَ بِالْعِشِّ
وَبِالْغَدَاةِ كَتَدَ الْبَرْنِجِ * يَقْلَعُ بِالْوَدِّ وَبِالصَّيْحِ

[643, 682] (M, SH), told to me by one that heard them say it (S on Pause), [and] cited by As, who said

that it had been recited to him by KhA, who said that it had been recited to him by an inhabitant of the desert (IY), *My maternal uncle is 'Uwaif and Abū 'Alī, who provide meat for food at evening, and at morning portions of the kind of date called بَرْنِي [294], torn off with the tent-peg and with the horn of the ox (MN), meaning [بَرْنِي and (IY, MN)] بِالْعَشِيِّ (S, IY, MN) and الْبَرْنِيِّ (S, MN) and بِالصَّيْفِيِّ (IY, MN), which is more anomalous (SH); and the saying [of Abu-nNajm (MAR)]*

كَأَنَّ ذِي أَذْنَابِهِنَّ الشَّوَلِ * مِنْ عَبَسِ الصَّيْفِ قُرُونِ الْأَجَلِ
[above] (M, R), cited by IAr (Jh, M), *As though in their, i. e., the camels', uplifted tails, from the dry dung and urine of summer, were the horns of the mountain-goat, (MAR), meaning الْأَيْلِ (Jh, MAR) : (2) single (R), not double, (a) [in pause, but less often than when double (R),] as in [the saying (M) of the other (IY), an inhabitant of AlYaman (MN, Jsh),]*

لَا هُمْ إِنْ كُنْتَ قَبِلْتَ حَجَّتْج * فَلَا يَزَالُ شَاحِجٌ يَأْتِيكَ بِجٍ
أَقْبَرُ نَهَاتٍ يُنْزِي وَفَرْتَجٍ

[682] (M, SH), cited by (IY, R on Pause) Fr (IY) [and] AZ (R on Pause), *O God, if Thou hast accepted my pilgrimage, then a mule, white, braying, that jogs my hair extending to the lobe of the ear, shall not cease to bring me to Thee (MN, Jsh), i. e., حَجَّتْجِي and بِجٍ and*

وَفَرَّتِي (Jrb, MN, Jsh), which is [still] more anomalous (SH), because the ج is more akin to the double ي, as we have said (R): (a) some of Tamīm substitute the ج for the ي in pause, whether the ي be double or single, because of the ج's proximity to the ي in outlet [732], together with its being plainer [above] than the ي (R on Pause): (b) that also is to make the ي plain in pause (R on Substitution): and (b) [not in pause (R),] as in

حَتَّى إِذَا مَا أَمْسَجَتْ وَأَمْسَجَا

(M, SH) *Until, whenever she entered, and he entered, upon the time of evening* (Jsh), i. e., أَمْسَتْ and أَمْسَى (R), orig. أَمْسَيْتَ (IY, Jrb, Jsh) and [أَمْسَى; which, with the letter of unbinding, becomes] أَمْسِيَا (Jrb, Jsh): (a) since the ي is converted into ج, it is not converted into ا [684, 719], nor elided because of the two quiescents [607, 663], like the ي in أَمْسَى and أَمْسَتْ respectively (R); [or] the ا [of أَمْسَى] is restored to its o. f., vid. the ي, which is afterwards converted into ج (Jsh): (b) [in either case] the ج is a *subst.* for the ي (IY, Jrb), and is then mobilized with the vowel that the ي had in the o. f. (Jrb): (c) this [substitution] is more anomalous [again] (SH), because the general rule is that the ج should be substituted in pause, to make the ي plain, whereas the ي in the like of أَمْسَجَتْ [and أَمْسَجَا] is not paused upon (R); [and] because they treat the supplied

ي [in ^{أَمْسَى} and ^{أَمْسَتْ}] like the expressed (Jrb). The ج is sometimes said to be a *subst.* for the ا of ^{أَمْسَى}; for, although the ج is not [ordinarily] substituted for the ا, that is permissible [here (IY)], because the ا is substituted for the ي [684, 719] (IY, Jrb). This [substitution of ج for ي (Sn)] is named the عَجْعَاجَة of Kuḏā'a (A), who transmute ي into ج [when it occurs] with ع [immediately before it], saying هَذَا رَاعٍ خَرَجَ مَعِيَ This is a herdsman that has come out with me, i. e., رَاعٍ خَرَجَ مَعِيَ (Jh).

§. 695. The ص is [allowably (M, SH)] substituted for the س (M, SH, A) before (1) a غ (M, SH, Sn), as XXXI. 19. وَأَصْبَغَ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَةً And hath fully bestowed His benefits upon you (M, SH), orig. وَأَسْبَغَ (Jrb), read with the س and ص (K); and صَلَّيْغَ (M), for سَالِغَ (K) *shedding the tooth that is behind the* سِدَيْسٌ, which takes place in the sixth year (Jh) : (2) a خ (M, SH, Sn), as صَلَّحَ stripped off (M, SH), for سَلَّحَ (K, Jrb); and صَخَّرَ subjected (M), تَصْخِيرٌ being i. q. تَسْخِيرٌ (KF) : (3) a ق (M, SH, Sn), as مَسَّ صَقَرٌ LIV. 48. The touch, or feel, of Hell (M, SH), for سَقَرٌ (K on XXXI. 19., Jrb), a proper name of Hell [18], from سَقَرَتْهُ النَّارُ The fire scorched him or صَقَرَتْهُ, i. q. لَوَحَتْهُ (K on LIV. 48., B);

يُصَاوُونَ VIII. 6. [516] and صَفْتُ *I drove*; صَبَقْتُ *I out-*
stripped; صَوِيقٌ [693]; and صَبَلَقٌ [below] (M): (4) ط (M, SH, Sn), as صِرَاطٌ [682] (M, SH, A), *orig.* سِرَاطٌ
 (Jrb); صَاطِعٌ *radiating*; and مُصَيِّطَرٌ (M), for مُسَيِّطَرٌ ,
 from سَيَّطَرَ عَلَيْنَا *exercised absolute authority over us*,
 whence LXXXVIII. 22. [1] (Jh), transmitted from Ks
 with the س , according to the o. f. (B): (a) it is said to
 be pronounced [مُسَيِّطَرٌ] with Fath of the ط in the *dial.*
 of Tamīm, on the ground that سَيَّطَرَ *set in absolute*
authority is trans., according to them, as is indicated
 by their saying تَسَيَّطَرَ *exercised absolute authority* (K).
 These [four] letters are vocal, elevated [734]; while
 (IY, R) the س is [a (Jrb)] surd, depressed [letter (Jrb)]:
 so that, [when it occurs before these elevated letters
 (Jrb),] they dislike the transition (IY, R, Jrb) from it
 (IY, R) to these letters (R), [i. e.,] from the depressed
 (Jrb) to the elevated (IY, Jrb), because that is heavy
 (IY, R); and therefore they substitute a ص for the س
 (IY, R, Jrb), allowably (Jrb), whether these letters be
 second, third, or fourth, as مَصْغَبَةٌ for مَسْغَبَةٌ *hunger*, صَخْبٌ
 for سَخْبٌ *clamour*, صَيْقَلٌ [253] for سَيْقَلٌ , and صِرَاطٌ and
 بَصْطٌ for سِرَاطٌ [above] and بَسْطٌ *spreading* (Sn), because
 the ص agrees with the س in surdity and sibilance, and
 with these letters in elevation; so that the sound

becomes consonant, and is not dissonant (IY, Jrb). And this process is similar to Imāla [626] in making one part of the sound approximate to another (IY, R), without being considered necessary (IY). If, however, the س be posterior to these letters, that substitution [which is permissible when it precedes (IY, R)] is not permissible in it, because, when it is posterior, the speaker is making the voice descend from a high [to a low letter]; and that is not heavy, like ascent from a low [to a high letter]: so that you do not say قِصَّتْ for قِسَّتْ *I measured* (IY, R, Jrb), nor يَخْصِرُ الْبَتَاعَ for يَخْسِرُ *He loses the commodity* (IY), nor بَخْصٌ for بَخْسٌ *deficient, inadequate*. But there is no difference between the س's being adherent to these letters, and its being separated from them (Jrb): [so that] the conversion is allowable with these letters, whether they be conjoined with the س, as in صَقْرٌ [above]; or separated [from it] by one letter, as in صَلَحَ [above]; or two, as in صَبْلَقٌ [for سَبْلَقٌ *level plain* (MAR)] and صِرَاطٌ [above]; or three, as in مَصَالِيْقُ (R) for مَسَالِيْقُ *pl. of مَسْلَقٌ eloquent* (MAR). This conversion is regular, but not necessary. And, in such [positions], the س may not be converted into a pure ز, except in what has been heard, as زَرَّاطٌ [682], which is [allowable] because the ط resembles the

ز (R). But the س is changed into ز with the ق exclusively in the *dial.* of Kalb [696], who say مَسَّ زَقَرَ LIV. 48. [above] (M).

§. 696. The [pure (M on §§. 695, 696)] ز is substituted for [two letters (A),] the س and ص, [allowably (Jrb on the س, M on the ص), in the *dial.* of chaste speakers among the Arabs (M on the ص),] when [these two letters occur (M, SH)] quiescent before a د, as in (1) يَزْدُل (M, SH, A), for [ثَوْبُهُ (M, Jrb)] يَسْدُل (M, Jrb, A) *loosens* (IY, Sn) *his garment* (IY); and يَزْدُر for [آلْبَعِيرُ (A)] يَسْدُر (M, A) *The camel* (A) *becomes dazed* (IY, A) *from the intensity of the heat* (A): (a) سَدَل with the ل is of the *conjugs.* of ضَرَبَ and فَصَرَ, and سَدَر with the ر is of the *conjug.* of فَرَحَ: so in the KF (Sn): (b) the cause of this [substitution] is that (IY, Jrb), the س being a surd, and the د a vocal [734], letter, they dislike the transition from one letter to another incompatible with it (IY, R, Jrb); and especially when the first is quiescent, because the vowel is after the letter [below], being part of a soft letter intervening between the two letters [697] (R); while incorporation is not possible (IY): and therefore they approximate (IY, R, Jrb) one of them to the other (IY, Jrb), [vid.] the س to the د (R), by substituting a ز for the س, because the ز is from the same outlet as the س [732] and is like it in sibilance,

while it agrees with the *د* in vocality ; so that the two sounds become consonant (IY, R, Jrb) : (c) S says that simulation, i. e. (M), imbuing [the *س* (IY, R)] with the sound of the *ز*, is not allowable (M, R) here (R), as it is in the *ص* (IY, R), as *مَصْدَرٌ* issue, way out [733] (R), because in the *ص* there is covering [734], so that they simulate in order that the covering may not be taken away [by the conversion (R)]; whereas the *س* is not like that (IY, R) : (2) *يَزِدُّ* for *يَصْدُقُ* speaks truth ; *قَرَدٌ* [with a *ق* (Sn)] for *قَصْدٌ* course (A) ; *لَمْ يُحَرِّمْ* (A) *آلِزْدَدَ* [(A)] *He has not been refused [help (A)], for whom a camel has been bled (M, A), a [proverbial (IY)] saying (IY, A) in their language (A), applied to him that intends a matter, and obtains part of it (IY), [and] to contentment with a little (Md), meaning فُصِدَ , the ص being made quiescent (IY, A), for alleviation, as in ضَرَبَ for ضَرِبَ was struck, and قَبِلَ for قَبِلَ accepted [368, 402] (IY), and [afterwards (IY)] changed into ز (IY, A) ; the saying of Hātim [below] (M, R) at Tā'i (R) *هَكَذَا فَرَدَى أَنَّهُ* Thus is etc. [648] (M, SH) ; and *مَزْدَرٌ* for *مَصْدَرٌ* , and *أَصْدَرْتُ* for *أَزْدَرْتُ* I issued [trans.] (IY) : the poet says*

وَدَعُ ذَا الْهَوَى قَبْلَ الْغَلَى تَرَكُ ذِي الْهَوَى

مَتَيْنِ الْقَوَى خَيْبٌ مِنَ الصَّرْمِ مَزْدَرًا

And let the object of thy love alone before hating (him) : the leaving of the object of love, while unimpaired in its forces, is better as an issue, or a way out, than rupture (M). The ص, when occurring quiescent before the د, may be pronounced [in three ways (IY, Jrb)], (1) as a pure ; [above] (IY, R, Jrb), as in هَذَا فَرْدِي أَنَّهُ [648], said by Hātim [above] when he had slaughtered a she-camel [for a guest (IY)], and it was said to him “ Wherefore didst thou not bleed her ? ” (IY, Jrb) : (a) that [change (IY, R) of the ص into a pure ; (IY)] is because the ص is covered, surd, lax [734] ; and [without any intervening vowel or other barrier (R)] is in the vicinity of the د, which is open, vocal, rigid (IY, R, Jrb) ; so that, from this incompatibility between their sounds, the د recoils somewhat from the ص ; and therefore the Arabs approximate one to the other (IY, Jrb) : but [incorporation is not possible ; while (IY)] they do not [venture to (IY)] change the د, like the ت in اِفْتَعَلَ, as in اِصْطَبَرَ [692], because it is not *aug.*, like the ت [671] (IY, R, Jrb), which is therefore more fit for alteration : so that they alter the first [of the two incompatible letters, vid. the ص], because of its weakness, in consequence of the quiescence, by approximating it to the د (R) ; and therefore they change the ص into a pure ; , whereupon the sounds become consonant, because the ; is from the same outlet as the ص [732], and is like it in

sibilance, while it is akin to the د in vocality (IY, R, Jrb), and openness [734] (R); so that the ز and د coalesce (IY, Jrb), and that recoil ceases : S says “ We have heard the chaste-speaking Arabs make it a pure ز ” (IY) : (2) as a ص simulating, i. e., imbued with [some-what of (IY, Jrb)], the sound of the ز (IY, R, Jrb); so that it becomes betwixt and between, i. e., becomes a letter whose outlet is between the outlets of the ص and ز (IY, Jrb); inclining towards the ز , but not changed into a [pure (R)] ز , [as in the preceding way (IY),] for preservation of the [excellence of (R)] covering (IY, R), in order that the sound of the ز may not be altogether gone, and so the covering in it be gone (IY, Jrb), the covering in the ص being an excellence, the removal of which would be a mutilation of this letter : whereas the س in يَسْدُرْ and يَسْدُلْ [above] is not like that, because in it there is no covering to be taken away by conversion ; for which reason simulation is not allowable (IY), as we mentioned (R) : (a) this is indicated by the saying of [Z and] IH (Jrb) “ But the ز is sometimes simulated by the ص ” (M, SH), meaning that the ص is made to simulate the ز , vid. through the ص ’s being inclined towards the ز (R); “ not by it ” [below] (SH), i. e., by the س , which is not made to smack of the sound of the ز , but is converted into a pure ز (R), this simulation not being allowable in the س , (a) because the ز and س

are from one outlet, and both are sibilant letters ; so that, with such closeness of proximity, intermixture [of sound] is difficult ; contrary to the ص, which the covering makes it possible to imbue with the sound of the ز ; whereas there is no covering in the س (Jrb) : (b) because [of what we have mentioned, vid. that (R)] there is no covering in it (R, Jrb) to be preserved (R), which would be taken away by conversion : (α) thus

يَصْدُقُ is said, with the ص made to smack of the ز ; but not يَسْدُلُ , with the س made to smack of the ز : (b) the pron. in IH's saying " not by it " [above] relates to the س : but some commentators fancy that it relates to the ز , the sense being that the ز is simulated by the quiescent ص , but not the ص by the ز ; which is a mistake, the sense being what we have mentioned, as is proved by what IH mentions in the CM, and another [authority] in the CHd (Jrb) : (c) if the ص [before the د (R)] be mobile, (α) it is not changed (M, R, Jrb) into a [pure (R)] ز (R, Jrb), (α) because a barrier, vid. the vowel, occurs between the ص and د (IY, R, Jrb), since the place of the vowel, in respect of the consonant, is [said to be (Jrb)] after it [667, 697] (IY, Jrb) : (β) because this substitution here belongs to the class of incorporation, since it contains an approximation of one sound to another, for which reason they mention it with incorporation

[733]; and therefore, as the vowel prevents incorporation [731], so here [it prevents substitution] (IY) : (γ) because the consonant is strengthened by the vowel (IY, R, Jrb), so that it is not converted (IY, R), since the consonant is not converted, except after its being weakened by quiescence (IY) : (b) nothing, therefore, remains [as an alternative to sounding the ص plain], except simulation because of [the ص 's] vicinity [to the ; in outlet] (R) ; [and accordingly they sometimes make it simulate the ; (M), [so that] the ; is simulated by it even when mobile (SH), simulation being allowable because [it is the weaker of the two ways, since (IY)] it involves some regard for the ص (IY, Jrb), and therefore does not act like incorporation (IY), as [َ]صَدَرَ issued, emanated, and [َ]صَدَق spoke truth (M, SH), where that simulation is regular, constant, [because nothing but the vowel of the ص intervenes between the ص and د] (IY) : (α) [such] intermixture [of sound] is rarer in the mobile than in the quiescent [ص], since the mobile is made to accord, in this respect, with the quiescent, which is altered only because of its weakness by reason of quiescence (R) : (β) conversion into ; is not allowable, except in what has been heard from the Arabs (IY) : (γ) if the ص and د be separated by more than one vowel, [as by one or two consonants (R),] simulation is not constant, but is

confined to what has been heard from the Arabs (IY, R), like ^زصَادِرُ *issuing, emanating* (R), and ^زمُصَادِرُ ; and [similarly] ^زصِرَاطُ [733] (M, R), because the ط is like the د (IY, R): (d) such as ^زمَسَّ زَقَرٌ LIV. 48. [695] is Kalbī (SH), which

means that, if the س be mobile, it is not changed into ز, except in the *dial.* of Kalb (Jrb); [for] the clan of Kalb convert the س occurring before the ق into ز, as others convert it into ص [695], because, since the س and ق are incongruous, the س being surd, and the ق vocal [734], they change the س into ز, which is akin to the س in outlet [732] and sibilance [734], and to the ق in vocality (R): (e) like the ص in simulation are the ج and ش, as

^زهُوَ أَجْدَرُ *He is more worthy* and ^زأَشْدَقُ *wide in the corner of the mouth* (M), for أَجْدَرُ and أَشْدَقُ (IY): (a) the ش [quiescent before the د (R)] is made to simulate the ز (IY, R), because, though the ش is not from the same outlet as the ز, still [the outlet of] the ز is extended until it merges in the highest part [of the outlet] of the ش, which is therefore from approximately the same outlet as the ز [732]; while in surdity and laxity it is likely the ص [734]; so that the ز may be simulated by it, as by the ص, because it is from a position near the ز; and similarly the ج, which they approximate to the ز, because it is from the same outlet as the ش [732] (IY):

(b) أَجْدَرُ and أَشْدَقُ with simulation [of the sound of the ز by the ج and ش occurring before the د (R)] are rare (SH) : but this is contrary to what is stated by S, who says, about imbuing the like of this ش with the sound of the ز , that sounding plain is more frequent and recognized ; while this is [good] Arabic, [and] frequent (R) : (c) [Jrb takes “with simulation” to mean] with simulation of the ش by the ج , and of the ج by the ش , there being no real difference between them, since the pronunciation [of the ج and ش] in أَجْدَرُ and أَشْدَقُ [733], when simulation is employed in them, is one (Jrb) : (d) the ش and ج may not be made a pure ز , like the ص and س above, because they are not from the outlet of the two latter, [which have the same outlet as the ز] (R) : (f) the sum of the matter is that this substitution and approximation are [found in letters] of three kinds, (a) a letter wherein substitution and simulation are allowable, vid. where two causes are combined, as in the ص , which they (α) make to simulate the ز , but do not change into [pure] ز , in order to preserve the covering ; (β) change into [pure] ز , from the strength of the affinity between the ص and ز , the former being from the same outlet as the latter [732], and like it in sibilance [734] : (b) a letter wherein only substitution is allowable,

vid. the س , because there is no covering in it to be preserved [by simulation]: (c) a letter wherein only simulation is allowable, vid. the ش , which they do not change into ز , because of the distance between it and the outlet of the ز ; and similarly the ج (IY): (3) as a pure ص , which is the o. f. (IY, Jrb); and, says S, is the most frequent (IY): (a) this is indicated by the saying of [Z and] IH (Jrb) "S says that simulation is more frequent and racy than substitution" (M), meaning "with the quiescent ص" (IY): "while sounding plain [below] is more frequent" (M, SH) "than both" (SH), i. e., than simulation and substitution (R, Jrb); or [in some MSS (MAR)] "in both", i. e., in the quiescent س , and the quiescent or mobile ص , occurring before the د (R): (b) by "sounding plain" he means (R, Jrb) pronouncing the ص or س pure, without conversion or intermixture of sound (R), [i. e.,] leaving it in its first state (Jrb): (c) in the quiescent ص before the د , sounding plain is most frequent, then simulation, and then conversion into ز (R): (d) in the quiescent س also, sounding plain, as يَسْدُل , is more frequent than substitution, as يَزْدُل (Jrb). This is the end of what is mentioned by [Z, IH, and] IM in the chapter on Substitution (A).

§. 696A. Substitution occurs in other letters also; but is not common. And I have thought fit to supplement what has been previously mentioned by an exhaustive,

letters, (a) the ق , as قُح for قُح [682] : (a) reciprocity therefore occurs between them ; but substitution of the ن for the ق is more frequent than its converse : (b) the ت , in يَا أَبْنِ الرَّبِّيرِ آلِخ [129, 169, 682] : (10) the ج [694] : (11) the ش is substituted for three letters, (a) the ن denoting the *fem.*, as أَكْرَمْتُش I honored thee for أَكْرَمْتُكَ , which is the كَشَكْشَة of Tamīm [617, 680, 682] : (b) the ج , in the saying

إِذْ ذَاكَ إِذْ حَبْلُ الْوَصَالِ مَدَّ مَشْ

At that time, when the bond of union was strong, i. e., مَدَّ مَشْ : (a) IU says “ But no other [*ex.*] has been preserved ; and that is facilitated by the agreement of the ج and ش in outlet ” [732] : (c) the س , as جُعْشُوش for جُعْشُوش , which is *despicable, mean* ; and forms its *pl.* [جُعْشُوشِيسْ (Jh)] with س , not ش , by which the substitution is known [682] : (12) the ي [685] : (13) the ض is substituted for the ل , in رَجُلٌ جَصْدٌ , i. e., جَلْدٌ [682] (A) : (a) some MSS have “ the ص is substituted for two letters, the س in صِرَاطٌ for سِرَاطٌ , and the ل in جَصْدٌ for جَلْدٌ ” ; and, according to this version, A’s saying below “ the ص is substituted for the س , as صِرَاطٌ ” [695] is a repetition : but other MSS have “ the ض ”, i. e., the dotted, “ is substituted for the ل , etc. ” [above] ; and,

according to this version, there is no repetition : [and moreover the prescribed “ order in outlets ” necessitates the placing of the ض here, and the ص below, because in order of outlets the ض is the 13th letter, and the ص the 20th :] (b) the two versions are opposed in رَجُلٌ جَضُّدٌ, which the first requires to be with the undotted ص, and the second with the dotted ض : therefore examine it carefully ; for I have not found in the books on lexicology, after consulting [them], anything about the two expressions (Sn) : but Sn’s saying “ I have not found etc.” requires consideration, because the author of the KF writes [جَضُّدٌ i. q., جَلْدٌ, where they change the ج into ض (KF), distinguishing] it with the red color indicating that it is one of his additions to the Ṣaḥāḥ ; while his Glossator objects that it is found in the Ṣaḥāḥ, i. e., where Jh says, in the crude-form جلد, “ And sometimes they say رَجُلٌ جَضُّدٌ, making the ج, with the ج, a ض, when it is quiescent ” ; and I have seen that the author of the Mr, in the 32nd chapter, on [the Recognition of (Mr)] substitution, transcribes from the DAd [by Frb (HKh)] the like of what is in the Ṣaḥāḥ : and God is the guide ! (Note by Naṣr alHūrīnī on the margin of the Sn) : (14) the ج [691] : (15) the , is substituted for the ج in نَشْرَةٌ i. q. نَثَلَةٌ [682], and رَعَدٌ i. q. لَعَلٌ [537] : (16) the ن [688] : (17) the ط [692] : (18) the د [693] : (19) the ت [689] : (20) the ص [695] : (21) the ,

[696] (A) : (22) the س [below] is substituted, [say they (R),] for [three letters (A),] (a) the ت in اسْتَخَذَ [671, 682, 759] (R, A), according to one of the two accounts [759] (A), its *o. f.* being اتَّخَذَ (R, A), from تَخَذَ [702] (R), i. q. أَخَذَ (MAR) : (a) its *o. f.* is also said to be اسْتَنْخَذَ [759] ; but in that case it contains no proof [of substitution of the س] : (b) it is the like of اسْتَخَذَ that Z lays hold of [as evidence that the س is a letter of substitution] ; not اسْبَعَ , as IH says [682] (R) : (b) the ش , in مَسْدُودٌ [جَلٌّ a man (R)] bound fast for مَشْدُودٌ (R, A), and سِدَّةٌ for شِدَّةٌ [337], where the ش is original, because it is more often employed (R) : (c) the ل , in اسْتَقَطَهُ picked it up, for اَلْتَقَطَهُ , which [substitution of the س for the ل (Sn)] is extremely anomalous : (23) the ط [below] : (a) I have not seen any instance of its [unincorporative] substitution : (24) the ذ is substituted for two letters, (a) the د , in the reading فَشَرَّذَ بِهِمْ VIII. 59. [682] : (b) the ث , in تَلْعَدَمَ الرَّجُلُ for تَلْعَثَمَ meaning *The man was slow, or backward, in answering* [682] (A) : (a) IH does not reckon the س [above] of such as اسْبَعَ , nor the ذ and ط [above] in اِظْلَمَ and اِذْكَرَ [682], among the letters of substitution, because the substitution in these things is not intended for itself ; but, since the س , ذ , and ط are

approximate to the ت in outlet [732], they intend incorporation, which is not possible in two approximate letters until they are made alike [735]; so that the ت is converted into س , ذ , and ط respectively; and, since the substitution is for the sake of incorporation, he does not take it into account (R): (25) the ت is substituted for two letters, (a) the ف , in مُغْتَرَّرٌ , orig. مُغْفَرٌ [676]; (b) the ذ , in جَذْوَةٌ مِنَ النَّارِ for جِثْوَةٌ a brand from the fire: (26) the ف is substituted for two letters, (a) the ث , in قَامَ ثَمَّ عَمْرُو , i. e., ثَمَّ عَمْرُو [540, 682], transmitted by Ya'kūb: (b) فُومٌ , [which is wheat (K, B on II. 58); and is said for bread (B), whence فَرِّمُوا لَنَا Make bread for us (K, B), i. e., اِخْبِرُوا (K); and is said to be (K, B)] i. q. ثُومٌ garlic (A), which is indicated by the reading of [‘Abd Allāh (Jh)] Ibn Mas‘ūd وَثُومَهَا وَعَدَسِهَا وَبَصَلِهَا II. 58. And its garlic, and its lentils, and its onions, being more congruous with the “lentils” and “onions” (K): (b) the ب , in خُذْهُ بِأَوَانِهِ Take it in its time, i. e., بِأَوَانِهِ [meaning فِي وَقْتِهِ (Sn)]: (27) the ب is substituted for two letters, (a) the م in بَا أَسْمُكَ [682], meaning مَا أَسْمُكَ: (b) the ف in بُسْكِلُ meaning فُسْكِلُ (A), like ذُبْرَجٌ male hedge-hog and ذُبْرَجٌ [392], the horse that

comes in last in the race; whence رَجُلٌ فَسَكِلٌ, like
 زَبْرَجٌ, a low man (Sn), for which the vulgar say
 فَسَكِلٌ with Damm (Jh): (28) the م [687]: (29) the ,
 [686] (A).

CHAPTER X.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE UNSOUND.

§. 697. Unsoundness is the liability of the affected [letter or formation] to alteration from its [original] state. The meaning of transformation is alteration [708] (IY). Transformation [in their conventional language (R)] is [peculiar to (R)] alteration of the unsound letter, [i. e., the **ا**, **و**, or **ي**, by conversion, elision, or quiescence (R),] for alleviation [719] (SH). IH's saying "alteration" comprises transformation, alleviation of the Hamza [658], and substitution [682]: but, when it is restricted by his saying "of the unsound letter", then alleviation of the Hamza and some substitutions, vid. for what is not an unsound letter, as in **أَصِيلًا** [691], are excluded; and, when he says "for alleviation", then such [a substitution] as [in] **عَالَمٌ** [683] for **عَالَمٌ** is excluded. Thus between alleviation of the Hamza and transformation there is a total dissimilarity: but between transformation and substitution there is a community in one respect, since both are found in such as **قَالَ** [684, 703]; while transformation without substitution is found in **يَقُولُ** [below], and substitution without transformation in **أَصِيلًا** [above] (Jrb). Alteration of the Hamza by one

of the three [modes], as in رَأْسٌ [658], مَسَلَّةٌ, and مَرَأَةٌ, is not called “transformation”, but “alleviation of the Hamza”. Nor is the substitution of letters other than the unsound letters and the Hamza, as in هَيَّانَ [690] and عَلِيٌّ [694] for إِيَّانَ and عَلَى; nor their elision, as in حَرٌّ for حِرٌّ [275]; nor their quiescence, as in إِبْدٌ for إِبْدٌ [368]. IH’s saying “for alleviation” is to exclude the alteration of the unsound letters in the six *ns.*, as أَبْرَكَ [16], أَبَاكَ, and أَيْدِكَ; and in the *du.* and *perf. pl. masc.* as مُسْلِمَانِ and مُسْلِمَيْنِ [16, 228], مُسْلِمُونَ and مُسْلِمِينَ [16, 234]: that being for inflection, not alleviation (R). Transformation includes [three things (Jrb),] conversion, [as قَالَ (Jrb);] quiescence, [as يَقُولُ (Jrb);] and elision (SH), as قُلْتُ [703] (Jrb). The expression “conversion” is peculiar, in their conventional language, to substitution of the unsound letters and the Hamza [278, 682], one in place of another: while, in the case of letters other than the four [just mentioned], the well-known expression is “substitution”, which is likewise used in the case of the Hamza also (R). Transformation by elision is of two kinds, regular and anomalous (A). The [regular (A)] elision, [which is what IM addresses himself to mentioning in this section (A),] is of three sorts (Aud, A), [only the second of which properly belongs to this chapter, while that deals only with

elision of the ف :-] (1) what appertains to the *aug.* letter (Aud, Sn), when the *v.* is on the measure of *أَفْعَلْ*, in which case the Hamza is elided [347, 428, 661, 699] in the paradigms of its *aor.* and *act.* and *pass. parts.*, as *أَكْرِمُ*, *نُكِرِمُ*, *يُكِرِمُ*, *تُكِرِمُ*, *مُكِرِمٌ*, and *مُكِرِمٌ*; while the saying [of Abū Ḥayyān alFak'asī (Tsr)]

فَإِنَّهُ أَهْلٌ لِأَنْ يُؤَكْرَمَا

For verily he is worthy to be honored is anomalous (Aud): (a) this Hamza may not be retained, according to the *o. f.*, except in poetic license, as *فَإِنَّهُ أَهْلٌ آلَحْ* [above]; or in a word deemed extraordinary, as *أَرْضٌ مُورَنْبَةٌ* with Kasr [or Fath, as in the KF (Sn),] of the ن , i. e., *land abounding in hares*, and *كِسَاءٌ مُورَنْبٌ* i. e., *wrapper whose wool is mixed with fur of hares*, according to the saying that the Hamza of *أَرْنَبٌ* is *aug.* [672], which is the more obvious [hypothesis]: (b) if the Hamza of *أَفْعَلْ* be changed into ة , as *هَرَأَقٌ* for *أَرَأَقٌ* [690], or ع , as *عَنْهَلٌ* *آلَابَلٌ* *watered the camels* for *أَنْهَلٌ*, it is not elided, because the motive for elision is lacking: so that you say *يُهَرِّقُ* [with Fath of the ة (Sn)], and [similarly (Sn)] *مُهَرِّقٌ* and *مُهَرَأَقٌ*; and *يُعْنِهَلُهَا*, *act. part.* *مُعْنِهَلٌ*, *pass. part.* *مُعْنِهَلَةٌ* (A): (2) what appertains to the ف (Aud, Sn) of the *v.* [699] (Aud): (3) what appertains to the ع

{Aud, Sn) or J, according to different opinions (Sn), of the *v.* [759] (Aud). “Euphonic elision” [281] is a term well-known, in their conventional language, to denote elision regularly made for a necessitating cause, like the elision of the ا of عَصَا and the ي of قَاضٍ [16, 643]; and “curtailing elision”, or [“arbitrary elision”, i. e.,] “elision for no cause”, to denote irregular elision, like the elision of the J of يَدٌ and دَمٌ [719], though it also is an elision for alleviation (R). Transfer of the vowel [667] of the unsound [mobile (Aud)] letter to the preceding sound quiescent [706] occurs in four cases, vid. when the unsound letter is the ع of (1) a *v.* [703]: (2) a *n.* resembling the *aor.* in its measure, but not in its augment; or (Aud, Sn) conversely (Sn), in its augment, but not in its measure [712] (Aud): (3) [an *inf. n.* commensurable with (Aud)] اِنْفَعَالٌ or اِسْتِفْعَالٌ (Aud, Sn), as اِقْتَوَامٌ and اِسْتِقْوَامٌ [338, 703] (Aud): (4) [the form {Aud}] مَفْعُولٌ [703, 709, 714] (Aud, Sn). And, in the four cases, after the transfer, you must (1) retain the unsound letter, if it be homogeneous with the vowel transferred [from it (Tsr)], as يَقُولُ [above] and يَبِيعُ [703, 704, 721], *orig.* يَقُولُ and يَبِيعُ, like يَقْتُلُ and يَضْرِبُ [482]; (2) convert it into a letter akin to that vowel, if it be not homogeneous therewith, as يَخَافُ [703, 704, 721] and يُخَيِّفُ [*aor.* of أَخَافُ frightened (Tsr)], *orig.* يَخَوْفُ and

يُخَوِّفُ , like يَذْهَبُ [482] and يُكْرِمُ [404] (Aud). [Transfer of the vowel is, therefore, subsidiary to quiescence, with or without conversion; and is not an independent mode of transformation.] The letters of transformation are the ا , و , and ي [253, 643, 663] (M, SH), which are so named because of the regular alterations that occur in them (Jrb). These [three (R)] letters are [also] named “unsound letters” [below], because they [often (IY)] alter (IY, R), and do not remain in one state; like the invalid disordered in constitution, and altering from one state to another (R). And, for that reason, some make Hamza [below] one of the unsound letters; but the majority do not reckon it, since, in many *cats.*, that invariable regularity, which obtains in the unsound letter, does not obtain in it (Jrb). The alteration of these [three] letters, however, in quest of lightness, is not because they are extremely heavy, but because they are so extremely light [671] that they do not tolerate the least heaviness: and also because they are frequent in speech, since, if a word be free from any of them, its freedom from their constituents—I mean the vowels [below]—is impossible; while every [letter] frequent [in occurrence] is deemed heavy, even if it be light (R). The vowels [663] are really parts of the unsound letters; to pronounce a consonant with Damm, Kasr, or Fath being really to put, immediately after it, part of the , ,

ي, or ا, respectively. For mobility and quiescence are qualities of corporeal substances, and do not reside in sounds: but when, immediately after a consonant, you put part of a letter of prolongation [663], the consonant is named “mobile”, as though you moved it to the outlet [732] of the letter of prolongation; while “quiescence” of the consonant is opposed to that. The vowel, therefore, is after the consonant [667, 696, 719, 731]; but, from the excess of its attachment thereto, is fancied to be with, not after, it. And, when you implete the vowel, which is part of the letter of prolongation, it becomes a complete letter of prolongation (R on IH upon Inflection). Syt says, on the authority of the Author of the Basīṭ and others, “The vowels are six:—(1—3) the well-known three; (4) a vowel between Fatha and Kasra, which is the one before the *ḥ* pronounced with Imāla [626]; (5) a vowel between Fatha and Damma, which is the one before the broad *ḥ* in Warsh’s reading of such as صَلَاةٌ [733], كَاةٌ, and حَيَاةٌ; (6) a vowel between Kasra and Damma, which is the vowel of Ishmām [436, 668, 706] in such as قَيْلٌ and غَيْضٌ in XI. 46. [436], according to the reading of Ks” (Sn on the Pro-Agent) and Hishām (MKh). All three [letters (IY)] occur in the three kinds [625], [*ns.* (IY),] as مَالٌ and نَابٌ [703], [حَوْضٌ cistern, pool and (IY)] سَوَظٌ [674], and [بَيْتٌ tent and (IY)] بَيْضٌ eggs; [*vs.*, as (IY)] قَالَ [703], حَارَلَ tried to get,

and بَايَع [683, 698]; and [ps., as مَا and (IY)] يَ [546, 547], لَوْ [585], and كَيْ [595] (M). The ا, however, (1) in [decl. (IY, SH)] ns. and in vs., is not *rad.*, but [only (IY) either (Jrb) *aug.* or converted (M, Jrb)] from a [rad. (IY)], or ع (M, SH), because, (a) in the *decl. n.*, (a) when *tril.*, it is impossible to begin with ا [673], while the final is the seat of the inflectional vowels [16], and the medial is mobile in the *dim.* [274]; so that it is not possible to constitute [any of] them an ا, [since the ا is quiescent]: (b) when *quad.*, the first, second, and fourth [cannot be اs], because of what has been mentioned [about the initial, medial, and final] in the *tril.*; while the third [also] is mobile in the *dim.* [274]: (c) when *quin.*, the first, second, and third [cannot be an ا], because of what has been mentioned [about the corresponding letters] in the *quad.*; while the fifth is the seat of inflection, and so is the fourth [upon the elision of the fifth] in the *dim.* [274] and broken *pl.* [245]: (b) in the *v.*, (a) when *tril.*, because all three [letters] are mobile in the *pret.* [403]: (b) when *quad.*, because it follows the *tril.*; but some mention that the ا in عَائِيْتُ and حَاحِيْتُ [674] is unconverted (R): (2) in *ps.* [673, 686] is [only (M)] *rad.*, because they are *prim.* [and (Jrb)] aplastic (M, Jrb), no *o. f.* being recognizable for them other than this apparent one, which is therefore not to be deviated from without proof: so that the ا of مَا or يَ [above] is not

said to be *aug.*, for lack of a derivation wherein its *ʔ* is missing ; nor to be a *subst.*, because substitution is a kind of plasticity, and is not recognized for *ps.* (Jrb) : (a) similarly, [for lack of derivation (Jrb),] in (a) *uninfl. ns.* [673, 686] (IY, Jrb), which go far in resemblance to *ps.* [147, 159] ; (b) imitative *cjs.* [200] (IY) ; (c) foreign names [673, 676] (IY, Jrb), which follow the course of *ps.* in that their *ʔ*s are *rad.*, not *aug.*, nor converted, because we decide that, in the case of *ps.*, for lack of derivation, which [lack] is found in these names (IY). The formations, [whether unaugmented or augmented (R),] are divisible into sound and unsound (SH), because they either have not, or have, an unsound letter for one of their *rad.* letters (Jrb). The *quad. n.* or *v.* is not unsound, nor reduplicated [below], nor formed with Hamza [below] in the ف [672]. Nor is the *quin* reduplicated : but, in the ف alone, it is sometimes unsound, as وَرَقَتْلٌ [671, 675] ; or formed with Hamza, as اِصْطَبْلٌ [283, 672]. The *quad.*, however, is reduplicated, on condition that a *rad.* letter be interposed between the two likes, as زَلْزَالٌ [332, 671] (R). The unsound [formation] is what contains an unsound letter (SH) in its crude-form, i. e., in the position of the ف, ع, or ج, [this clause being added by R] in order that the definition may not [appear to] be infringed by such as حَرَقَلٌ and بَيْطَرَ [482, 483] and يَضْرِبُ [404, 674]. By the

“unsound letter” IH means the , , the ا , and the ي , which are named “unsound letters” [above] because, in many positions, they are not preserved, nor sounded true, i. e., do not remain in their [original] state; but are altered by conversion, quiescence, and elision. The Hamza [above], though it shares with them [in unsoundness] in this sense [658, 682], is not currently named “unsound letter” [726] in conventional language. The formations are divisible also into (1) formed, and not formed, with Hamza, the former being sometimes sound, as ^أأَمَرَ *commanded*, ^أسَأَلَ *asked*, and ^أقَرَأَ *read*; and sometimes unsound, as ^آآل and ^{أَ}أَل [357]: and similarly the latter, as ^أضَرَبَ [482, 671] and ^أوَعَدَ [699]: (2) reduplicated and unreduplicated, the former being either sound, as ^{مَدَّ}مدّ *extension* [731]; or unsound, as ^{وَدَّ}ودّ *affection*, ^{حَيَّ}حيّ *living* [698, 728], and ^{قَوَّ}قوّ [685 (case 1, a, α)]: and similarly the latter, as ^أضَرَبَ [331] and ^أوَعَدَ [698, 699]. But IH omits these two divisions. And similarly the reduplicated is either formed with Hamza, like ^{أَزَّ}أزّ [*rousing and inciting* (MAR)]; or not so, like ^{مَدَّ}مدّ [above]. The “formed with Hamza” is what has a Hamza for one of its *rad.* letters, like ^أأَمَرَ, ^أسَأَلَ, and ^أقَرَأَ [above]. And the “reduplicated” is what has its ع and ج alike, which is the frequent [formation, like ^{مَدَّ}مدّ above]; or its ف and ع, like ^{دَدَنَ}دَدَنَ [357], which is extremely rare [672, 674, 683]: or has

two *rad.* letters repeated after two *rad.* letters, as زَلَزَلَ [332, 674]. As for what has its ف and ل alike, as قَلَقَ [674, 685, 690, 698], it is not named “reduplicated” (R). The divisions of the unsound [formations] are seven, because the unsound letter is (1) not multiple, being (a) a ف, (b) an ع, (c) a ل: (2) multiple, (a) two, (α) conjoined in the (α) ف and ع, as وَيْلٌ *woe* and يَوْمٌ *day* [698], from which [division] no *v.* is formed [41]; (β) ع and ل, as قَرَى [728]: (b) separated, [as وَلِيٌّ and وَفَى below]: (b) more than two, as وَاءٌ and يَاءٌ [698], names of letters, which [division] IH does not mention, because of its rarity (Jrb). The unsound, (1) in the ف, is [named (Jrb)] quasi-sound (SH), because it resembles the sound (R, Jrb) in the freedom of its *pret.* from transformation, as وَعَدَ and يَسَرَ [663, 699], contrary to the hollow and defective [below]: (a) it is named after the quality of the *pret.*, because the *aor.* is a *deriv.* of the *pret.* in form, since it is a *pret.* augmented by the aoristic letter [369, 404, 671], and altered in its vowels [404, 482]; so that the *pret.* is the primary paradigm of the *vs.* in form (R): (2) in the ع, is [named] (R, Jrb) (a) hollow (SH), by assimilation to the thing whose inside we have taken, so that it remains *hollow*, because its ع is often gone, as قُلْتُ and بَعْتُ [703], قُلْ and بَعْ [663, 703], لَمْ يَبْعْ and لَمْ يَقُلْ [703] (R): (b) *tril.* [below] (SH), from

regard to the first of the *pret.* forms, since the etymologists, when they conjugate the *pret.* and *aor.*, mostly begin with the 1st *pers.*, as ضَرَبْتُ *I struck*, because the person of the speaker is the nearest to him; while the 1st *pers.* of the hollow is of three letters, as قُلْتُ and بَعْتُ [above] (R): (3) in the ج , is [named (R, Jrb)] (a) defective (SH), from regard to the reason for its being named “defective” in the chapter on Inflection [16]: for there it is named from the deficiency of its inflection; while here it is named from the deficiency of its final letter in the *imp.*, as اَغْرُ [428, 431, 719], اِرْمُ , and اِخْشُ ; and *apoc.*, as لَا تَغْرُ [404, 719], لَا تَرْمُ , and لَا تَخْشُ (R): (b) *quad.* [below] (SH), because, though it contains an unsound letter, it does not become *tril.* in the first of the *pret.* forms, as the hollow does (R), since its *pret.* is of four letters when you predicate of yourself, [as غَزَوْتُ *I raided* and رَمَيْتُ *I shot*] (Jrb): (a) their being named “*tril.*” and “*quad.*” [above] is from regard to the *v.*, not the *n.* (R): (4) in the ف and ع , [as يَوْمٌ and وَيْحٌ *mercy* (R),] or in the ع and ل , [as نَوَى *purposed*, حَيَى *lived*, and قُوَّةٌ (R),] is [named (R, Jrb) reduplicated in one respect, and (R)] complex-conjoined (SH) in another (R), because of the complexity and conjunction of the two unsound letters

(Jrb): (5) in the ف and ل, [as وَلِيّ *was governor* and وَتَّى *guarded* (R),] is [named (Jrb)] complex-separate (SH), because of the complexity and separation of the two unsound letters in it (Jrb).

§. 698. Z [followed by IH] now begins to show you the positions of these letters in words. As for the ل, its matter has been mentioned; and that it is not *rad.* in *decl. ns.*, nor in *vs.* [697]. But, as for the , and ي, they are sometimes *rad.*; and occur as ف, ع, or ل (IY). The [unaug. (M)], , and ي agree [in their positions (M),] in that (1) both occur as (a) ف s, as وَعَدَ [683, 697, 699] and يُسِرُّ [368, 689] (M, SH), وَصَلَ *arrived* and يَبَسَ *was dry* (IY): (b) ع s, as قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [663] (M, SH), قَاوَمَ *withstood* [713] and بَايَعَ [683, 697] (IY): (c) ل s, as غَزَوْا and رَمَيْتُ [719] (M, SH), غَزَوْتُ and رَمَيْتُ [697, 719] (IY): (d) ع and ل (M, R), together, as قَوْءٌ [697] and حَيَّةٌ *serpent* (M); [and] as قَوْءٌ [729] and بَوءٌ *a she-camel's young one* (MAR)], حَيٌّ [697, 730. A] and عَيٌّ *incapable*: (a) both [double , and double ي] are as rare as a double guttural for ع and ل, like لَحِمَحَ *stuck together* (MAR), تَعَّ *vomited* (MAR), and بَحَّ [200]: (b) double Hamza is not used for ع and ل; and double s for them is extraordinary, as فَهَّ *failed, broke down, in his speech* (MAR)] and كَهْ فِي رَجَهِي *he (the drunken man)*

belched in my face (MAR): (2) either of them precedes the other, when [they are combined at the beginning of the word, one of them being (IY)] a ف , and [the other (IY)] an ع , as وَيَلُّ and يَوْمُ [697] (M, SH): (a) precedence of the و is more frequent; as though they disliked the transition from the ي to what is heavier than it, vid. the و , (IY): (b) the ف as a ي and the ع as a و , have not been heard [together], except in يَوْم and يَوْحُ [a name of *The sun* (Jh on بوح , KF)]; nor the converse, except in وَيَلُّ , وَيَسُّ , وَيَبُّ , and وَيَبُّ *woe or mercy* [41, 200] (R). And they differ in that (1) the و , precedes the ي (M, SH) as [ع or ف] and ل respectively (SH), as [وَقَيْتُ *I guarded* and (M)] طَوَيْتُ *I folded* (M, R, Jrb), where they put the و , before the ي (IY), which is frequent, as [وَلَيْتُ *I was governor* and وَبَيْتُ *I fulfilled*,] تَوَيْتُ [*I perished* (MAR)] and غَوَيْتُ (R) *I erred* (MAR): whereas [the converse (SH)] precedence [of the ي before the و , (M, Jrb)] does not occur (M, SH), with the ي as [ع or ف] , and the و , as ل (R, Jrb), because the last letter ought to be lighter than what precedes it, since the word grows heavier as its letters increase, and the last letter is the seat of inflection: (a) و , and ي for ع and ل respectively, as in طَوَيْتُ [above], are more frequent than double و , as in قَوَّةُ [above]; so that, when the *o. f.* is obscure, conformity with the first is more proper, for which

reason the *dem.* ذَا is said to be *orig.* ذَوَى , not ذَوَو [293] (R): (b) the و in حَيَوَانٌ [and حَيَوٌ (M)] is a *subst.* for a ي (M, SH), according to S and his school (R), like the و in جَبَاوَةٌ [686] (M), *orig.* جَبَايَةٌ (IY), the *o. f.* being حَيَيَانٌ [730. A] (M, Jrb) and حَيِيَّةٌ [Part I, Note on p. 8, l. 1] (M), where they substitute a و for the second ي , from dislike of the reduplication: this is the opinion of S and Khl (IY): (a) by analogy حَيَيَانٌ should be حَيَانٌ , because the [first] ي is mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684, 703]; but they let [the ع in] it remain mobile, in order that the word may correspond with what it signifies, [vid. *animal*,] in mobility, like جَوْلَانٌ [331, 684 (condition 11, a), 703] and خَفَقَانٌ *fluttering*; while in مَوْتَانٌ *inanimate object* [703] they make *opp.* conform to *opp.*: (b) for the same reason they do not incorporate [the two ي s] in [حَيَيَانٌ *o. f.* of] حَيَوَانٌ ; but, since they dislike the combination of two similar letters, they convert the second into و ; not the first, because alteration is more appropriate in [the second as being] the final [of the crude-form] (Jrb): (c) Mz holds that the و of حَيَوَانٌ is [not substituted, but (IY)] original (IY, R); nor is there in حَيِيْتُ *I lived* [728, 730. A] any proof that the second [unsound letter] is [*orig.*] a ي , because it may have been converted into ي on account of the preceding letter's being pronounced with Kasr.

[685 (case 1, a), 724]: but S arrives at his decision because, if the , were made original, حَيَوَانٌ would have no counterpart in their language (R); and the [correct] opinion is that of S: (d) there is no word, says S, like حَيَوَةٌ [4, 685 (case 7, c, b, γ), 689, 716] in their language, i. e., none whose ع is a ي, and ل a و; while حَيَوَةٌ [itself] is *orig.* حَيَّةٌ [above], because it is from حَيٌّ [697, 728]: (e) the substitute a, for the last ي, irregularly, for a kind of alleviation, through the difference of the two letters, because they deem reduplication, and uniformity of the two letters, to be heavy (IY): (2) the ي occurs as (a) ف and ع [together (M)] in يَيْنُ *Yain* [715, 730. A] (M, SH), which is the name (M, R) of a place (M), [i. e.,] of a valley (R); and has no counterpart (IY, R), known to me (R), among *ns.*: (a) this is like كَوَكِبٌ and دَدَنٌ [674, 697] in the sound (IY): (b) ف and ل [together (M)] in [يَدٌ, *orig.* يَدِي with quiescence of the د, its ل being proved to be a ي by their saying (IY)] يَدَيْتُ (M, SH), i. e., [*I hit on the hand*, or (R)] *I bestowed a favor* (IY, R, Jrb): the poet [of the Banu Asad (T)] says

يَدَيْتُ عَلَى أَبْنِ حَسَكَاةٍ بَنِ وَهْبٍ
بِأَسْفَلِ ذِي الْجِدَادَةِ يَدِ الْكَرِيمِ

[*I bestowed upon the son of Hashās, or in one version حَسَّاسِ Hassās, Ibn Wahb, in the lowest part of Dhu-l-Jidhāt, the favor of the generous (T)*]: and in the *du.* they say يَدَيَانِ بَيْضَارَانِ آلْح [231, 306]; and يَدَانِ, which is more frequent, from the permanence of the elision (IY) : whereas the , does not occur like that [in case (a) or (b)] (M, SH), except in (a) أَوْ [357, 683, 699], according to the soundest [opinion] (SH), i. e., that its ف and ع are , s : (α) the truth is that the , and ي agree here in being, each of them, ف and ع together ; but each in one word only : (b) in the sound letters also homogeneity of the ف and ع , as in بَبْر [with two ب s, which I think to be exotic, not of the speech of the Arabs, a kind of wild beast, which the Persians name بَبْر tiger (Jk)], is rare [699], extraordinary, from the concurrence of two likes, together with the impossibility of incorporating the first into the second : (c) the disagreeableness is somewhat lessened by the occurrence of separation between them, as in كَوَكْب [373]; or by the existence of a cause necessitating incorporation, as in أَوْ [above] (R) : (b) وَ [683 (case 1, c, α), 697, 723], according to one account (SH) : (α) F holds that its o. f. is وَيَو , from dislike to forming the word of [three] , s, which [sort of formation] does not occur [even] in the sound letter, except in the single word بَبَّة

Babba [4], and that [only] because of its being [an imitation of (MAR)] a *sound* [Part I, Note on p. 8, l. 19]; but *Akh* holds that its *o. f.* is ^وو, because the *ی* does not precede the ^و, as *ع* and *ل* respectively [above] (R): (b) if we say that ^وا is composed of ^و, *ی*, and ^و, because the *cat.* of *سَلَسَ* [below] is more numerous than that of *بَبَّ* [above], then the ^و is like the *ی* in occurring as *ف* and *ل* [above]; but, if we say that it is composed of ^و, ^و, and ^و, then the ^و is like the *ی* in occurring as *ف*, *ع*, and *ل* [below]; (c) the reasons for saying the latter are (α) that, in the *dim.* of ^وا, they say ^واَوِيَّة, by converting the *ف* into Hamza, because it is the first of two initial ^وs [683, 699]; whereas, if its *ع* were a *ی*, then ^واَوِيَّة would be said; (β) that the *ع* is a ^و, as in *حَالَ* shifted, was transmuted, more often than a *ی*, as in *بَاعَ* sold [684, 703]; while conformity with the more numerous [*cat.*] is better (Jrb): (d) you say, according to the opinion of F, ^واَوِيَّت I wrote a ^و, converting the last ^و into *ی* [685 (case 4), 727], as in *عَلِيَّتْ* and *أَعْلِيَّتْ* I elevated, exalted: but according to the opinion of *Akh*, ^واَوِيَّت; while Th says ^واَوِيَّت, which is rightly rejected by IJ, because the heaviness in ^واَوِيَّت is more than in ^واَوِيَّت [683, 699], on account of the combination of [three] ^وs (R); (e) they say that in Arabic there is no word whose *ف* and *ل* are ^و, except ^وا, [above]; and

for that reason they prefer *أَلْوَغَى* the *fray* to be written with *ى* (M), lest the *ف* and *ل* become *و* : (f) similarly we decide that the *و* in *وَاحَيْتُ* *I fraternized* is substituted for the Hamza in *آحَيْتُ*, not that they are two *dial. vars.*, because, the *ل* in *أَخ* [16] being a *و*, as is proved by the *du. أَخَوَانِ* [231], the decision that the *ف* is a *و*, would lead to the establishment of a paradigm whose counterpart is rare in the language (IY) : (g) similarity of the *ف* and *ل*, even if they be sound, is rare in the *tril.*, as *سَلَسَ* and *قَلَقَ* [674, 685, 690, 697] (R) : (3) the *ى* occurs as *ف*, *ع*, and *ل* [together] in *يَيَّيْتُ* [*I wrote a ى* (Jrb)], contrary to the *و*, except in *وَإِوْ* [above], according to one account (SH) : (a) the opinion of F is that the *o. f.* of *يَا* [697] is *يَوَى*, so that he says *يَوَيْتُ يَا حَسَنَةً* *I wrote a beautiful ى*; but, according to others, its *o. f.* is *يَيَى* : (b) there is a similar dispute between them about all the names of the letters of the alphabet whose second [letter] is an *ا*, as *بَا*, *تَا*, and *ثَا* : so that the others say *بَيَّيْتُ* *I wrote a ب*, *تَيَّيْتُ*, *ثَيَّيْتُ*, etc.; but F says *بَوَيْتُ*, *تَوَيْتُ*, *ثَوَيْتُ*, etc. : while their *pl.* [234], according to F, is *أَبَوَاءَ* and *أَثَوَاءَ*; but, according to others, *أَبِيَاءَ* and *أَثِيَاءَ* : (c) the reason why the others decide that [the *ا* s here are *orig. ى*] is the occurrence of *Imāla* [639] in the whole of these names,

which is of no account, because they are pronounced with Imāla only when they are *indecl.* [159, 321, 663]; and at that time their اs are original, like the ا of مَا and يَ [C97]: while their اs are judged to be converted only when another ا is added at their end, and made into Hamza, by analogy to such as كَسَاء [683 (case 1), 723], vid. when they occur constructed, *infl.*, in which case their اs are co-ordinated with the اs of the rest of the *infl. ns.* [697] in being [regarded as] converted [from a , or ي]; and then these names are not pronounced with Imāla: so that their being pronounced with Imāla before construction contains no proof that after construction their اs are *orig.* ي: (d) the reason why F decides their اs to be [*orig.*] و, and their ل to be ي, is that the *cat.* of طَوَيْتُ [above] and نَوَيْتُ [697] is numerous, and more prevalent than the *cat.* of قَوَّةٌ and حَيِّيتُ [697, 728]; while the و of حَيَوَانٌ is [*orig.*] ا ي, according to the sounder [opinion], as before mentioned: (e) as for those names [of letters] which have an ا for their second, followed by a sound letter, like دَالٌ, ذَالٌ, صَادٌ, صَادٌ, كَافٌ, and لَامٌ, their ا, before their construction and inflection, is original, because they are *orig. indecl.*, as before mentioned; and, after their inflection, should be regarded as *orig. a* , rather than ا ي, because the *cat.* of دَارٌ is more numerous than that of نَابٌ [684, 703, 711]: so that we

say صَوَدْتُ صَادًا *I wrote a ص* , كَوْنْتُ كَانًا *I wrote a ك* , and دَوْنْتُ دَالًا *I wrote a د* , while the *pl.* is أَصَوَادٌ , أَكْوَانٌ , and أَدْوَالٌ (f) as for حِيَمٌ , سِيْنٌ , and عَيْنٌ , their ع is a ي , like that of بَيْتٌ [674, 697], since the ي is present, and there is no proof of its being [converted] from و ; and, according to S, حِيَمٌ may be orig. فَعَلَ with Damm or Kasr of the ف , contrary to the opinion of Akh [710] (R).

THE , AND ى AS ۛ S.

§. 699. The , (1) remains sound in such as وَعَدَ [663, 697] and وَلَدَ *begot*; and وَعَدُ [683, 697, 698] and وَلَدُ [below] (M), *pl. of وَلَدٌ child* (KF): (a) the , in all of that is sound, because nothing to necessitate alteration or elision is found in it: (b) hence وَلِكُلِّ وَجْهَةٌ هُوَ *وَلِكُلِّ* II. 143. [below] (IY) *And every (sect) hath a point, to which it turneth (its face)* (K, B): (2) is elided in (a) that *aor.* of فَعَلَ or فَعِلَ whose ع is pronounced with Kasr, literally, as in يَعِدُ *promises* [333, 482, 671] and يَمِيقُ *loves*; or constructively [below], as in يَضَعُ *puts, lays* [333, 482, 700] and يَسَعُ *is ample*, where the *o. f.* is Kasr, the Fath being on account of the guttural letter (M): (a) the *o. f.* of يَعِدُ and يَزِنُ *weighs* is يَرْعُدُ [333, 482] and يَوْرِنُ (IY): (b) the , is elided [from such as يَلِدُ *begets* and يَعِدُ (SH)] because of its occurrence [quiescent] between a ى [pronounced with Fath (R)] and [an original (SH)] Kasra [below] (IY, SH), expressed, as in [يَلِدُ and] يَعِدُ; or supplied, as in يَقْعُ [below] and يَسَعُ (R): (α) the , is then elided (IY, R), from desire of alleviation (IY), because combined with the ى in such a way that incorporation of one into the

other, as in طَى [685 (case 7, a, b)], is not possible : and especially [is elision necessary] when the , is followed by Kasra, which is part of ي [697]; and preceded by a vowel not congruous with it, as in يُوعِدُ [below], *aur.* of أَوْعَدَ threatened (R): for the , is homogeneous with Damma, being considered as equivalent to two Dammās; while the Kasra after it is homogeneous with the ي before it; and the occurrence of a thing between two things opposed to it is deemed heavy, and must therefore be avoided (Jrb): (β) the , , and not the ي , is elided, because the , is the heavier of the two, while the ي is the sign of the *aur.*; and because the heaviness arises from the , , since it is second (R): (γ) the Kasra may not be elided, because by it the measure of the word is recognized [482]; so that there remains nothing [to elide] but the , , which is therefore elided: and its elision is most effective in alleviation, because it is heavier than the ي or the Kasra; while it is quiescent, [and consequently] weak, so that the cause of its elision is strong (IY): (δ) the , is not elided from such as يُوعِدُ [above], because it is *orig.* not between a ي and Kasra, but between a Hamza and Kasra since the *o. f.* is يَأْوَعِدُ [428, 661, 697] (Jrb): (ε) the KK say that the , is elided only to distinguish the *trans.* [of this *cat.* (IY)] from the *intrans.*, because you say, [in the *trans.*,

وَعَدَ promised it, aor. يَعِدُ , and وَزَنَ weighed it, aor. يَزِنُ , and (IY),] in the *intrans.*, [وَحَلَ fell into the mud, aor. (IY)] يَوْحَلُ , and [وَجَلَ feared, aor. (IY)] يَوْجَلُ [333, 700] (IY, R): but that [theory] is vicious, because the و is sometimes elided in the *intrans.* of this *cat.*, as وَكَفَ الْبَيْتُ The tent, or house, dripped with rain-water, aor. يَكِفُ , and وَنَمَ الذَّبَابُ The fly dropped excrement, aor. يَنِمُ , and وَخَدَّ الْبَعِيرُ The camel went along, throwing his legs out like an ostrich, aor. يَخْدُ ; so that what we have said is thereby established (IY); whereas what they say is of no account, since, if the case were so, the و would not be elided from يَجْدُ aor. of وَجَدَ i. q. حَزِنَ grieved (R): and one proof thereof is that there are some *vs.* whose aor. occurs on [the measure of] يَفْعَلُ with Kasr and Fath, in which case the و is elided from يَفْعَلُ , and retained in يَفْعَلُ , as وَحَرَ صَدْرُهُ His breast was filled with rage, aor. يَحْرُ and يَوْحَرُ [482]; which proves the truth of our reason, and the falsity of theirs: (ζ) if the letter after the و be pronounced with Fath in the aor., as in يَوْحَلُ and يَوْجَلُ [above], the و remains, and is not elided, because one qualification [for elision], vid. Kasr, is removed, as in the *pass.* يُوعَدُ is promised and يُوزَنُ is weighed, whence CXII. 3. [404], where the و

is elided from يَدُ , because the letter after it is pronounced with Kasr ; but remains in يُولَدُ , on account of the Fathā (IY) : (η) IH's saying "an original Kasra" [above] comprises such as يَعِدُ [above] and يَقَعُ [362, 482], *orig.* يَوْتَعُ (R) : (θ) as for يَضَعُ [above] and يَدَعُ [482], the reason why the , is elided from them is that the *o. f.* is يَوْضَعُ and يَوْدَعُ , since the *aor.* of فَعَلَ in this [*cat.*, whose ف is a , ,] occurs [*orig.*] only on [the measure of] يَفْعَلُ with Kasr [482, 671], being pronounced with Fath in يَضَعُ and يَدَعُ through the influence of the guttural letter ; so that the Fathā is then adventitious ; and, the adventitious not being taken into account, because it is like the non-existent, the , is elided in them, because the Kasra is virtually pronounced (IY) : and, as for يَسَعُ [above] and يَطَأُ [482, 671, 700], [whose *prets.* are on the measure of فَعَلَ ,] it is plain to us, by the elision of the , , that their ع [also] is [*orig.*] pronounced with Kasr [in the *aor.*], being pronounced with Fath because of the guttural letter ; while these two expressions have no third (R) : and for that reason Z says "literally or constructively" [above], the *lit.* being in يَعِدُ [and يَبْقَى], because the Kasra is [actually] pronounced ; and the constructive in يَضَعُ and يَسَعُ , because the ع is virtually pronounced with Kasr,

though literally with Fath (IY) : (c) the , is elided in *يَدْرُ* leaves [482] for conformity with *يَدْعُ* [above], because it is *syn.* therewith : (κ) *يَجِدُ* finds with Damm, according to the Banù 'Āmir [482], is anomalous, the , being elided from it either because it is *orig.* *يَجِدُ* with Kasr ; or because , is deemed heavy between the *ى* pronounced with Fath and the Damma in a *conjug.* other than that of *فَعَلَ* , *aor.* *يَفْعَلُ* , with Damm of the *ع* in both (R) : (c) the remaining variations of the *aor.* (IY, R), [being] the congeners of *يَعِدُ* (SH), are made to accord with it [in elision of the , (MASH)], as *تَعِدُ* , *أَعِدُ* , and *نَعِدُ* [Note on p. 246, l. 19] (IY, SH), the , being elided, [although it does not occur between a *ى* and Kasra (IY),] in order that the *conjug.* [of the *aor.* (IY)] may [not vary, but (IY)] be uniform (IY, R), and because of the alleviation that is [found] in elision (IY) ; and [similarly] its *imp.* mood [428, 482, 667, 668] (SH), because derived from the *aor.* whose , is elided, as *تَعِدُ* (R) : (b) such *inf. ns.* as *عِدَّة* [482] and *مَقَّة* (M) : (a) the *o. f.* of *عِدَّة* [and *زَنَّة* (IY)] is *وَعِدَّة* (IY, Jrb, Tsr) and *وَزَنَّة* (IY), with Kasr of the , and quiescence of the *ع* , as they distinctly declare (Tsr) : (α) the , is elided because of the heaviness found in the Kasra upon the , , together with [the fact] that the *v.* is transformed ; so

that the Kasra of the , is transferred to the ع , and the , then elided [below] (Jrb): (β) what necessitates elision of the , here is two matters, that the , is pronounced with Kasr, Kasra being deemed heavy on , ; and that the v. is transformed, as in يَعِدُ and يَزِنُ [above], the inf. n. being transformed by reason of the transformation, and sound by reason of the soundness, of the v., as قِيَامٌ inf. n. of قُمْتُ and لِرَاوَدٌ inf. n. of لَارَوَدَ [685, (case 2, b), 713]: (γ) the combination of these two qualifications is the cause of the elision of the , from the inf. n.: so that, if one of the two qualifications stand alone, the , is not elided because of it, as وَعَدٌ [above] and وَزَنٌ , where, since the , is pronounced with Fath, and Kasra is removed, elision does not ensue, although the v. is transformed in يَعِدُ and يَزِنُ ; and as وَدَادٌ inf. n. of وَادَدْتُ, *I loved him in return for his loving me* and وَصَالٌ inf. n. of وَاصَلْتُ, *I held close intercourse with him*, where the , , although pronounced with Kasr, remains [sound], because the v. is not transformed: (δ) when the simple substantive, not the inf. n., is meant, as in وَلَدَةٌ [above], the , is not elided: (ε) the transformation of such as عِدَّةٌ and رَفْعَةٌ is only by transfer of the Kasra of the ف , which is the , , to the ع : but, since the , becomes quiescent, while it is not possible to begin with a quiescent, they subject it to elision, because, if

they put the *conj.* Hamza pronounced with Kasr [667, 668], that would lead to conversion of the , into ع [685, (case 5), 699], on account of the preceding letter's being pronounced with Kasr, and of its own quiescence ; so that they would say اَيْعِدْ , with a ع between two Kasras ; and, that being deemed heavy, they are reduced to elision : and, in that case, the intention is to transform by transfer of the vowel ; while elision occurs [merely] as a consequence : (ζ) it is said [by some] that, since transformation of عِدَّةٌ and زَنْزٌ is necessary, the intention is to elide the , , as in the *v.* ; so that they transfer the Kasra of the , to the ع , in order that a mobile , may not be elided in the *inf. n.* ; in which case the *n.* would exceed the *v.* in elision, [since the , elided in the *v.* is quiescent] : whereas the *n.* is subordinate to the *v.* in that [liability to transformation] ; so that, when not inferior to the *v.* in degree [of elision], it is equal, but not superior, to it (IY) : and [similarly] we say "the Kasra of the , is transferred to the ع , and the , then elided" [above] ; the , not being elided mobile, lest the transformation of the *n.* exceed the transformation of the *v.*, in which the , is elided quiescent, not mobile (Jrb) : (b) [some say that] the *o. f.* of عِدَّةٌ [and مَقَّةٌ (MASH)] is عِدْ (A, MASH) and مَقْ (MASH), on the measure of فَعَلَ [without a ة] (A) ;

and [this description of the *o. f.* seems to be more consistent with the statement that] the \bar{s} of feminization is inseparable [from such *inf. ns.*], like a compensation for the elided [265 (reason 11, a)] (IY, Jrb) : (α) its ف is elided for conformity with the *aor.*; and its ع mobilized with the vowel of the ف , vid. Kasra, in order that the Kasra may remain as an indication of the [elided] ف ; while the \bar{s} of feminization is put as a compensation for the ف , for which reason the two are not combined (A) : (β) if it be said that the , is not elided in II. 143. [above], notwithstanding that this involves a combination between the compensation and what it is put as a compensation for, the answer is firstly that وَجْهَةٌ is not an *inf. n.* conformable to the *v.* [331], but a simple substantive denoting the *direction turned to*; while the , remains in the simple substantive, like وَلَدٌ [above], *pl.* of وَلِيدٌ meaning *boy* and *slave*: and secondly that it is an *inf. n.*; but remains sound for a notification of the *o. f.*, like قَوْدٌ and اِسْتَحْوَذَ [685 (case 6, c), 703]; and this is the saying of Mz (Jrb) : (γ) the \bar{s} as a compensation is necessary here (A); so that its elision is anomalous, according to the preferable opinion (Sn): but some allow it to be elided, on account of prefixion, [because this supplies the place of the \bar{s} (Sn),] relying upon $\text{وَأَخْلَفُونَ أَحْمَ}$ [331, 338], which is the

opinion of Fr; whereas some explain **عَدَ** here as **عَدَى** pl. of **عَدَوْ** i. q. **نَاحِيَةٌ** side, part, i. e., and have failed to perform to thee the particulars of the matter that they promised (A): (c) [R holds the o. f. of **عَدَوْ** to be **وَعَدَ**, from which he thus evolves it:—] as for the *inf. n.*, since it is the original of the *v.* in derivation [331], its transformation is not necessary by reason of the transformation of the *v.*, except when an element requiring transformation exists in it, like the Kasra in **قِيَامٌ** [above]; or [when] it corresponds to the *v.* in initial augment, like **إِقَامَةٌ** and **إِسْتِقَامَةٌ** [703, 714]: and, for this reason, the **و** in the *inf. n.* of **يَعْدُ** may be elided, as **عَدَ**; or retained, as **وَعَدَ**; since it does not contain any cause for elision, nor the correspondence mentioned: and, when anything is elided from the *inf. n.* by transformation, the elided is not quietly forgotten; but the **ة** of femininization is put at the end as a compensation for it, as in **عَدَةٌ** and **إِسْتِقَامَةٌ** [265 (reason 11, a, b), 338], because the transformation in it is not according to the general rule, since it is an imitation of the *deriv.* by the original: (α) the **ع** in **عَدَ**, which is *orig.* **وَعَدَ**, is pronounced with Kasr, because the quiescent, when mobilized, is generally pronounced with Kasr [664]; and also in order that it may be like the **ع** of the *v.*, to

which عِدَّةٌ is made to conform : and therefore the conj. Hamza is not imported after elision of the ف : (β) when the ع in the aor. is pronounced with Fath because of a guttural letter, it may be pronounced with Fath in the inf. n. also, as يَسْعُ [above], inf. n. سَعَةٌ [306]; or not, as يَهَبُ gives [482, 671], inf. n. هَبَةٌ : (γ) صَلَّةٌ with Damm for صَلَّةٌ junction, union, is anomalous : (δ) when the ل is guttural, the inf. n. of فَعَلَ , aor. يَفْعَلُ , with Damm of their ع , is sometimes treated like the inf. n. of يَسْعُ [above], as وَدَعُ was tranquil, aor. يَوْدَعُ , inf. n. دَعَةٌ [306]; and وَطَرُ was level, aor. يَوْطَرُ , inf. n. طَتَّةٌ and طَاةٌ : this being to notify that the و of its aor. ought to be elided, because its occurrence between a ي pronounced with Fath and a Damma is deemed heavy; though it is not elided, in order to make the form correspond with the sense, since فَعَلَ denotes inseparable natures [432, 484], continuing in one state : and likewise [to notify] that the ع of its aor. ought to be pronounced with Fath, because the ل is guttural : (ε) لِدَّةٌ born at the same time as another [234] is orig. an inf. n.; but is made a simple substantive to denote the مَوْلُودٌ born, as ضَرَبَ الْأَمِيرُ struck, or coined, by the sovereign means مَضْرُوبَةٌ ; (ζ) as for جَهَةٌ direction and رَقَّةٌ coined silver [234], they are anomalous, because they are

not *inf. ns.* ; so that their *ṣ* is not a compensation for the , : (η) the , is not elided in such as ⁵يُوعِيدُ [a fictitious word (MAR)], on the model of ⁵يَقْطِيبُ *an acaulous plant*, from ⁵وَعْدُ , because the reason for elision is weak (R) : (3) converted [below] in what has been mentioned under substitution [683, 685, 689] (M), as [, أَوَّاصِلُ] , ⁵مِيزَانُ [below], and the like (IY). The *ي* is like the , , except in elision (M). The *ي* remains where the , is elided (IY) ; [so that,] when *ي* occurs in the *aor.* between a *ي* pronounced with Fath and a Kasra, it is not elided, like , , because the combination of two *ي* s is not so heavy as the combination of , and *ي* (R). You say ⁵رِپَنَعُ ripened, *aor.* ⁵يَبْنَعُ , and ⁵يَسَرُ [played at hazard with unfeathered and headless arrows (IY)], *aor.* ⁵يَبْسَرُ [482], retaining it, [because of its lightness (IY),] where you drop , (M) in ⁵يَعْدُ , etc. (IY). The *ي* is not elided from such as ⁵يَبْسَرُ because it is homogeneous with the Kasra : nor from such as ⁵يَبْسَرُ also, for the same reason ; though here elision of the *ي* does occur, because two *ي* s are deemed heavy with Hamza (Jrb). S relates that (IY) some of them say ⁵يَبْسَرُ [482, 684], *aor.* ⁵يَبْسَرُ , like ⁵وَمَقُ , *aor.* ⁵يَبْقُ [above] (M) ; and ⁵يَسَرُ , *aor.* ⁵يَبْسَرُ [482], [like ⁵وَعْدُ , *aor.* ⁵يَعْدُ ;] eliding the *ي* , as they elide the , , since *ي* , though lighter than , , is deemed

heavy in comparison with ا [643, 671], for which reason they elide it (IY), treating it like the ,: but this is rare (M). S transmits elision of the ى in [only] two words, يَسَرَ الْبَعِيرَ [divided the limbs of the camel (MAR)], aor. يَسِرُهُ; and يَيْسَسُ, aor. يَيْسُسُ: and both are anomalous (R). Its conversion [686, 689] is in such as مُوسِرٌ and اِتْسَرَ [below] (M). The , is converted into Hamza [683], (1) necessarily in such as اَوَّاصِلٌ [730. A], اَوَّيْعِلٌ, and اَوَّلٌ, [i. e. (Jrb),] when [two , s are combined at the beginning of the word, and (Jrb)] the second is mobile [below] (SH), in which case the first must be converted into Hamza, because they consider two mobile [, s] heavy (Jrb); contrary to وُورَى (SH), where the quiescence of the second, together with its being a letter of prolongation, relieves some of the heaviness (MASH): (a) they deem the combination of two likes, at the beginning of the word, to be heavy; for which reason such [formation] as بَبْرٌ and دَدَنٌ [697, 698] are rare: so that, if two , s occur at the beginning, then, the , being the heaviest of the unsound letters, the first of them is converted into Hamza [below], necessarily; except when the second is a letter of prolongation converted from an aug. letter, as in وُورَى from وَاَرَى [683, 730. A], in which case conversion of the first into Hamza is not necessary, because the second is adventitious in respect

of its augmentativeness and conversion from the ا , and because the prolongation relieves some of the heaviness : (b) conversion of the first into Hamza is [therefore] necessary, if the second be (a) not a letter of prolongation, whether it be converted from an *aug.* letter, as in أَوَّاصِلٌ and أَوَّيَّصِلٌ [above]; or unconverted, as in أَوَّعَدٌ [683] : (b) a letter of prolongation, but [either] not converted from anything [below], as in أَوَّعَدٌ [683]; or converted from a *rad.* letter, as Khl says أَوَّي for فَعَلٌ from رَأَيْتُ [716], when [its Hamza is] alleviated [by conversion into و] : (α) hence the opinion of the KK on أَوَّلِي [357], which, according to them, is *orig.* وَوَّلِي , then وَوَّلِي , then أَوَّلِي [683] : (β) Mz refutes Khl with [the argument] that the [second] و , in the like [of وَوَّلِي alleviated from وَوَّلِي o. f. of أَوَّلِي] is adventitious, not inseparable, since alleviation of the Hamza in such a case is unnecessary [658]; and he says that أَوَّي for وَوَّلِي is allowable because of the Damma of the و , like أَوَّوَّةٌ for وَوَّوَّةٌ [below], not because of the combination of two و : (c) original, not converted from anything [above], whether it be a letter of prolongation, as in أَوَّلِي [357, 683], according to the BB, *orig.* وَوَّلِي ; or not a letter of prolongation, as in أَوَّلٌ [357, 683, 698], according to them : (c) as for IH's saying "when the second is mobile" [above], this is a condition not prescribed by the leading GG, as you see

from the saying of Khl on ^{أَوِي} [above]: while F also says “When two , s are combined, the first of them is changed into Hamza, as in ^{أَوِيَصِلْ}”; and then says “and hence their saying ^{أَوِي} for the *fem.* of ^{أَوَلْ}”; and afterwards says “but, if the second be not inseparable, it is not necessary to change the first of them into Hamza, as ^{وَرِي}” [above]: and S says “When you form a [n.] like ^{كُوكِبْ} from ^{وَعَدَ}, you say ^{أَوَعَدْ}” [above]: so that you see how they differ from IH’s saying: (a) IH bases upon his opinion [two conclusions,] that the conversion of the first [,] in ^{أَوِي} [above] is unnecessary; and that the [first] , [in ^{وَوِي} *o. f.*] of ^{أَوِي} is necessarily converted into Hamza [only] for conformity of the *sing.* to the *pl.* [^{أَوَلْ} below]: (d) the , deemed heavy is converted into Hamza, not into ^ي, because of the excessive affinity between the , and ^ي, whereas the Hamza is more remote; for, if the , were converted into ^ي, that combination of two , s, which is deemed heavy, would be, as it were, remaining (R): (2) allowably, [with unbroken regularity (R),] in such as ^{أَجُوهْ} [683] and ^{أَوَرِي} [for the ^{وَرِي} mentioned (MASH)]; and, says Mz, in such as ^{إِشَاحْ} [683] (SH), ^{إَعَاءْ}, ^{إِلْدَهْ} for ^{وِلْدَهْ} [above], and ^{إِفَادَهْ}, because in Kasra also there is heaviness, though less than in Damma (R): (3) invariably in ^{أَوِي},

[notwithstanding the quiescence of the second (Jrb, MASH),] for conformity with [its *pl.* (MASH)] ^{أَوَّلُ} [above]: (4) irregularly, [by common consent (R, MASH),] in ^{أَنَاةٌ} and ^{أَحَدٌ} [683] (SH), ^{أَجَمٌ} for ^{وَجَمٌ} (R) *morose, looking down from intensity of grief* (MAR), and ^{أَسْمَاءُ} (SH), because a single ^و pronounced with Fath is not heavy at the beginning of the word (MASH): (a) S says that ^{أَسْمَاءُ} is *orig.* ^{وَسْمَاءُ} [683', ^{فَعَلَاءُ} from ^{وَسَامَةٌ} meaning *beauty of face*, diptote because of the ^ا of femininization [18]; while Mb says that it is *pl.* of ^{أَسْمٌ} [667], its measure being ^{أَفْعَالٌ}, diptote because of the quality of proper name and *id.* femininization: but the first is more obvious, because *eps.* are used as names more often than *pls.*; and because, if used as a name for a *masc.*, it would still be diptote (Jrb): (b) some GG say that ^{أَخَذَ} *took* is *orig.* ^{وَحَذَ}, on the evidence of ^{اتَّخَذَ} [702], like ^{اتَّصَلَ} [689]. No word, whose initial is a ^ي pronounced with Kasr, occurs in the language of the Arabs, like words whose initial is a ^و pronounced with Damm, except ^{يَسَارٌ} a *dial.* *var.* of ^{يَسَارٌ} *left hand* [701] and ^{يَقَاطُ} *pl.* of ^{يَقْطَانٌ} *awake* [and ^{يَعَارٌ} (248)]. Sometimes they escape the combination of two ^وs, at the beginning of the word, by converting the first of them into ^ت, as in ^{تَوَرَّاةٌ} and

تَوَلَّجَ, which is rare ; as a single و at the beginning of the word is escaped by conversion into ت , as in تَوَلَّجَتْ and تَقْوَى [689]. The ت occurs as a *subst.* for the و , frequently, as تَوَلَّجَتْ and تَوَلَّجَتْ [689], تَوَلَّجَتْ [above], تَوَلَّجَتْ and تَقْوَى , and تَوَلَّجَتْ and تَوَلَّجَتْ, the last, according to the BB, being تَوَلَّجَتْ from وَرَى الرَّزْدُ [689], since the Book of God is a *Light* ; but not regularly, except in the *conjug.* of اِفْتَعَلَ [689] (R). The و and ى are [necessarily, regularly (R),] converted into ت , [and incorporated (Jrb),] in such as اِتَّعَدَ and اِتَّسَّرَ [played at hazard (Jrb, MASH), where the unsound letter is not converted from a Hamza (Jrb)] ; contrary to اِيتَزَرَ [689, 702] (SH), *orig.* اِئْتَزَرَ, where the second Hamza, being quiescent, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, is converted into ى [661], which is not converted into ت , because it is accidental, being removed in continuity, as اِئْتَزَرَ and wore a waist-wrapper (Jrb). The [quiescent (Jrb)] و is converted into ى [685], when the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr, as مِيزَانٌ [above] and مِيقَاتٌ ; and the [quiescent (Jrb)] ى into و , [686], when the letter before it is pronounced with Damm, as مُوقِظٌ *awakening* and مُوسِرٌ [above] (SH).

§. 700. What differentiates *يَوْجَعُ* aor. of *وَجَعَ* *had a pain* and *يَوْحَلُ* aor. of *وَحَلَ* [699] from *يَسَعُ* aor. of *وَسَعَ* and *يَضَعُ* aor. of *وَضَعَ* [482, 699], so that the , remains in one of the two [classes], and drops off in the other, though both classes contain a guttural letter, is that in *يَوْجَعُ* the Fatha [of the ع] is original, like that in *يَوْحَلُ* [333, 699] (M), where the Fatha is original, because *وَحَلَ*, aor. *يَوْحَلُ*, belongs to the *conjug.* of *فَعَلَ*, aor. *يَفْعَلُ*, with Kasr of the ع in the *pret.*, and Fath in the aor., like *عَلِمَ* *knew*, aor. *يَعْلَمُ* [482], and *شَرَبَ* *drank*, aor. *يَشْرَبُ* (IY): whereas in *يَسَعُ* it is adventitious, imported on account of the guttural letter (M), because *وَسَعَ*, aor. *يَسَعُ*. and *وَطَى* *trod*, aor. *يَطَأُ* [482, 671, 699], belong to the *conjug.* of [*فَعَلَ*, aor. *يَفْعَلُ*, like] *حَسِبَ* *accounted*, aor. *يَحْسِبُ*, and *نَعِمَ* *was pleasant*, aor. *يَنْعِمُ* [482]; and similarly, in the unsound, as *وَرِثَ*. aor. *يَرِثُ* [482, 682], and *وَلَّى* [697], aor. *يَلِي* [482] (IY). The antagonism of the two [Fathas mentioned] is therefore [like] that of the two Kasra of the , s in *تَجَارٍ* and *تَجَارِبُ* (M). The Fatha in *يَسَعُ* [and *يَضَعُ* (IY)] is likened to the Kasra in *تَجَارٍ* *rivalry, competition*, where the Kasra is adventitious, the o. f. being *تَجَارِي* [332]. For they convert the Damma into Kasra [724] (IY,

Jrb), because of its occurrence before a final **ي** (Jrb), in order that the **ي** may be sounded true, since, if Damma occurred before the final **ي**, the latter would be converted into **و**; and you would arrive at a paradigm unprecedented among [*decl.*] Arabic *ns.*, in which there is none whose final is **و**, preceded by Damma [721]. And, since the Kasra in **تَجَارٍ** is adventitious, the paradigm is not accounted a preventive of triptote declension [18], because it is [not **تَفَاعِلُ**, but] virtually **تَفَاعِلُ** with Damm of the **ع** [256] (IY). And the Fatha in **يَوْجَلُ** is likened to the Kasra in **تَجَارِبُ** *trials*, where the Kasra is original, because **تَجَارِبُ** [339] is *pl.* of **تَجْرِبَةٌ** [332] (Jrb).

§. 701. Some Arabs [of the Hījāz are induced, by desire for alleviation, to (IY)] convert the [unsound letter, whether (IY)] **و**, or **ي**, in the *aor.* of **اِفْتَعَلَ**, into **ا** (M), notwithstanding that it is quiescent [684, 703] (IY), saying **يَاتَعِدُ** and **يَاتَسِرُ** [below] (M), because the combination of **ي** with **ا** is lighter, according to them, than its combination with **و**, for which reason they say **يَاتَعِدُ**, substituting an **ا** for the quiescent **و**, as they substitute it for the **ي** in **يَاتَسِرُ** (IY). Some inhabitants of the Hījāz do not regard the difference between **و** and **ي** in the formations of the *v.*, saying [*pret.*] **اِبْتَعَدَ** and

اَيْتَسِرْ [689] : *aor.*, يَأْتَعِدْ and يَأْتَسِرْ [above] ; not يُوْتَعِدْ and يُوْتَسِرْ [689], because the و and ي are deemed heavy between the ي pronounced with Fatḥh and the [next] Fatha, as in يَاجُلْ and يَابَسْ [below] : *act. part.*, مُوْتَعِدٌ and مُوْتَسِرٌ [below] : *imp.*, اَيْتَعِدْ and اَيْتَسِرْ [689]. This, according to them, is an universal rule (R). And, agreeably with it, مُوْتَعِدٌ and مُوْتَسِرٌ occur in the *dial.* of [the Imām (Jrb)] Shf (SH), who used to pronounce so in speaking (Jrb). Some convert the و occurring [in the *aor.*] between the ي pronounced with Fatḥh and the [next] Fatha, as in يُوْجُلْ [333, 699, 700], into ا , as يَاجُلْ [below], because there is heaviness in this و , though not so much as to cause it to be elided [699]; and others convert it into ي , [as يِيْجُلْ ,] because ي is lighter than و ; while some, disapproving conversion of و into ي for no apparent cause, pronounce the ي of the *aor.* with Kasr, [as يِيْجُلْ ,] in order that the conversion of the و into ي may be because of its occurrence after Kasra [685 (case 5), 699] (R). There are [thus] four *dial. vars.* in the *aor.* of [فَعَلَ , *aor.* يَفْعَلُ , whose ف is a , , as (IY)] :—
 (1) يُوْجُلْ [above] (Jh, M), the most excellent of them, and the one used in the Ḳur, as قَالُوا لَا تَوْجُلْ XV. 53. They said, Fear thou not, because the و does not occur

between a *ی* and Kasra [699], and therefore remains (IY); (2) *يَاْجَلُ* [333, 674, 684, 703]; (3) *يِيْجَلُ* [333, 685]; (4) *يِيْجَلُ* [404] (Jh, M), with Kasr of the [aoristic] *ی* (Jh). But *يَاْجَلُ*, *يِيْجَلُ*, and *يِيْجَلُ*, [which is the most outrageous of them (Jrb),] are anomalous in the *aor.* of *وَجَلُ* [below] (SH), the chaste [form] being *يَوْجَلُ* [above], according to analogy (Jrb). This Kasra is not like the Kasra in [the *dial.* of those who say (M, Jrb)] *تَعْلَمُ* (M, R, Jrb) and *نَعْلَمُ* (R), since they [who pronounce the aoristic letter there with Kasr (IY, R)] do not pronounce the *ی* with Kasr (IY, R, Jrb), as *يَعْلَمُ* [404] (IY, R), because they deem beginning with a *ی* pronounced with Kasr to be heavy; for which reason no *n.* is found whose initial is a *ی* pronounced with Kasr, except *يَسَارُ* [699] (IY): whereas here the *ی* is pronounced with Kasr, in order that the , may be converted into *ی* [above]. Jh says in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* (Jrb), *يِيْجَلُ* with Kasr of the *ی* is according to the *dial.* of the Banū Asad, who say *أَنَا إِيْجَلُ* *I fear*, *نَحْنُ نِيْجَلُ* *We fear*, and *أَنْتَ تِيْجَلُ* *Thou fearest*, all with Kasr; and, while not pronouncing the *ی* with Kasr in *يَعْلَمُ*, because they deem Kasr upon the [initial] *ی* to be heavy, pronounce [it] with Kasr in *يِيْجَلُ*, in order that one of the two *ی* s may be strengthened by the other (Jh,

Jrb). And its *imp.* is **اِيَجَلْ**, the **و** becoming a **ي** from the Kasra of the letter before it (Jh). The language of Sf and F appears to indicate that conversion of the **و** in **يَوْجَلْ** [above] and **يَوْحَلْ** [699, 700] into **ا** or **ي** is regular [7(3)], even though it be rare. Sf says “They convert the **و** into **ا** in **يَوْجَلْ** and **يَوْحَلْ** and what resembles them, saying **يَاجَلْ** and **يَاحَلْ**”; and F says “As for [the *aor.* of] **فَعَلْ**, *aor.* **يَفْعَلْ**, as **وَجَلْ**, *aor.* **يَوْجَلْ**, and **وَحَلْ**, *aor.* **يَوْحَلْ**, it has four *dial. vars.*”; [while the language of Jh and IY above is to the like effect]. But this is contrary to what IH appears to say—I mean his saying that such and such [forms] “are anomalous in the *aor.* of **وَجَلْ**” [above], which imports that the forms mentioned are peculiar to [the *aor.* of] this word (R). And some of the Arabs say **يَاسُسْ** [above] and **يَاسُسْ** [684] (M, R), for **يَيْبَسُ** and **يَيْئَسُ** [482] (M), converting the **ي** that occurs in the *aor.* between the **ي** pronounced with Fatḥh and the [next] Fatḥh [into **ا**], for conformity with the **و** [above]. This [conversion], like [that in] such as **يَاجَلْ** and **يَاحَلْ** [above], is [found] only in the [*aor.*] pronounced with Fatḥh of the **ع**; and, says S, is not regular. The [initial] **ي** is not pronounced with Kasr here, as in **يِيَجَلْ** [above], because that is [done], in the *aor.* whose **ف** is a **و**, with the intent that the cause

for conversion of the , may appear, as before explained (R).

§. 702. When اِفْتَعَلَ is formed from [a v. whose ف is Hamza, as (IY)] أَكَلَ ate, أَمَرَ commanded, [and أَمِنَ was safe (IY),] in which case اِيتَكَلَ was eaten away, corroded, اِيتَمَرَ obeyed, [and اِيتَمَنَ trusted (IY),] are said (M), ى being substituted for the Hamza, because quiescent and preceded by the conj. Hamza pronounced with Kasr [661], on the principle of its conversion in ذَيْبٌ and بَيْرٌ [658, 685] (IY), the ى is not incorporated into the ت , [as اِتَّكَلَ and اِتَّمَرَ (IY),] as it is in اِتَّسَرَ [689, 699], because here it is not permanent (M). As for the اِفْتَعَلَ whose ف is Hamza, as اِيتَزَرَ put on, or wore, a waist-wrapper [below] and اِيتَمَنَ [above] its ى is not converted into ت , because, though conversion of its Hamza into ى is necessary with the conj. Hamza pronounced with Kasr [661], while the predicament of the unsound letter necessarily converted from Hamza is [the same as] that of the unsound letter [689, 699], not [as] that of Hamza [738], still, since the conj. Hamza is not inseparable, as when you say قَالَ اَتَّزَرَ pronounced] قَالَ اَتَزَرَ He said "Put on a waist-wrapper", in which case the Hamza returns to its o. f., the general rule of

Hamza [738] is observed (R). In *إِفْتَعَلَ* from *إِزَارٌ* you say *إِيتَزَرَ* [above] (Aud), by changing its Hamza into *ي* (Tsr); but change of the *ي* into *ت*, and incorporation of the latter into the *ت*, are not allowable, because this *ي* is a *subst.* for a Hamza, and is not original (Aud). The saying *إِتَزَرَ* [from *إِيتَزَرَ* (Tsr)] is wrong (M, Tsr): so says Sd (Tsr). And *إِتَكَّلَ* [661] from *أَكْلٌ* is anomalous (Aud), which IM indicates by his saying [in continuation of the passage quoted in §. 689] (Tsr) “But this [change of the *ف* of *إِفْتَعَالَ* into *ت* (A)], in the case of Hamza, as in [*إِتَكَّلَ* and *إِتَزَرَ* for (A)] *إِيتَكَّلَ* [and *إِيتَزَرَ*, with the *ي* changed into *ت*, and then incorporated into the *ت*, and similarly in *أُتِمِّنَ* for *أُتِئِمِّنَ* (661, 689), with the *و* changed into *ت* (A)], is anomalous” (IM): whereas in the Tashīl he makes it rare, saying “And sometimes it is changed, when it is a *subst.* for Hamza”; while the author of the Aud, in his Glosses on the Tashīl, says “The *ex.* of it in the *و* is the saying of some *أُتِئِمِّنَ*, and in the *ي* is the saying of some *إِتَزَرَ*” (Tsr). The chaste *dial.*, in all of that, makes no change [of the *ي* or *و* into *ت*], otherwise two transformations would occur consecutively (A). And the saying of Jh that *إِتَّخَذَ* took for himself [699] is *إِفْتَعَلَ* from *أَخَذٌ* is a mistake (Aud,

A), because, if it were from أَخَذَ , then اِتَّخَذَ without [change and (Sn)] incorporation would necessarily be said : so says Sd (Tsr, Sn), as [is stated] in the Tsr (Sn). Its [first (Sn)] ت is original ; [not a *subst.* for a ي substituted for a Hamza, as Jh asserts (Sn);] اِتَّخَذَ being from تَخَذَ [*took for himself* (Tsr)], like اِتَّبَعَ from تَبِعَ followed (Aud, A) : so says F (Tsr). Zj contests the existence of the crude-form تَخَذَ , asserting that تَخَذَ is *orig.* اِتَّخَذَ , [اِفْتَعَلَ from أَخَذَ , as Jh asserts ; or from وَخَذَ , as A transmits below (Sn) ;] but is cut down (A), the *conj.* Hamza and the ت of اِفْتَعَلَ being elided from it ; and, the ت , which is the ف of the word, being pronounced with Fath, and the خ with Kasr (Sn). But F's opinion is verified by their saying, transmitted by AZ, تَخَذَ , *aor.* يَتَخَذُ , *inf. n.* تَخَذَ [696A] (A), of the *conjug.* of تَعِبَ ; though the خ of the *inf. n.* is sometimes made quiescent : so says Fm in the Msb (Sn). Some [of the moderns (A)] hold اِتَّخَذَ to be an instance of the اِفْتَعَلَ whose ف is changed into ت (A, Tsr), according to the chastest *dial.* [689] (A), because أَخَذَ has a *dial. var.* وَخَذَ with , [699] (A, Tsr), in which case the ت is not original ; and, according to this, اِتَّخَذَ is said, like اِتَّعَدَ [689, 699] (Tsr). And, though this *dial.*

var. is rare, still the formation of اِتَّخَذَ in accordance with it, [i. e., as اِفْتَعَلَ from وَخَذَ (Sn),] is better [than making it اِفْتَعَلَ from اَخَذَ (Sn)], because they unequivocally lay down that اِتَّيَمَنَ [661] is a corrupt *dial. var.* (A). But [some of (R)] the Bdd [are reported to (Tsr)] allow conversion [of the ي into ت (R)] in the case of Hamza, [transmitting certain words (Tsr)] as [instances of that, vid. (Tsr)] اِتَّكَلَّ [661], اِتَّهَلَّ , اِتَّيَمَنَ (R, Tsr), اِتَّزَرَ (Tsr), and اِتَّسَى took example (R), whence the tradition اِتَّكَلَّ [661]: so in all the versions of the Muwaṭṭa (Tsr) on Tradition, by the Imām MIAN (HKh). And فَلْيَرَّ اَلَّذِي اَتَّيَمَنَ اَمَانَتَهُ II. 283.] *Then let him that hath been entrusted repay his trust* [658] is [reported to be (K)] anomalously read (R) by ‘Āṣim (K), with incorporation of the ي [in اَلَّذِي تَيَمَنَ] into the ت (K, B), by analogy to اِتَّسَرَ (K); but it is wrong, because the [ي (K)] converted from the Hamza is in the predicament of Hamza (K, B), and is therefore not incorporated [738] (B). And اِتَّزَرَ [above] is vulgar; and so is رِيَّا [685, 716] for رِيَّا [272, 658] (K).

THE , AND ى AS ع S.

§. 703. They are transformed, elided, or preserved (M). Transformation is alteration [697] of form (IY). The transformation occurring in the ع is by conversion, by transfer of the vowel and quiescence, or by elision. As for the first [mode], it has three divisions, conversion of , and ى into ا [684]; conversion of both into Hamza [683]; and conversion of one into the other, i. e., of , into ى [685], or the converse [686] (Jrb). The , and ى are converted into ا when they are mobile [below], and preceded by a letter pronounced, or virtually pronounced, with Fath [712, 714] (SH). IH's saying "mobile" [above] means "*orig.*", thus excluding such as ضَوْ *light* and شَيْ [658], when alleviated; and "permanently", to exclude such as جَوَزَات and بَيْضَات [240], according to the Banu Tamim (R), or rather Hudhail (MAR). They are then converted into ا for two reasons:—(1) that each of them is construed as equivalent to two vowels [697]; so that, if its own vowel and the vowel of the preceding letter be joined to it; four consecutive vowels are constructively combined in one word; and, that being deemed heavy, they avoid it by converting the , or ى into ا, in order that it may be homogeneous with the vowel of the preceding letter:

(2) that the , and ی , when mobile, are, each of them, equivalent to a letter of prolongation, and part of one [697], or to two letters of prolongation; the , pronounced with Fath, Kasr, and Damm being like a , and ا , a , and ی , and two , s, respectively; while the predicament of the ی is similar: and, the combination of unsound letters being deemed heavy, they convert the , or ی into ا , because this is a letter with which one is safe from any vowel [711] (Jrb). The cause for conversion of the mobile , and ی , preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, into ا is not very substantial, since they are converted into ا because deemed heavy; whereas, when the letter before them is pronounced with Fath, their heaviness is lightened, even if they also be mobile; while Fatha does not require ا to occur after it, as Damma requires و , and Kasra ی , since such as قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [below] are frequent, while such as قَيْلٌ and بُيْعٌ with Damm, and قَوْلٌ and بُوْعٌ with Kasr, of the ف are not to be found [713]: but, nevertheless, they, though lighter than all the sound letters, are converted into ا , because the large circulation of the unsound letters, of which they are the heaviest, allows them to be converted into that unsound letter which is lighter than they, vid. ا; and especially when they are heavy, by reason of the vowel; and when a cause for alleviating them, by conversion into ا , is ready at hand, through

the preceding letter's being pronounced with Fath, since Fathā is akin to ا [697]. And, from the infirmity of this cause, (1) they are converted into ا only when they are at the end, i. e., when ج s [719, 723, 728] ; or near the end, i. e., when ع s ; not when ف s, as in اَوْدُ^ف and اَيْلُ^ف [663, 683], although the vowel [on them here] is permanent after [its] supervention : because alleviation is more suitable to the final : (2) it is restrained from taking effect by the least accident, as when another [unsound] letter is there, which [by reason of its position as a ج] is worthier of conversion ; but is not converted, from the breach of some condition of its transformation, [e. g., that the preceding letter should be pronounced with Fath] : for, in that case, you do not convert the letter the cause of whose conversion exists, because of the non-conversion of the letter that, if the preceding letter were pronounced with Fath, as in رَوَى^ف *drew water, related* and لَوَى^ف *twisted*, would be worthier of conversion ; so that, [since the ج is not converted into ا] when the preceding letter is pronounced with Kasr, [as in طَوَى^ك *hungered* and حَيَى^ك *lived* (MAR),] the ع [also] is not converted into ا [728, 729], although the conditions of its conversion are combined. The weakness of this cause, then, being established, we say

that it is principally effective in the *v.* [667, 684 (condition 11, a), 711, 712], to which, because of its heaviness, alleviation is more suitable. And in the *v.* this transformation is of two kinds, (1) original, *vid.* where the و or ی is mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [684]: (2) conformable to the original, *vid.* where the و or ی is pronounced with Fath after a letter pronounced with Fath in the *tril. pret.*, which occurs in (a) the *aor.*, (a) *act.*, like يَخَافُ *fears* [697, 704] and يَهَابُ *reverences* [704]; (b) *pass.*, like يُخَافُ *is feared* and يُهَابُ *is revered*: (b) the *pret.* of two *conjugs.* in the augmented *tril.*, اَفْعَلٌ, as اَقَامَ *set upright* and اَبَانَ *separated*; and اِسْتَفْعَلَ, as اِسْتَقَامَ *appraised* and اِسْتَبَانَ *made plain*: and their *pass. aors.*, as يُقَامُ *is set upright* and يُبَانُ *is separated*, يُسْتَقَامُ *is appraised* and يُسْتَبَانُ *is made plain*. Only the *aor.* whose و or ی is [*orig.*] pronounced with Fath, [as يَخَافُ and يَهَابُ,] not the one whose و or ی is [*orig.*] pronounced with Damm, as يَقُومُ, or Kasr, as يَبِيعُ and يُقِيمُ, is conformable to the *tril. pret.* in this conversion, because the inducement to transfer [697], in the whole of that, whether the ع be pronounced with Fath, Damm, or Kasr, is imitation of the original by the *deriv.* in quiescence of the ع, together with indication of the mode of formation, which [indication] is not possible

with conversion of the whole into ا [below]. The *ns.* subjected to this transformation are only four sorts [714], (1, 2) two resembling the *v.*, that being regarded because of what we have mentioned, *vid.* that transformation is principally in the *v.*; and that this cause [of conversion into ا], not being strong, is more suitable to the *v.* :—(a) that [*tril. n.*] which is commensurable with the *v.*, as (a) بَاب and نَاب [278, 684], *orig.* بَوْب and نَيْب : (b) رَجُلٌ مَالٌ a *wealthy man* [278, 682, 683] and نَالٌ liberal, *orig.* مَوْلٌ and نَوْلٌ with Kasr of the ع; and similarly كَبْشٌ صَافٌ a *woolly ram* [278, 708] : (α) by its commensurability with the *v.* we mean here its equality with the *v.* in number of letters, and in special vowels, though it differ from the *v.* in the special augments and their places : so that مَفْعَلٌ [712, 714] is on the measure of يَفْعَلٌ, though its augment is not that of يَفْعَلٌ; and فَاعِلٌ [708] is commensurable with يَفْعَلٌ [343, 712, 714], though its augment is not that of يَفْعَلٌ, nor is the place of its augment that of the augment of يَفْعَلٌ : (β) the *tril. n.* is either unaugmented [711], or augmented [712] : (γ) as for the *quad.* and *quin.*, they are not commensurable with their *v.*, except the *cat.* of جَعْفَرٌ [392], as جَهْرٌ [374]; where the و, being co-ordinative [712], because the و and ي with three

rads. are only *aug.* [674, 675], is not transformed, in order that the formation of co-ordination may be preserved: (b) the *n.* containing a , or ى pronounced with Fath, when it is a regular *inf. n.* conformable to its *v.* in keeping its augments in the same relative positions as those of the *v.*, like اِقْوَامٌ and اِسْتَقْوَامٌ [338, 697, 699, 709, 714], in which case, by reason of its perfect correspondence to its *v.*, it is transformed in the same way as the latter, by transferring the vowel of the , and ى to the preceding letter, and converting them into | : (3, 4) two sorts of ultimate *pl.* [256], vid. the *cat.* of بَرَوَاتٌ [715], and the *cat.* of عَجَائِرُ [246, 683 (case 3), 717], which, though they do not resemble the *v.*, are subjected to the transformation mentioned, because of the | of the *pl.* in one of them, and the intention to distinguish in the other [708] (R). That [conversion into |] is [found] (Jrb) in (1) a *tril. n.*, as (a) نَابٌ and بَابٌ [above] (SH) : (b) كَبِشٌ صَافٌ (R) and رَجُلٌ مَالٌ [above], and لَاعٌ (M) cowardly, which is فَعِلٌ, like حَذِرٌ [348, 368], from لَاعٌ was cowardly, aor. يَلِيعُ; though ISk transmits لَعْتُ I was cowardly, aor. اَلَاعُ (IY) : (2) a *v.*, (a) *tril.*, as قَامٌ and بَاعٌ [684]: (b) conformable to the *tril.*, as اَقَامٌ [above] and اِسْتَقَامٌ offered for sale (SH), اِسْتَقَامٌ and اِسْتَبَانَ [above] (R) : (a) hence اِسْتَكَانَ [was humble,

submissive (H)], contrary to the opinion of most (SH), because it is *اِسْتَفْعَلَ* from *كَانَ* was (Jrb), meaning *came to have a being contrary to his being*, like *اِسْتَحَالَ* altered from state to state, except that *اِسْتَحَالَ* is general, applicable to every state, while *اِسْتَكَانَ* is peculiar to alteration from a particular *being*, vid. the contrary of *humility* and *submission*; or from *كَيْنٌ* clitoris, because it is in a most low and humble position, meaning *became like it in contemptibleness* (H): not *اِفْتَعَلَ* from *سَكُنٌ* quiescence (Jrb), with *ا* added for impletion of the Fatha (H), because [such] addition [of the letter of prolongation, as in *مُنْتَرَحٌ* (Jrb), whence

فَإَنْتَ مِنَ الْغَوَاثِلِ حِينَ تَرْمِي * وَ مِنْ ذَمِّ الرِّجَالِ بِمُنْتَرَحٍ

(H), by Ibrāhīm Ibnī Harma, lamenting his son, *Then thou from the calamities, when they shoot, and from the blame of men, art far removed* (Jh), i. e., *بِمُنْتَرَحٍ* (H),]

is improbable; and because they say *اِسْتِكَانَةٌ* (SH) for its *inf. n.* (Jrb); and, says F, *مُسْتَكِينٌ* for its *act. part*, as in the saying of Ibn Aḥmar

فَلَا تَصَلِّ بِمَطْرُوقٍ إِذَا مَا * سَرَى فِي الْقَوْمِ أَصْبَحَ مُسْتَكِينًا

Then put not up with a flabby man, who, whenever he journeys by night among the folk, is humble in the

morning; and also يَسْتَكِينُ [for its *aor.*] (H): (b) the *tril. v.* is sometimes conformable to the *tril.*, as يُخَافُ [above], يُقَالُ is said, and يُهَابُ [above], because the *aor.*, being a *deriv.* of the *pret.*, since it is the *pret.* with the addition of the aoristic letter [404], is transformed by reason of the transformation of the *pret.* (R): (3) a *n.* conformable to 2 (a) or 2 (b), as إِقَامَةٌ and اِسْتِقَامَةٌ [338, 697] (SH), conformable to أَقَامَ and اِسْتَقَامَ respectively (Jrb); and مَقَامٌ and مَقَامٌ [712] (SH), conformable to أَقَامَ and قَامَ respectively (Jrb): contrary to (1) قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [663, 684 (condition 1), 698] (SH), where the و and ي are quiescent (R, Jrb); طَائِيٌّ [298, 311, 684] and يَاجِلٌ [333, 674] being anomalous (SH): (a) we have mentioned that such as يَاجِلٌ is regular, though weak [684, 701]: (b) similarly some of the Hījāzīs regularly convert the quiescent و [and ي] in the *aor.* of such as اِتَّعَدَ and اِتَّسَرَ into ا [701]: (c) some of the Banū Tamīm regularly convert the [quiescent] و, in such as اَوْلَادٌ *children*, i. e. the *pl.* of that [*n.*] whose ف is a و, into ا, as اَوْلَادٌ: (d) when ي is mobilized with an uninflectional Fatha, and is final, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, Ṭayyi [regularly] pronounce the letter before the ي with Fath, in order that the ي may be converted into ا, [as بَقِيَ and رَضَا for بَقِيَ]

and رَضَى (349, 482, 724) (T, MAR),] because the final is the seat of alteration and alleviation ; (a) Fatha of the ى is stipulated [above], in order that it may be transferred to the preceding letter ; and its being uninflectional, in order that, not being adventitious, it may be taken into account ; and the preceding letter's being pronounced with Kasr, because, Kasr being the brother of quiescence, as is plain [from what is stated] in the chapter on the Concurrence of Two Quiescents [663, 664], it is as though you transferred the Fatha to a quiescent [697], as in [أَقَامَ for أَقْوَمَ] [above] : (b) a poet [of the Banù Baulān, of Tayyi (T),] says

تَسْتَوِقِدُ آلَ تَبَلٍ بِالْحَضِيضِ وَتَضْ * طَادَ نَفُوسًا بُنْتُ عَلَى الْكَرَمِ

(R), orig. بُنِيَتْ (T, MAR), the ن being pronounced with Fath, and the ى then changed into ا, which is elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents (MAR), *Making the arrows strike fire from the stones in the depressed ground at the bottom of the mountain, and hunting souls formed in honor* meaning that the حَرْبُ war [in the preceding verse] was doing that (T) : (c) if the ى be intermediate, because of the inseparable ة [266], as in نَاصَاً [349, 482] for نَاصِيَةً, [and بَادَاً for بَادِيَةً desert (T),] such conversion is rare, not regular (R) : (2) قَاوَلَ and بَايَعَ [683 (case 1, a)], قَاوَلَ conversed

together and تَبَايَعَ trafficked, one with another, قَوْمٌ established [730. A] and بَيَّنَّ explained, تَقَوَّمَ was established and تَبَيَّنَّ was plain (SH), i. e., the augmented *tril.* [v.] (R), where the letter before the [mobile] و and ي is quiescent (R, Jrb), but that quiescent is not a letter pronounced with Fath in the [unaugmented] *tril.* (R) : (a) قَاوَلَ and تَقَاوَلَ, etc., are not made to conform to the *tril.*, as are أَقَوَّمَ and أَبَيَّنَّ, اسْتَقَوَّمَ and اسْتَبَيَّنَّ, because we stipulated [above] that the quiescent before the mobile و or ي should be pronounced with Fath in the *tril.* *pret.* : (b) if you say “Do you not transform the *act. part.* in قَايَلٌ and بَايَعٌ by converting the و or ي into ا [683, 708, 712], notwithstanding that it is preceded by an ا, and is in the *n.*, where transformation is contrary to the general rule, it being generally in the *v.*?”, I say “The case is so, except that قَايَلٌ and بَايَعٌ have the sense, and government, of the *v.*, and belong to the *conjug.* of the [unaugmented] *tril.* [343], contrary to قَاوَلَ and بَايَعٌ” : (c) if you then say “But أَقَوَّمَ and اسْتَقَوَّمَ belong to other, [i. e.,] *non-tril.*, *conjugs.*”, I say “Yes, except that the letter before the unsound letter [here] is the one pronounced with Fath [before the unsound letter] in the *tril.* : (d) the [rule] intended is that, when the *deriv.* belongs to a *conjug.* other than that of the original, it needs, [as a qualification] for transformation, that the

quiescent before the unsound letter [in it] should be the letter pronounced with Fatḥ before the unsound letter in the original; but that, if the *deriv.* belong to the *conjug.* of the original, it is transformed, even though the quiescent [before the unsound letter in it] be not that [letter] pronounced with Fatḥ [before the unsound letter in the original], provided that the quiescent be an *l*, because of its excessive lightness: (e) as for transformation of قَوْمَ and بَيْنَ, تَقْوَمَ and تَبَيَّنَ, it would be more strange than transformation of قَاوَلَ and بَايَعَ, تَقَاوَلَ and تَبَايَعَ, because incorporation of the ع in the [first] two *conjug.* is necessary (R). Such as قَوْدُ and صَيْدُ [684], and [أَطَوَلَ, أَطَوَلَ, أَطَوَلَ, أَطَوَلَ] (R), [أَعْوَلَ] *wept, wailed*, أَجَوَدَ, أَخِيَلَتْ [It (the sky) became rainy (R)], أَغِيَمَتْ *It became cloudy*, and أَغِيَلَتْ [She suckled notwithstanding pregnancy (R)], are anomalous [711, 707] (SH); and similarly اسْتَصَوَّبَ *deemed right*, اسْتَرْوَحَ الرِّيحَ *smelt the odour*, and اسْتَحَوَّذَ [707]. AZ allows the *conjug.* of اِنْعَالُ and اِسْتِفْعَالُ to be treated as sound unrestrictedly, regularly, when they have no *tril. v.*, like اِسْتَنَوَّقَ [became a she-camel (MAR)]: but, according to S, such as اِسْتَنَوَّقَ also is anomalous, analogy requiring it to be transformed, for uniformity of the *conjug.*, as the *rel. ns.* سَائِفٌ [312] and خَائِلٌ [from سَيْفٌ *sword* and خَيْلٌ *horses*

[MAR)] are transformed, although no transformed *v.* comes from them, for uniformity of the *cat.* of فَاعِلٌ [683, 708]; and, since تَعِدُ [699], نَعِدُ, and أَعِدُ are made uniform [with يَعِدُ], this [opinion] is more probable. S. says that the whole of the anomalies mentioned have been heard transformed also, according to rule, except اسْتَحْوَذَ, اسْتَرْوَحَ, and أَغْيَلَتْ; and that there is nothing to prevent their transformation too, even if it have not been heard, because transformation is frequent, regular; while the only reason for not transforming these *vs.* is to indicate that the transformation in their like is not original, but for conformity with what is transformed (R). The و and ى are made quiescent, their vowel being transferred to the preceding letter, in such as يَقُولُ says and يَبِيعُ sells [697, 704, 721], because of their liability to confusion with the *conjug.* of يَخَافُ [below] and يَهَابُ (SH), if they were made to accord with the *pret.* in conversion of their unsound letter into ʔ (MASH). When the و and ى are mobile, and what precedes them is quiescent, analogy requires that they should not be transformed, because that [combination] is light: but, if that happen to be in a *v.* whose *o. f.* is transformed by quiescence of the ع [through conversion of و or ى into ʔ], or in a *n.* conformable to such a *v.*, the ع of that *v.* or *n.* is made quiescent in imitation of its

o. *f.*; and, after the quiescence, the vowel [of the ع] is transferred to that preceding quiescent, to notify the mode of formation [below], [i. e., the measure,] because the measures of the *v.* vary only through the vowels of the ع [482, 704]. This quiescence is principally in the *v.*, not the *n.*, because the *v.* is heavier (R). When the ع of the *v.* [712] is a , or ی preceded by a sound quiescent, the vowel of the ع, being deemed heavy on the unsound letter, must be transferred to the sound quiescent, as يَقْرُومُ *stands* and يَبِينُ *is plain*, orig. يَقْرُومُ and يَبِينُ with Damm of the , and Kasr of the ی, the vowel of the , and ی being transferred to the preceding quiescent, vid. the ق of يَقْرُومُ and the ب of يَبِينُ; so that the , and ی become quiescent (A). In the augmented *conjugs.* [also] of these *tril. vs.* unsound [in the ع], when the letter before the unsound letter is *orig.* quiescent, and is not an ا, و, or ی, you make the unsound [letter] quiescent, transferring its vowel to the quiescent; and that is regular in their speech, as أَبَانَ [below] and أَخَافَ [697], اسْتَرَاتِ *deemed tardy* and اسْتَعَاذَ *sought protection*: but, when the letter before the unsound [letter] is mobile, it is not altered, as اِخْتَارَ [706, 707], اِعْتَادَ *became accustomed*, and اِنْقَاسَ *was measureable* (S). And, when the vowels are transferred to the letter before the , and ی, then, (1) if the vowel be Fatha, the

و and ی are converted into ا , as يَخَافُ and يَهَابُ [728], because, when transformation of the *deriv.* in exactly the same way as the original is possible, it is more appropriate : (2) if the vowel be Kasra or Damma, their conversion into ا is not possible, because ا follows only Fatha : so that they remain unaltered, as يَقُومُ and يَبِيعُ [above]; except the و pronounced with Kasr, which is converted into ی , as يَطِيحُ [below] and يَقِيمُ [above], *orig.* يَطْوِجُ and يَقُومُ , because it becomes quiescent [and] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [685 (case 5)] (R). The ع [therefore], if homogeneous with the transferred vowel, [being a و when the vowel is Damma, or a ی when the vowel is Kasra (Sn),] is not altered by more than quiescence after the transfer, as above exemplified [in يَقُومُ and يَبِيعُ (Sn)] : (2) if not homogeneous with the vowel, is changed into a letter homogeneous with it, as (a) أَقَامَ and أَبَانَ [above], *orig.* أَقَامَ and أَبَانَ , where the ع , when the Fatha is transferred to the quiescent, remains not homogeneous with it; and is therefore converted into ا , because *orig.* mobile, and [now (Sn)] preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684] : (b) يَقِيمُ [above], *orig.* يَقُومُ , where the ع , when the Kasra is transferred to the quiescent, remains not homogeneous with it; and is therefore converted into ی , because quiescent, and preceded by a

letter pronounced with Kasr [685 (case 5)] (A). Although the *pret.* is the *o. f.* of the *aor.*, يَقْرُومُ and يَبِيعُ are not transformed in the same way as their *pret.*, on the plea that the , and ي , being mobile, and preceded by a letter constructively pronounced with Fath from regard to the *o. f.*, vid. the *pret.*, should be converted into ا , as يَقَامُ and يَبَاعُ , because, if so treated, they would be confounded with the *conjug.* of يَخَافُ [above] (R). And مَفْعُلٌ and مَفْعِلٌ are similar (SH), as مَعْرُونٌ and مَبِيتٌ [333] (Jrb); and so is مَفْعُولٌ [697, 714], as مَقْرُولٌ and مَبِيعٌ [347, 709] (SH). The *n.* conformable to the *v.* in this transfer is of two sorts, (1) the augmented *tril.* commensurable with the *v.* in the manner above mentioned under conversion of the , and ي into ا , while differing from the *v.* in an *aug.* letter [either] not used as an *aug.* in the *v.*, like the م of مَقَامٌ [712]; or used as an *aug.* in the *v.*, [but] mobilized with a vowel not used as its vowel in the *v.*, like [the ت of] تَبِيعٌ [712]: (a) مَفْعُولٌ [above] is *orig.* مَفْعِلٌ [347, 712], which is commensurable with يَفْعَلُ [436]; and, but for that, it would not be transformed: (b) as for the rest of the *pass. parts.*, they are commensurable with their *pass. vs.*, while differing [from them] in the initial م [347]: (2) a regular *inf. n.* equal to its *v.* in keeping its augments in the same relative positions as those of the *v.*, like

إِقَامَةٌ and اِسْتِقَامَةٌ [above] (R). In [such] *vs.*, and *ns.* connected with *vs.* [330], where the , and ي , when ع s, are mobile, and the preceding letter is quiescent, [but] mobile in the *o. f.*, [vid. the *tril. pret.*,] the vowel of the ع , even if it be Fathā, is transferred to the preceding letter for observance of the mode of formation [above] in the *v.*, or *n.* connected with the *v.*, [not for distinction between the *cats.* of , and ي ,] because, in such [words], regard for the mode of formation is possible in those pronounced with Fath of the ع , as in those pronounced with Damm or Kasr; contrary to [those words which have] the [ع *orig.*] pronounced with Fath and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as قَالَ and بَاع [705]. For here the ف is quiescent; so that, when it is mobilized with Fath, and the ع is made quiescent, that [Fathā on the ف] is known to be the vowel of the ع: and here the distinction between the *cats.* of , and ي is not observed at all, because that is observed only in case of inability to observe the mode of formation, as [will be] explained [705]; but in the *pass. part.* [709] that is observed. Do you not see يَطِيحُ [above], which, according to Khl, is *orig.* يَطْوَحُ [704]? And you say مَقَامٌ and مَقَامٌ [above], مَقِيمٌ and مَعُونٌ; and, in the *cat.* of ي , يَبِيعُ and يَبَاعُ [above], يَبِيعُ *sleeps at midday* and يَبِيعُ ,

and مَقَالٌ *sleeping at midday* and مَقِيلٌ [333]. Thus you see how, when they are obliged to transform the ع, because the words mentioned are conformable to their o. fs., i. e., the *tril. pret.*, they intend, in both sorts, [v. and n.,] to explain the mode of formation by transferring the Damma, Kasra, or Fatha to the preceding letter; and do not mind confusion of the *cat.* of , with that of ي (R. on the Preterite). This transfer has conditions:— (1) that the quiescent, to which the vowel is transferred, be sound, there being no transfer to it if (a) an unsound letter, as in قَاوَلٌ and بَايَعٌ [above], عَوَقٌ *hindered* and بَيَّنَ: (b) a Hamza, as in يَأْيَسُ *aor.* of أَيْسَ *despaired*, because it is liable to transformation by conversion into ء [for alleviation; so that it is, as it were, an ء, while ء does not receive a vowel (Sn)]: (a) that is categorically declared in the Tashil by IM, who does not except the Hamza here, because he reckons it among the unsound letters [697], so that it is excluded by his saying “sound”: (2) that the v. be not (a) a v. of wonder [707], as in مَا أَبَيَّنَ الشَّيْءَ *How plain the thing is!* and مَا أَقْوَمَهُ *How upright it is!*, and أَقْوَمَ بِهِ and أَبَيَّنَ بِهِ, because they make it conform to the n. corresponding to it in measure and indication of *excellence*, vid. the أَفْعَلُ of superiority [351, 707] (A), which is not transformed, because it is a n. resembling the *aor.* in measure and

augment [712]: (a) the [v. of wonder] commensurable with the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority is only *مَا أَفْعَلَهُ*, not *أَفْعَلِيهِ*; but the latter is made to accord with *مَا أَفْعَلَهُ*: (b) Frd says "AH transmits from Ks that transfer is allowable in [the v. of] wonder, such as *أَقْوَمُ بِهِ*, where you say *أَقَمِ بِهِ*; but it is weak" (Sn): (b) reduplicated in the ل, as in *أَبْيَضَ* was white and *أَسْوَدَ* was black [707], which sort they do not transform, lest one paradigm be mistaken for another, because, if *أَبْيَضَ* were subjected to the transformation mentioned, *بَاقٍ* would be said, which one might suppose to be *فَاعَلَ* [with Fath of the ع (Sn)] from *بَضَافَةٌ* delicacy of complexion: (c) unsound in the ل, as in *أَهْوَى* fell down, where transfer is not introduced, lest two transformations occur consecutively. And IM in the Tashīl adds another condition, vid. that the v. do not agree [in sense (Sn)] with *أَفْعَلَّ* [by indicating constitution or color (Sn)], as in *يَعْوَرُ* and *يَصِيدُ*, aor. of *عَوَّرَ* and *صَيَّدَ* [707]; and similarly their variations, as *أَعْرَضَهُ* *اللَّهُ* God blinded him of one eye: but here he dispenses with the mention of it, seemingly by reason of its previous mention [by implication, not explicitly (Sn),] in his saying "But the ع of *فَعَلَّ* and *فَعِلَّ*, when possessed of *أَفْعَلَّ* is sounded true" [684 (conditions 7 and 8, a)],

since the cause [of the sounding true, both here and there (Sn),] is one (A), vid. conformity with **إِنْفَعَلَ** (Sn). The **و** and **ي** are elided (SH), (1) necessarily, in two positions, (a) where quiescence of the final happens to be necessitated by (α) attachment of the *pron.* (Jrb) in such as **قُلْتُ** *I said* and **بَعْتُ** *I sold* [403, 697], **قُلْنَ** *They [fem.] said* and **بَعْنَ** *They [fem.] sold*: (α) the initial is pronounced with Kasr, if the **ع** be [either] a **ي**, [as in **بَعْتُ** (Jrb);] or [a **و**, (Jrb)] pronounced with Kasr, [as in **خِفْتُ** (Jrb):] and with Damm in other cases (SH), as in **قُلْتُ** [403, 484, 626, 705] (Jrb): (β) this, however, is not done by them in **لَسْتُ** *I am not*, [which, notwithstanding that it belongs to the *conjug.* of **فَعَلَ** with Kasr of the **ع** (456, 707), does not have the **ل** pronounced with Kasr (R),] because it resembles the *p.* [403] (SH) in aplasticity (Jrb): for, since it is aplastic [447], the Kasra is elided as forgotten, and is not transferred to the letter before the **ي**; so that **لَيْسَ** becomes like **لَيْتَ** [516, 533] (R): (γ) for the same reason they make the **ي** quiescent [707] (SH), i. e., do not convert it into **ا**, because that is a variation, as is transfer of the vowel of the **ي** to the preceding letter; so that, since the *v.* is aplastic, it is not varied by conversion or transfer, but the vowel is elided as forgotten (R): (b) apocopation, as

in *لَمْ يَقُلْ* *did not say* and *لَمْ يَبِعْ* *did not sell* [697]; or quasi-apocopation, as (Jrb) in *قُلْ* *say* and *بِعْ* *sell* [663, 697], because they are [*derivs.* (Jrb)] from *تَقُولُ* and *تَبِيعُ* [428, 431] (SH), and therefore do not differ from them in Damma or Kasra [of the ف] (Jrb): (b) in [such as (Jrb)] *إِقَامَةٌ* and *إِسْتِقَامَةٌ* [above] (SH), *orig.* *إِقْوَامٌ* and *إِسْتِقْوَامٌ* [697], where they convert the ع into ا for conformity with *أَقَامَ* and *إِسْتَقَامَ* [above]; and, since two ا s, the ا that is [converted from] the ع, and the *aug.* ا, then concur, the first is elided (Jrb): (α) what IH mentions as to elision of the ا converted from the ع, or ع is the opinion of Akh [338]; while, according to KhI and S, the elided is the *aug.*, as they say on the ع of *مَفْعُولٌ* [709]: but the saying of Akh is more suitable, by analogy to other cases where two quiescents concur [663] (R): (b) some Commentators state that the mention of *إِقَامَةٌ* and *إِسْتِقَامَةٌ* is a repetition; but the answer is that they are mentioned above because of the conversion of the ع into ا, and here because of the elision (Jrb): (2) allowably, in such as (a) *سَيِّدٌ* and *مَيِّتٌ* [251, 635 (case 7, a, α)] (SH), which then remain *سَيِّدٌ* and *مَيِّتٌ*, with a single ع (MASH); the second ع being elided from them for alleviation, because of the combination of two ع s and a Kasra (Jrb): the poet [‘Adī Ibn

ArRa'lá alGhassānī (Jsh)] says, [combining مَيِّت and مَيِّت in one verse (Jh),]

لَيْسَ مَنْ مَاتَ فَاسْتَرَحَ بِمَيِّتٍ * إِنَّمَا الْمَيِّتُ مَيِّتُ الْأَحْيَاءِ

(Jh, IY) *He that has died, and taken his rest, is not really dead: the really dead is only the dead of the living, i. e., is only he that is living, while his state is like that of the dead (Jsh):* (b) كَيَّنُونَهُ [331] and قَيَّلُونَهُ sleeping at midday (SH), with Fath of the ع (MASH): (a) this requires consideration (R, Jrb), because elision is allowable in such as سَيِّدٌ, necessary in such as كَيَّنُونَهُ [below] (R); since *ns.* like كَيَّنُونَهُ and قَيَّلُونَهُ have no *o.f.* used, from which they might be abbreviated (Jrb); except [extraordinarily (Jrb)] in [poetic license, as (R)]

يَا لَيْتَ أَنَا ضَمْنَا سَفِينَةً * حَتَّى يَعُودَ الْوَصْلُ كَيَّنُونَهُ

[below] (R, Jrb) *O would that we and the beloved were so placed that a boat held us, to the end that union might return in being!*, كَيَّنُونَهُ being in the *acc.* as a *sp.* (Jsh): (b) there is no dispute that كَيَّنُونَهُ is altered from its *o.f.*, because there is no فَعْلُولُهُ [331] in their language, except extraordinarily, like صَيَّفُونَهُ *swerving, deflection*, [an *inf. n.* of صَافَ السَّهْمُ عَنِ الْهَدَفِ *The arrow swerved, or deflected, from the butt*, *aor.* يَصِيفُ (Jh, KF)]: but the BB say that it is altered from كَيَّنُونَهُ [331], the ع being

elided, as is proved by its reversion in *حَتَّى يَعُودَ الْحَجَّ* [above], and by the existence of *حَيْتَعُورٌ* like *فَيَعْلُولُ* [398]; while the KK say that it is altered by changing the Damma of its initial into Fathā, being *orig.* *كُونُونَ* [below], like *سُرُجُوجَةٌ* *nature*, which is weak, because, if it were so, there would be no reason for changing the , into *ي* , and the Damma into Fathā (Jrb): (c) according to S, such as *سَيِّدٌ* and *مَيِّتٌ* are *فَيَعْلُ* with Kasr of the *ع* [251, 373, 685, 716]; while *كَيْنُونَةٌ* and *قِيلُولَةٌ* are *فَيَعْلُ* and *كَيْنُونَةٌ* and *قِيلُولَةٌ* , with Fath of the *ع* , on the measure of *عَيْضُبُورٌ* [old woman (KF)], except that the *ج* is repeated, and the *س* inseparable: (d) since neither *فَيَعْلُ* with Kasr of the *ع* , nor the *inf. n.* *فَيَعْلُولَةٌ* [331], is found in any formation other than the hollow, some judge *سَيِّدٌ* and *مَيِّتٌ* to be *orig.* *فَيَعْلُ* with Fath of the *ع* , like *صَيَّرٌ* [373]; but pronounced with Kasr irregularly, like *بَصَرِيٌّ* with Kasr of the *ف* , and *دُھَرِيٌّ* with Damm [311]: (α) S, however, says that, if they were [*orig.*] pronounced with Fath of the *ع* , they would not be altered; [but would be] like *هَيَّيَانٌ* and *تَيَّحَانٌ* [390]: and the use of [*فَيَعْلُ*] would be commonly allowable, whereas no *فَيَعْلُ* has been heard from the hollow, except *عَيْنٌ* , as *مَا بَالُ* [251]: (e) Fr, also endeavouring to avoid the formation *فَيَعْلُ* with Kasr of the *ع* , says that *جَيِّدٌ* [251] is

orig. جَوِيدٌ , like طَوِيلٌ [348] ; but that, the و , [pronounced with Kasr] being transferred to the position of the ي , and the [quiescent] ي to the position of the و , [as جَيُودٌ ,] the و , is converted into ي , and [has the quiescent ي] incorporated [into it] : (α) he says that طَوِيلٌ is anomalous, this transformation, says he, becoming regular in the assimilate ep., because it is like, and has the same government as, the v. ; whereas, if فَعِيلٌ be not an ep., like عَوِيلٌ a *wailing*, it is not subjected to this transformation : (f) he says that كَيْنُونَةٌ and the like are orig. [كُونُونَةٌ , as فَعْلُونَةٌ ,] like بُهْلُولٌ [252, 390] and صُنْدُوقٌ chest, coffer : but that, since most of these inf. ns. are scions of ي , as صارَ became, inf. n. صَيْرُورَةٌ [331], and سَارَ journeyed, inf. n. سَيْرُورَةٌ , they pronounce the ف with Fath, so that the ي may be preserved, because the cat. belongs to ي [below] ; and then make the scions of و , conform to those of ي , converting the [first] و , [in كُونُونَةٌ] into ي in كَيْنُونَةٌ , for conformity with سَيْرُورَةٌ : (α) this is as he says that قُضَاةٌ [247] is orig. قُضَى , like غُزَى [247] ; but that, deeming the double ع heavy, they make it single, and put the ʾ as a compensation for the elided letter : (g) the saying of S, in all of this, is more probable, vid. that some predicaments are peculiar to some cats. : so that there is nothing objectionable

in peculiarity of *فَاعِلٌ* with Kasr of the ع to the hollow, and of *فَاعِلٌ* with Fath of the ع to [the *n.*] other than the hollow; and since, according to Fr, putting the *ى* [of the *ep.* *فَاعِلٌ*] before the ع, and, according to those others, transfer of *فَاعِلٌ* with Fath to *فَاعِلٌ* with Kasr, may be peculiar to the hollow, there is nothing to prevent the formation *فَاعِلٌ* from being peculiar to it: and similarly there is nothing objectionable in peculiarity of *فَاعِلَةٌ* [331] to the *inf. n.* of the hollow, or *فَعْلَةٌ* [247] with Damm of the ف to the *pl.* of the defective; while the saying of Fr that they make *ى* predominate over و, because the *cat.* belongs to *ى* [above], is of no account, since *inf. ns.* of this measure are rare, and, in those which occur, the scions of و, like *كَيْنُودَةٌ* [above], *قَيْدُودَةٌ* leading, and *حَيْلُودَةٌ* intervening, are near, or equal, in number to the scions of *ى*: (*h*) the reason why elision is necessary in such as *كَيْنُودَةٌ* and *سَيْرُورَةٌ*, contrary to *سَيْدٌ* and *مَيْتٌ*, is that the extreme number of letters reached by a *n.* through augmentation is seven [368], while these contain six, to which the *ë* of feminization is invariably attached; so that, since alleviation is allowable in what has fewer letters, like *سَيْدٌ*, it is necessary in what has many, like *كَيْنُودَةٌ*: (3) rarely, in *فَاعِلَانٌ*, as *رَيْحَانٌ* sweet basil for *رَيْحَانٌ*, orig. *رَبْوَحَانٌ*

from رَّح (R). The , and ى are preserved in other cases, vid. where the causes of transformation and elision are (1) absent (M), as in قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ [above], and what resembles them (IY) : (2) present, except that something intervenes, which prevents the execution of their behest, as in صَوَّرَ [684 (condition 11, d), 711] and حَيَّدَى [272, 684], جَوَّلَانَ [331, 684 (condition 11, a), 698, 711] and حَيَّكَانَ [inf. n. of حَاكَ walked, swaying his shoulders, aor. يَحْكِيكَ (IY)], قُبَّأَ and خَيْلَاءَ [273] (M). Such as صَوَّرَى and حَيَّدَى [above], حَيَّوَانَ [684 (condition 10, a, b), 698] and جَوَّلَانَ [and حَيَّكَانَ], are [treated as] sound, (1) to notify, by their mobility, the mobility of what they signify; while مَوَّتَانَ is [conformable to حَيَّوَانَ (Jrb)], because it is its *opp.* [698] (SH) : (a) this is marvellous : for the mobility of the word is not akin to the mobility of what it signifies, except by *lit.* homonymy, since the meaning of mobility in the word is that you put after the consonant something of , or ى or ا [697], as is the well-known [theory] ; and, the mobility of the signified being leagues away from this, how can one of them notify the other ? (R) : or (2) because they are not conformable [331] (SH), like إِقَامَةٌ and اسْتِقَامَةٌ [above] (R), to the v. (R, Jrb), which is obvious (Jrb) ; nor agreeable (SH) with it in mobility and quiescence (Jrb), i. e., commensurable with it, like مَقَامٌ and مَقَامٌ

[above], بَابٌ and دَارٌ [711] (R). Moreover جَوْلَانٌ and غَلِيَانٌ are of the same formation as نَزَوَانٌ and غَلِيَانٌ [331, 719], in which the unsound letter is [treated as] sound, though it is a ج, which is weak, susceptible of alteration; so that the ع, which is stronger than the ج, because protected [by the subsequent letters of the word], should *a fortiori* be [treated as] sound. Similarly قُوبَاءٌ and خَيْلَاءٌ are not transformed, because of their remoteness from the formations of the *v.*, by reason of the two | s of femininization at their end; and, even if no | of femininization occurred at their end, their formation would still necessitate their being treated as sound, like عَيْبَةٌ [711] and رَجُلٌ سَوْلَةٌ *an inquisitive man*, because of its remoteness from the formations of the *v.* (IY).

§. 704. The *tril.* *vs.* unsound in the ع, (1) if the ع be , , are of three kinds فَعَلَلٌ, فَعِلَلٌ, and فَعَلٌ [482], like the sound: (2) if the ع be ي, are of two kinds, فَعَلٌ and فَعِلٌ; not فَعَلٌ [705], as though they discarded this formation in this *cat.* [of the hollow], because of that conversion of the ي into , [686 (case 1)] which would ensue in the *aor.* (IY). One word of this *conjug.*, however, does occur in the ي *cat.* of the hollow, vid. هَيَّوْا الرَّجُلَ meaning *The man became possessed of goodly appearance* [705, 707], the ي of which is not converted into | in the *pret.*, because, if it were, then transformation of the *aor.*, by

transfer of the vowel of the *ى* to the letter before it and conversion of the *ى* into *و*, would be necessary, because the *aor.* follows the *pret.* in [undergoing] transformation; so that you would say هَاءَ, *aor.* يَهْوُ, and thus transition from a lighter to a heavier [formation] would be produced (R on the Preterite). The formations of the *v.*, (1) in the [cat. of] *و*, are on [the measure of] (a) فَعَلَ, *aor.* يَفْعُلُ as قَالَ, *aor.* يَقُولُ [697, 703] (M); not فَعِلُ with Kasr, as [sometimes] occurs in the sound [482], lest, the *و*, becoming *ى* [685 (case 5)], the scions of *و*, be confounded with those of *ى* (IY): (b) فَعِلَ, *aor.* يَفْعَلُ, as خَانَ, *aor.* يَخَانُ [697, 703] (M); not يَفْعِلُ with Kasr, except in two words, طَاحَ, *aor.* يَطِيحُ, and تَاءَ, *aor.* يَتِيهُ [below] (IY): (c) فَعَلَ, *aor.* يَفْعُلُ, as طَالَ, *aor.* يَطُولُ; and جَادَ, *aor.* يَجُودُ; i. e., *became tall*, and *bountiful*: (2) in the [cat. of] *ى*, are on [the measure of] (a) فَعَلَ, *aor.* يَفْعَلُ, as بَاعَ, *aor.* يَبِيعُ [697, 703]: (b) فَعِلَ, *aor.* يَفْعِلُ, as هَابَ, *aor.* يَهَابُ [703]. And يَفْعِلُ with Kasr does not occur in the [cat. of] *و*, nor يَفْعُلُ in the [cat. of] *ى* [below]. But Khl asserts that طَاحَ *perished*, *aor.* يَطِيحُ [703], and تَاءَ *lost the way*, *aor.* يَتِيهُ, are فَعِلَ, *aor.* يَفْعِلُ [above], like حَسِبَ, *aor.* يَحْسِبُ [482, 700]; both being from *و*, because they say طَوَّحْتُ *I caused to*

perish and تَوَهَّتْ I caused to lose the way, and هُوَ أَطْوَحُ مِنْهُ He is more apt to perish than he and أَتَوْهُ more apt to lose the way [below] (M). And [IY agrees that], since they are from و , their pret. is فَعَلَ with Kasr of the ع , (1) because you say طَحْتُ I perished and تَهْتُ I lost the way, with Kasr of their ف ; whereas, if their pret. were فَعَلْ , then طَحْتُ [below] and تَهْتُ would be said, with Damm ; and, since that is not said, they are proved to be of the class of خَفْتُ [403, 484] : (2) because the aor. of فَعَلَ , in the cat. of و , is only يَفْعُلُ [above] with Damm ; so that, since they say يَطِيحُ and يَتِيهُ , what we have said is proved. The o. f. of يَطِيحُ and يَتِيهُ is يَطُوحُ [703] and يَتَوُّهُ , the Kasra being transferred from the و to the preceding letter ; so that, the و being quiescent, and the preceding letter pronounced with Kasr, the و is converted into ي [685 (case 5)] (IY). But, according to him that says طَيَّحْتُ and تَيَّهْتُ , they are [from ي (below), being فَعَلْ , aor. يَفْعُلُ (IY),] like بَاعَ , aor. يَبِيعُ [above] (M). IH says that (R) طَاحَ , aor. يَطِيحُ , and تَآهُ , aor. يَتِيهُ , according to those who say طَوَّحْتُ and أَطْوَحُ , and تَوَهَّتْ and أَتَوْهُ [above], are anomalous (SH), on the ground that the pret. is فَعَلَ with

Fath of the ع , the *aor.* of which, in the hollow belonging to the *cat.* of , , is pronounced only with Damm of the ع (R); or are intermixtures [of *dial. vars.*] (SH), as [is added] in some MSS of the SH, which seems to have been appended not by IH, but by somebody who, fancying, from regard to what is [stated] in the Jh, that طَاح , *aor.* يَطُوح , is said, takes the *pret.* from طَاح , *aor.* يَطُوح , belonging to the *cat.* of , , and the *aor.* from طَاح , *aor.* يَطِيح , belonging to the *cat.* of ي [above]. But the يَطُوح mentioned by Jh has not been heard: and, if it were authentic, طَاح , *aor.* يَطِيح , would not be compounded [of two *dial. vars.*]; but طَاح , *aor.* يَطُوح , would be like قَالَ , *aor.* يَقُولُ; and طَاح , *aor.* يَطِيح , like بَاع , *aor.* يَبِيعُ [above]. Nor is what IH says about anomalousness of any account, since, if طَاح were like قَالَ , then طُحْتُ [above], like قُلْتُ [403, 703, 705], would be said, with Damm of the ف , which has not been heard; and it is more proper that, so far as possible, the [form of a] word should not be charged to anomalousness (R on the Aorist). And [يَفْعُلُ with] Damma on the [ع when a] ي occurs in يَهَيُّو *aor.* of هَيُّو [above] (R on the Preterite)

§. 705. Upon attachment of the [mobile] *pron.* of the *ag.*, [vid. the ت of the 1st or 2nd *pers.*, and the like

(IY),] they transmute *فَعَلَ* , [when it is] from [the *cat.* of (IY)] , into *فَعَلَّ* ; and, [when it is] from [the *cat.* of (IY)] *ي* , into *فَعِلَّ* : and then the Damma and Kasra are transferred to the *ف* , [after removal of the vowel *orig.* belonging to it (IY);] so that *قُلْتُ* and *قُلْنِ* , *بَعْتُ* and *بِعْنِ* [403, 703] are said (M). If you say “Why do you not assert that the *o. f.* of *قَامَ* and *قَالَ* is *فَعَلَ* with Damm of the *ع* , and dispense with the trouble of altering [the *conjug.*]?” , one says [in reply] “That would not be correct, because *فَعَلَ* occurs only *intrans.* [432, 484]; whereas you say *عَدْتُ الْمَرِيضَ* *I visited the sick* and *زَرْتُ الصَّدِيقَ* *I visited the friend*, so that you find *فَلْتُ* to be [sometimes] *trans.*” (IY). IH’s saying about “the *conjug.* of *سُدْتُ*” [484] is an answer to the objection that *سُدْتُ* *I ruled him* and *قُلْتُ* *I said it* are *orig.* *سَوْدْتُ* and *قَوْلْتُ* , with Damm of the *ع* , as is the opinion of Ks [below]; the Damma of the *ع* being transferred to the *ف* , and the *ع* [then] elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents; so that *فَعَلَ* does occur *trans.* : and the answer is a denial that they are *orig.* pronounced with Damm of the *ع* , because the unsound, when its case is dubious, is made to accord with the sound ; while no *فَعَلَ* with Damm occurs *trans.* in the sound, so that they are *orig.* with Fath of the *ع*

[704]. The learned differ about the manner of the transition [from *فَعَلْتُ*] to that [form *فَلْتُ*]. Some say that *سُدْتُ* and *بِعْتُ* are *orig.* *سَوْدْتُ* and *بَيَعْتُ*, with Fath of the ع; but that, since it is known that the ع would be elided, because of the concurrence of two quiescents [663], upon its conversion into ! [684, 703], and the *cat.* of و, would [then] not be distinguishable from that of ي, [*فَعَلْتُ* being, in either *cat.*, reduced to *فَلْتُ*,] they transmute the former into *فَعَلْ* with Damm, and the latter into *فَعِلْ* with Kasr; and then the vowel of the unsound letter is transferred to the ف, and the ع elided because of the concurrence of two quiescents; so that *سُدْتُ* and *بِعْتُ* are said (Jrb on the Preterite). This is the opinion of many [described by R in §. 484 as “S and the majority of the GG,”] and among them Ks [above]; and is adopted by [Z in the M, and] IM in the Tashīl (A). But IH refutes this by his saying “not because of transfer” [484], meaning “not because of transfer from the ع, as some mention”, since that would entail transfer from one *conjug.* to another differing from it in form, as is obvious; and in sense, because of the difference in the meanings [484] of the *conjug.* [*فَعَلْ*, *فَعِلْ*, and *فَعَلْ*]: and he points out that the Damm and Kasr are “for explanation [of the v. as one] of the scious of the و,” [484] and ي,

respectively (Jrb). What is meant by “scions of , [or ى (Jrb)]” is (Jrb, Sn) its *derivs.* (Sn), [i. e.,] the unsound [words] belonging to the *cat.* of , or ى (Jrb), [here] meaning the words whose ع is , [or ى] (Sn). His argument is that the , and ى , being mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, are converted into ! [684, 703] and elided [663]; and afterwards the ف is pronounced with Damm in the *cat.* of , , and Kasr in that of ى , as an indication of them, so that no breach [of formation] may occur. The reason why the earlier [authorities] venture upon the objectionable [theory of transmutation above] mentioned is that, seeing the Arabs make no distinction, in خَفْتُ and هَبْتُ [403, 703], between the , and ى , they say that, if the vowel were for explanation [of the *v.* as one] of the scions of , , Damm would be necessary in خَفْتُ : but, in reply to that, IH says that they pronounce [the ف] with Kasr in خَفْتُ for “explanation of the mode of formation” [484]. His argument is that indication of the mode of formation is more important than explanation [of the *v.* as one] of the scions of , or ى , because the first pertains to the sense, and the second to the form : but that, since indication of the mode of formation is not possible for them in قُلْتُ and بَعْتُ , from fear of missing the object altogether, because, if they pronounced the ف here with Fath, this would not indicate

the vowel of the ع , and moreover they would also omit the explanation [of the *v.* as one] of the scions of , or ی ; contrary to خَفْتُ and هَبْتُ , which the Kasra shows to be *orig.* pronounced with Kasr of the ع , so that here they observe the explanation of the mode of formation (Jrb). And [what] we say [is this]:—The , in قَوْلَ [403], طَوَّلَ , and خَوَّفَ , and the ی in بَيَّعَ and هَيَّبَ , being mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, is converted into ا [684, 703]; so that they become قَالَ , طَالَ , and خَانَ , and بَاعَ and هَابَ : and, while the ا remains, it is impossible to notify the mode of formation in these *conjugs.*, and that they are *orig.* [on the measure of] فَعَلَ [704], فَعُلَ , and فَعِلَ ; because the ا must be preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath ; but, when the mobile *nom. prons.* are attached to them, the ا must be made quiescent, for the reason known [20, 403, 607, 692]; and, the ا being then elided in all of them, because of the two quiescents [663], what prevented the notification of the measure, i. e., the ا , ceases to exist ; so that, after its elision, they intend to notify the mode of formation in every one of them, because the formation of the *v.* is, as much as possible, to be retained and observed ; and that is realized by vocalizing the ن with a vowel like what was on the ع in the *o. f.*, because the variation in the measures of the *tril. v.* is only through the vowels of the ع [482, 704] : but,

this notification not being possible in **فَعَلَ** with Fatḥh of the **ع** , as **قَوَّلَ** and **بَيَّعَ** , where the vowels of the **ب** and **ع** are alike, they omit it ; and notify the mode of formation in **فَعِلَ** and **فُعِلَ** only : so that in **فَعِلَ** , as **خَانَ** and **هَبَّابَ** , they say **خَفْتُ** and **هَبْتُ** [721], equalizing the *cats.* of **و** , and **ي** [in Kasr of the **ف**], because the important [object] is to notify the mode of formation ; and in **فُعِلَ** , as **طَالَ** , they say **طُلْتُ** [721], the Damma being for explanation of the mode of formation, not for explanation of the [*v.* as a scion of] **و** , because of what we have [just] mentioned, and [because] in this *conjug.* no hollow [*v.*] belonging to the *cat.* of **ي** occurs, which they might equalize with the *cat.* of **و** , in Damm [of the **ف**], as they equalize the two [*cats.* in Kasr] in [the *conjug.* of] **فَعِلَ** , as **خَفْتُ** and **هَبْتُ** [above], except **هَيَّوْ** [704], the **ي** of which is not converted into **ا** , as we mentioned : and, since they have finished notifying the mode of formation in the *conjug.* of **فَعِلَ** and **فُعِلَ** , while the like of that [notification] is not possible in **فَعَلَ** , they intend in its case to notify the *cats.* of **و** , and **ي** , and the distinction between them, as the saying goes **إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ خَلٌّ فَكَوْنُ** *If there be not any vinegar, then wine* ; so that, after elision of the **ا** because of the two quiescents, they import Damma into **قَالَ** , putting it in place of the Fatḥha [on the **ف**], and similarly Kasra

into *بَاعَ* , in order that the first may indicate the , , and the second the *ى* (R on the Preterite). Mz asserts that they transmute *بَاعَ* and *قَامَ* into *بِيعَ* and *قُومَ* , as they transmute in *بِعْتُ* and *قُمْتُ* [above] (IY). And Akh told us that some of the Arabs say *كَيْدٌ زَيْدٌ يَفْعَلُ* *Zaid was near doing* and *مَا زَيْدٌ زَيْدٌ يَفْعَلُ ذَاكَ* *Zaid has not ceased doing that*, meaning *زَالَ* and *كَادَ* (S). But [Z says that] they do not transmute without the [mobile] *pron.* [of the *ag.*] (M), because *بِيعَ* and *قُومَ* would be mistaken for the *pass.* in *زَيْدٌ يَفْعَلُ* *Zaid was sold* and *قَوْلٌ الْقَوْلُ* *The saying was said*, in the *dial.* of those who say that [436, 706] (IY); except in the sayings *كَيْدٌ يَفْعَلُ كَذَا* and *مَا زَيْدٌ يَفْعَلُ ذَاكَ* [above] transmitted from some of the Arabs (M), whence

وَكَيْدٌ ضِبَاعُ الْقَفِّ يَا كُلْنَ جُنَّتِي * وَكَيْدٌ خِرَاشٌ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ يَيْتَمُ

And the hyenas of the high ground, or of AlKuff [a valley of AlMadīna (Bk)], were near devouring my body, and Khirāsh was near being fatherless after that, which As says that he heard some one recite. For *كَادَ* is *فَعَلَ* [463, 626], and so is *زَالَ* , that being proved by the *aor.* *يَكَادُ* [482] and *يَزَالُ* [447]: but they transfer the Kasra from the *ع* to the *ف* , after eliding the vowel of the *ف* , so that the word becomes *كَيْدٌ* and *زَيْدٌ*; and

they do not fear its being mistaken for فُعِلَ, because both [vs.] are *intrans.* (IY).

§. 706. When the ع of the *pret.*, [either] *tril.*, like قَالَ [in the *cat.* of و (Tsr)] and بَاعَ [in that of ى (Tsr)], or on [the measure of (Tsr)] اِنْفَعَلَ or اِنْفَعَل, like اِخْتَارَ chose [in the *cat.* of ى (Tsr)] and اِنْقَادَ submitted [in that of و (Tsr)], is unsound, then [in the *pass.*] you may pronounce the preceding letter with (1) Kasr, (a) pure, [which is the *dial.* of Kuraish and their neighbours (Tsr)]; (b) smacking of Damm, [which is the *dial.* of many of Kais and most of the Banù Asad (Tsr) : (a) the ا is then, in either case, converted into ى : (2) pure Damm, the ا being then converted into و, as لَيْتَ وَهَلَّ [436], which [*dial.* (Tsr)] is rare ; but [is found in the speech of Hudhail ; and (Tsr)] is attributed to [all of (Tsr)] Faḳ'as and Dubair (Aud on the Pro-agent), who are among the chaste speakers of the Banù Asad ; and is said by IUK in his commentary on the Tashīl, and by RSht, to be transmitted from the Banù Dabba ; and by IHsh to be transmitted from some of Tamīm [Notes on pp. 122, 123] (Tsr) : (a) it is asserted by Ibn 'Udhra [and a band of the modern Westerns (Tsr)] to be disallowed in اِنْفَعَلَ and اِنْفَعَل (Aud), like اِخْتَارَ and اِنْقَادَ, which exceed

three [letters]; so that اُخْتُورَ and اُنْقُودَ are not said (Tsr) : but [the well-known saying is (Tsr)] the first, [which (Tsr)] is the saying of IU, AlUbbadī, and IM (Aud). The *cat.* of قَيْلَ and بَيْعَ, [i. e., the *tril. pret. pass.* (Jrb),] has three *dial. vars.*, (1) [pure (MASH)] ى (SH), which is the chastest of them (MASH) : (a) بَيْعَ is *orig.* بَيْعَ : then they make the ى quiescent, from dislike to Kasra upon it after Damma ; so that, a quiescent ى preceded by Damma being produced, the ف is pronounced with Kasr, in order that the ى may be sounded true : (b) then قَيْلَ is made to conform to بَيْعَ : (c) by this the saying of S is strengthened against that of Akh [710], since they alter the vowel, not the consonant [below] (Jrb) : (2) Ishmām (SH), i. e., making the ف smack of Damm, for notification of the *o. f.* : (a) this *dial. var.* is chaste (Jrb) : (3) [pure] و (SH) : (a) قُولَ is *orig.* قُولَ : but, disliking Kasra upon the و, after Damma, they elide it, so that قُولَ becomes قَوْلَ : (b) then they make بُوَعَ conform to it : (c) this strengthens the saying of Akh [710]; but is a corrupt *dial. var.*, not to be taken into account, because conformity of the heavy to the light is more suitable than conformity of the light to the heavy (Jrb). This [passage of the SH] is [more fully] explained in [the following extract from] the commentary on the IH [721] (R). They are *orig.* قُولَ and

بِيَع [436, 721, 724] : but Kasra on the unsound letter is deemed heavy : so that, (1) according to IH, the Kasra is elided, not transferred to the preceding letter, because transfer [of a vowel] is only to a quiescent [697], not to a mobile ; and then, قَوْل and بِيَع remaining, (a) some convert the quiescent ي into و , because of the Damma of the preceding letter, saying قَوْل and بُوع [436], which is the rarest of the *dial. vars.* : (b) the better [course] is to convert the Damma into Kasra in the *cat.* of ي , so that بِيَع remains, because alteration of a vowel is less [disturbing] than alteration of a consonant [above], and also because بِيَع is lighter than بُوع ; and then to make قَوْل conform to بِيَع , because, like the latter, unsound in the ع ; so that, its ف being pronounced with Kasr, the quiescent و is converted into ي : (2) according to Jz, (a) the Kasra is transferred to the preceding letter, because Kasra is lighter than the vowel of that letter, and their intention is to lighten [the formation] as much as possible ; and, according to this [saying], transfer of a vowel to a mobile, after elision of its vowel, is allowable when the vowel transferred is lighter than the vowel of the [letter that it is] transferred to ; so that, بِيَع and قَوْل remaining, the quiescent و is converted into ي , because of the Kasra of the preceding letter, as in مِيرَان [685 (case 5)] : (b)

some of them, says he, make the ع quiescent, but do not transfer the Kasra to the preceding letter : so that the , remains in its [original] state ; while the ى is converted into , , because of [its quiescence and] the Damma of the preceding letter [686 (case 1)] : but this is the rarest of the *dial. vars.*, because Damma and , are heavy ; and the first is better, because Kasra and ى are light. The saying of Jz is more probable, because transformation of the word from regard to itself is more proper than conformity to another in transformation : and the reason why IH prefers elision of the Kasra is only that transfer of the vowel to a mobile is deemed strange ; whereas there is no strangeness in it, as we have explained. And, as for Ishmām, it is chaste, though rare (R on IH upon the Passive). “Ishmām” here is not [used] in the sense mentioned at the beginning of [the chapter on] Pause [640] (Jrb). As to the manner of pronouncing with Ishmām, (1) RSht says “There are three ways, vid. compressing the lips (a) while pronouncing the ى, so that its vowel is between the vowels of Damm and Kasr, which is the well-known, notorious [way], used in reading [the Ḳur]; (b) while making the Kasra of the ى pure; (c) a little before pronouncing the Kasra of the ى, because, the initial of the word being opposed to its final, [it follows that,] as Ishmām in finals is after finishing the quiescence of the

letter [640], so Ishmām in initials is before pronouncing the Kasra of the letter": (2) IUK says "The most probable [way] is what has been neatly described by one of the Moderns, who says that you pronounce the ى of the word with a complete vowel compounded of two vowels, separably, not indivisibly, a preceding portion of Damma, which is the smaller, followed immediately by a portion of Kasra, which is the larger, whence the ى becomes clear" [436] (Tsr). The essence of this Ishmām [436, 668, 697] is your *directing the Kasra of the ى of the v. towards Damma, so that the subsequent quiescent ى may incline a little towards ,* , since it imitates the vowel of the letter before it. This is what Fr and the GG mean by Ishmām in this position. Some say that Ishmām here is like Ishmām in the state of pause [640], i. e., *compression of the lips* only, together with pure Kasr of the ى; but this is contrary to the well-known [doctrine], according to both parties [of GG, the BB and the KK]. And some say that it is your *putting a pure Damma followed by a quiescent ى*; but this also is not well-known, according to them (R on IH). The majority term this vowel "Ishmām"; but really it is "Raum" [436, 668], because Raum is a light vowel, while Ishmām is preparing the organ for pronunciation of the vowel without [actually uttering] any sound [640] (IY). IH says "The object of Ishmām is to announce that the initials of these words are

orig. pronounced with Damm" (R on IH). But, if that [mobile *nom. pron.* (Jrb)] which makes the J quiescent [403] be attached to the *cat.* of قِيلَ and بَاعَ, as بَعْتَ يَا عَبْدُ *Thou wast sold, O slave* and قُلْتَ يَا قَوْلُ *Thou wast said, O saying* [below], then [also three *dial. vars.* are allowable (Jrb),] Kasr [of the ف (Jrb)], Ishmām, and Damm (SH). The ع is elided (R, Jrb), because of the concurrence of two quiescents (Jrb): while the ف remains, as before the elision, pronounced with (1) pure Kasr, which is the best-known [*dial. var.*]; (2) Kasr smacking somewhat of Damm; (3) pure Damm (R). IM asserts that what is ambiguous, whether Kasr, as in خِفْتُ and بَعْتُ, or Damm, as in عَقْتُ, [when they are in the *pass.* (Tsr),] is disallowed (Aud), which he indicates by his saying "But, if ambiguity be feared in any form, it is avoided" (Tsr). The *o. f.* of the phrase [before the *vs.* are put into the *pass.* (Tsr)] is خَافَنِي زَيْدٌ *Zaid feared me* and بَاعَنِي لِعَمْرٍو *sold me to 'Amr* and كَذَّأ عَانَنِي عَنْ كَذَا *hindered me from doing such a thing*: then you [suppress the *ag.*, and (Tsr)] put the *vs.* into the *pass.*, [substituting a ت for the ي of the 1st pers. (Tsr)]; so that, if you said خِفْتُ *I was feared* and بَعْتُ *I was sold* with Kasr [of the خ and ب (Tsr)], and عَقْتُ *I was hindered* with Damm [of its initial (Tsr)], you

would convey the idea that they are *v.* and *ag.*, [signifying *I feared* and *sold* and *hindered*,] and the [intended (Tsr)] meaning would be reversed : and therefore only Ishmām or Damm must be allowed in the two first, [i. e., خُفْتُ and بُعْتُ (Tsr) ;] and Ishmām or Kasr in the third, [i. e., عَقْتُ (Tsr) ;] while the ambiguous mode [of vocalization], [vid. Kasr in the two first, and Damm in the third (Tsr),] must be disallowed. But the Westerns hold it to be [merely] less approvable, not disallowed (Aud), saying that [in the *pass.*] the Arabs prefer Kasr of the ف when pronounced with Damm in the *act.*, and Damm of the ف when pronounced with Kasr in the *act.*, for distinction between the two [voices], which is obvious (Tsr). What IM mentions as to the necessity of avoiding the ambiguous form, according to what he apparently [below] says here, and expressly states in the CK, is not noticed by S, who seems to say that the three modes are allowable unrestrictedly (A). S does not regard ambiguity [in that (Tsr)], because [ambiguity is no preventive, since (Tsr)] it exists in [*n.* and *v.* (Tsr, Sn),] such as مُخْتَارٌ *choosing*, or *chosen*, [an *act.* or *pass. part*, its | being converted from a ي pronounced with Kasr or Fath, respectively (Tsr, Sn),] and تُضَارُّ II. 233. *shall harm*, or *be harmed* (Aud, A), *orig.* تُضَارُّ (K, B), *act.* or *pass.*, the first , being pronounced [before the incorporation (Sn)] with Kasr or Fath, respectively

(Tsr, Sn). Sf [also] appears to say that no distinction is necessary; but that the ambiguity is pardoned, because such [a form] seldom occurs (R on IH). [And] A says “apparently” because of the possibility that [by “avoided” (above)] “allowably”, or “approvably”, “avoided” should be meant (Sn). Of course, avoidance is more proper and preponderant (A). When there exists some context indicating that what is meant is the *act.* or *pass.*, as in *قُلْتُ يَا قَوْلُ* and *بُعْتُ يَا عَبْدُ* [above] and *خُفْتُ يَا هَوُّ* *Thou wast feared, O terror*, pure Damm is allowable in the first, and pure Kasr in the two others, in reliance upon the context; but, if no [such] context exist, the more proper [pronunciation] is Kasr or Ishmām in the first, and Damm [or Ishmām] in the two others (R on SH). And the *cat.* of *إِخْتِيرَ* and *انْقِيدَ*, [i. e., of *أُفْتَعِلَ* and *أُنْفَعِلَ* from the hollow (R)], is like that of *قِيلَ* and *بِيعَ* [in allowability of the three modes (R)] in both (SH) cases mentioned under *قِيلَ*, i. e., absence, and attachment, of “that which makes the J quiescent” [above], the sense being that, in both cases, *إِخْتِيرَ* and *انْقِيدَ*, like *قِيلَ* and *بِيعَ*, have three states, [vid. in the first case] pure *ي*, which is the chastest; and Ishmām; and [pure] *و*, like *أُخْتَوِرَ* and *أُنْقَوِدَ* [436]: and similarly [in the second case] pure

Kasr, which is the best known, like *اِنْقَدَنَ* and *اِخْتَرَنَ*; and Ishmām; and [pure] Damm, like *اَنْقَدَنَ* and *اُخْتَرَنَ* (MASH): contrary to the *cat.* of *اُقِيمَ* and *اُسْتَقِيمَ* (SH), because Damm and Ishmām are allowable only in consequence of the Damm of the letter before the *و* and *ي*; whereas in *اُقِيمَ* and *اُسْتَقِيمَ*, *orig.* *اُقُوِمَ* and *اُسْتُقُوِمَ*, the letter before the unsound letter is not pronounced with Damm; so that only pure Kasr is allowable (R). And [in the three states (MASH)] the [*conj.* (MASH)] Hamza is pronounced (A, Tsr, MASH) like the third letter (Tsr), [i. e.,] with a vowel (A), vid. Damm, Kasr, or Ishmām (Sn), like [that of (A)] the *ت* and *ق* [436, 668] (A, MASH): so says IM (Tsr); though the [same] author's language [in the IM on the Pro-Agent] suggests the necessity of Damm, absolutely, because he first lays down, unrestrictedly, that the initial of the [*pass.*] *v.* is pronounced with Damm [436], and here confines himself to the currency of the three modes [of vocalization] in the letter before the *ع*: so says RSht (Sn).

§. 707. The following *cats.* are [treated as] sound:—

(1) *مَا أَفْعَلَهُ*, [i. e., the *v.* of wonder (MASH), as *مَا أَقُولَ* *زَيْدًا* How well Zaid speaks! and *مَا أَقُولَ بِهِ* (R, Jrb), *مَا أَبِيعَهُ* How well he sells! and *مَا أَبِيعُ بِهِ* (Jrb),] because

[transformation is principally in the *v.*, on account of its heaviness; whereas the *cat.* of wonder, though, according to the soundest opinion, a *v.*, resembles *ns.* by reason (R)] of its aplasticity [477] (SH), so that it becomes like the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority [351, 703] and the *ep.* *أَفْعَلُ* [348] (R) : (2) *أَفْعَلُ مِنْهُ* (SH), i. e., the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority (R, Jrb), as *زَيْدٌ أَقْوَلُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو* *Zaid is a better speaker than 'Amr* and *أَبَيْعٌ* a better salesman [712] (Jrb), (a) because conformable to it [below] (SH), i. e., resembling the *v.* of wonder, since *wonder* at a thing is on account of its *superiority* in some sense to others, for which reason the *v.* of wonder and the *n.* of superiority are equal in many predicaments [351, 477] (R) : or (b) because it might be mistaken for the *v.* (SH), since the forms of the *pret. v.* from *إِقَالَ* *imputing a saying* and of the *أَفْعَلُ* of superiority from *قَوْلٌ* *saying*, but for the transformation [in the former], would agree; so that they treat the *n.* as sound, and transform the *v.*: that being more proper than the converse, because transformation, in whichever of them it be, is explicable only by conformity to the *tril. pret. v.*, as *قَالَ* [703]; while the *v.*, being more like the *v.*, is more properly made conformable to it: (a) this [second] cause is the one assigned to the *n.* of superiority by S (Jrb), [who says that] they make *أَفْعَلُ*, when a *n.*, complete, in order to

distinguish it from the plastic *v.* [أَفْعَلٌ], as أَقَالَ and أَقَامَ [703] (S): but he makes the *v.* of wonder conform to it (Jrb), [saying that] the أَفْعَلٌ in مَا أَقَوْلُ and مَا أَبْيَعُ [above] is complete, because its sense is that of أَفْعَلٌ مِنْكَ *a greater doer than thou* and أَفْعَلُ النَّاسِ *the greatest doer of mankind*; and similarly بِهْ أَفْعَلٌ, because i. q. مَا أَفْعَلُهُ (S): whereas IH first does the reverse, by making the *n.* of superiority conform to the *v.* of wonder; and then mentions for the *n.* of superiority this cause, which is mentioned by S (Jrb): (b) there is no reason for his saying “because conformable to it” [above], since the أَفْعَلٌ of superiority is a *n.*; while the *n.* is generally not transformed in this way, [i. e., by transfer and conversion,] as we have mentioned [703]: and, though the [two] kinds of *ns.* [there] described are [so] transformed, as already explained, still the condition of the augmented kind commensurable with the *v.*, when we intend its ع to be transformable, is that it should be different from the *v.* in some respect [703, 712]; whereas this [*n.*] does not differ from the *v.* in anything: (c) [if any excuse for the omission to transform were required,] his [second] saying “because it might be mistaken” would suffice (R); (3) اجْتَوَرُوا and اِزْدَوَجُوا [492, 684 (condition 9, a)], because i. q. تَفَاعَلُوا [703] (SH), i. e., تَجَاوَرُوا and تَزَاوَجُوا (Jrb): (a) if the sense of تَفَاعَلٌ be

not intended in *اِفْتَعَلَ*, you transform [the ع in] it, as *اِرْتَادَ* [sought out (MAR)] and *اِخْتَارَ* [703, 706]: (4) [the *conjug.* of] *اِعْوَرَ* [684 (conditions 7, 8, b)], *اِسْوَدَّ* [703], and *اِصِيدَ* had the disease termed *صَيْدٌ* [below], because the transformation of such as *اَقْوَمَ* and *اِسْتَقْوَمَ* [703], besides being contrary to the general rule, [since the , is not preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥh,] is only for conformity with the transformed *tril.* [*قَامَ*]; whereas there is no transformed *tril.* here (R): (5) the *conjug.* of *اِعْوَرَ* became blind of one eye and *اِسْوَدَّ* became black [714], because of ambiguity [below] (SH), since, if the , were converted into |, its vowel being transferred to the preceding letter, the *conj.* Hamza and one of the two |s would be elided; so that *عَارَّ* and *سَادَّ* would remain, which might be mistaken for the *act. part.* of the reduplicated: (a) there is no reason for his saying "because of ambiguity" [above], since non-transformation requires to be excused only where a cause [of transformation] exists, but no transformation takes place; while the cause of transformation, in the *v.* whose , or *ي* is preceded by a quiescent, is its being a *deriv.* of a *v.* whose transformation is authorized, as in *اَقَامَ* and *اِسْتَقَامَ* [703]; whereas *عَوَرَ* and *سَوَدَ* are not transformed, so that *اِعْوَارَ* and *اِسْوَادَ* might be made conformable to

them ; nay, the case is reversed [below] : (b) if indeed it be asked “ How is it that اِعْوَارٌ and اِسْوَادٌ are not transformed, when they appear to be like اَقْوَمٌ [703] ?”, the answer is that there is a distinction between them, vid. that the cause [of transformation] exists in اَقْوَمٌ, not in اِعْوَارٌ [or اِسْوَادٌ] (R) : (6) the *conjug.* of (MASH) عَوِرَ became blind of one eye and سَوِدَ became black [and صَيِدَ (S, Jh, M)], because i. q. اِعْوَارٌ and اِسْوَادٌ (SH) and اِصْيَدَ [above] (Jh), since the original *conjugs.* for colors and external defects are اِفْعَلَّ and اِفْعَالٌ [493A] ; so that, though the *tril.* is the original of the augmented in form, still, since these two *conjugs.* are original in sense the case is reversed [above], the *tril.* being treated like the augmented in respect of soundness, to notify the originality of the augmented in the sense mentioned [684 (conditions 7, 8, b)] (R) : (a) لَيْسَ [447] is made quiescent [in the ع] from لَيْسَ, like صَيِدَ [456, 703], as they say عَلِمَ knew for عَلِمَ [482] : but they make it permanently quiescent, because, not being as plastic as its congeners, it is not put into the form of [the *v.*, like (IY) صَيِدَ, [where the ع is sounded true (IY),] or هَابَ, [where the ع is transformed (IY);] but into the form of what is [a pure *p.* (IY),] not a *v.*, as لَيْتَ : (b) for the same reason they do not transfer the vowel of the ع to

the ف in لَسْتُ [703] (M), لَسْنَا, and لَسْتُمْ (IY) : (c) the proof that the ع [of لَيْسَ] is [orig.] pronounced with Kasr is that Fatha of the ع is not elided, ضَرَبَ not being said [for ضَرَبَ], as عَلِمَ is said for عَلِمَ [Note on p. 246, l. 2]; and that the *conjug.* of فَعَلَ with Damm [of the ع] does not occur in the *cat.* of the hollow, except هَيَّوْ [704], which is anomalous (R) : (7) the variations of those [*vs.* (Jrb)] whose ع is sounded true, like (a) أَعْوَرْتُ (SH), *I made him blind of one eye* and اسْتَعْوَرْتُ (SH), if you were to form اسْتَفْعَلْتُ from عَوَرَ (M), and أَصِيدَ آلَهُ بِعَيْرِهِ (M), *God caused his camel to have the disease termed صَيْدٌ* (S, M), because their o. f. [عَوَرَ or صَيْدَ] is not transformed, so that they might be conformable to it in transformation (R) ; and [similarly (R)] (b) مُبَايَعٌ and مُقَاوِلٌ (SH), *act. parts.* of قَاوَلَ and بَايَعَ [683 (case 1, a), 703] (Jrb), and عَاوَرَ [683 (case 2), 708] (SH), because the transformation of such as قَاتِلٌ and بَائِعٌ is for conformity to its transformed *v.* [684, 703], whereas the *vs.* of these things are not transformed (R) ; and (c) أَسَوَدُ [348, 712] (SH), the *ep.* أَفْعَلُ [above] from سَوَدَ (MASH). But sometimes the *conjug.* of فَعَلَ from [*inf. ns.* denoting] *defects* is transformed, as

فَسَاتِلٌ بِأَبْنٍ أَحْمَرَ مَنْ رَأَاهُ * أَعَارَتْ عَيْنُهُ أَمْ لَمْ تَعَارَا

She questions about Ibn Aḥmar those who have seen him, whether his eye have become blind, or have indeed not become blind (R), as though it were لَمْ تَعَارَنَ with the single corrob. ن , for which the poet substitutes the | of pause [614, 649, 684] (IY). And he that says عَارَ says أَعَارَ and اسْتَعَارَ and عَاثَرَ (SH), its *derivs.* also being then transformed (R). Such [formations], however, as صَدَدْتُ I made good (M), أَطَوَلْتُ [338], whence صَدَدْتُ 338, 685 اسْتَحْوَذَ [703], اسْتَرْوَحَ [565] (IY), فَأَطَوَلْتُ الْخَ (case 6, c), 699] (M), as اسْتَحْوَذَ عَلَيْهِمُ الشَّيْطَانُ LVIII. 20. The devil hath gotten the mastery over them (IY), أَطْيَبْتُ I found pleasant, [and اسْتَنَوَقَ (IY),] and أَغْيَمْتُ and أَخْيَلْتُ, أَغْيَلْتُ in HB's reading خَتَّى إِذَا أَخَذَتِ الْأَرْضُ زُخْرُفَهَا وَازِيدَتْ X. 25. [Until when the earth taketh its garniture, and becometh possessed of adornment (K, B)] on the measure of أَفْعَلْتُ (IY), and اسْتَفِيلَ became like an elephant, deviate from analogy [703] (M). These words, which, though numerous, are few in comparison with what is transformed, occur as a notation of the *o. f.* of the *conjug.* (IY).

§. 708. The , and ي , when near the end [of the word], and preceded by an *aug.* | , are converted into | , provided that, to the cause requiring conversion [684,

703], another requirer be adjoined, because the cause is then weak through the separation of the و and ی from the Fatha by the ا , and their not being at the end. That [other] requirer is (1) either resemblance to the transformed *v.* [703], or conveyance of its sense, and exercise of its government [703], as in قَائِمٌ [343] and بَآئِعٌ [below]: (2) enclosure of the ا of the ultimate *pl.* by two unsound letters, so that the *pl.* is heavy on account of the two unsound letters, and of its being the farthest of the *pls.* [256], as in بَرَأْتُ [703, 715], اَوَّالٌ , and عَيَّالٌ : (3) the و and ی's being in the ultimate *pl.* in whose *sing.* they are *aug.* letters of prolongation, as in عَجَّالٌ [717] and كَبَّالٌ [661], because of the intention to distinguish the two *aug.* letters of prolongation from the و and ی that have a vowel in the *sing.*, whether they be *rad.*, as in مَقَامٌ and مَعَايِشٌ , *pls.* of مَقَامَةٌ and مَعِيشَةٌ [717]; or *aug.*, as in جَدَّالٌ and عَثَائِرٌ [253], *pls.* of عَثِيرٌ and جَدَوَلٌ [374]: since that [و or ی] which has an original vowel, being hardier and stronger, is not converted. But, when the و and ی are far from the end, as in طَرَاوِيسٌ [*pl.* of طَارُوسٌ *peacock* (KF)], they are not converted into ا [715]. According to this, it is plain to you that the Hamza in such as رِدَائِ and كِسَائِ [683 (case 1), 723], قَائِلٌ and بَآئِعٌ

[683 (case 2)], ^{أَوَائِلُ} and ^{بَوَائِعُ} [683 (case 4), 715], and ^{عَجَائِزُ} and ^{كَبَائِرُ} [683 (case 3), 717], is *orig.* ا converted from و and ي . For, since mobilization of the ا is needed, [in order to avoid a concurrence of two quiescents,] while its conversion into و or ي is disallowed, because we have only just escaped from them, it is converted into a letter that, after و and ي , is most akin to it, vid. Hamza, because both are guttural [732]. The first ا is not elided [723], for avoidance of] the two quiescents, as is necessary in the like [663], because the ا of such as ^{قَائِلٌ} is the sign of the *act. part.*, and the ا of such as ^{أَوَائِلُ} and ^{عَجَائِزُ} is the sign of the *pl.*; while such as ^{دَائِلٌ}, if the ا were elided, would be confounded with the abbreviated. But, as for the Hamza in such as ^{رَسَائِلُ} [246, 683 (case 3, a), 717], it is a *subst.* for the ا in the *sing.*, not for the ا converted from و or ي (R). The و and ي are converted into Hamza [below] in [the *act. part.* of the unaugmented *tril.* (Jrb),] such as ^{قَائِلٌ} and ^{بَائِعٌ} [683 (case 2), 703, 712], whose *v.* is transformed; contrary to ^{عَائِرٌ} and ^{صَائِدٌ} [below] (SH). The saying of the GG, in this *cat.*, “The و and ي are converted into Hamza” [above] is not in accordance with reality, because the ع is converted into ا [683 (case 2, c)], which is then converted into Hamza; so that the و and

ى seem to be converted into Hamza (R). The *o. fs.* of
 بَايَعُ and قَاتِلُ, vid. بَايَعُ and قَاتِلُ, are meant to be trans-
 formed, because of the transformation of their *vs.*: but
 transformation by elision is not possible, because it
 would obliterate the shape of the *act. part.* [343], which
 would be reduced to the form of the *v.*; while inflection
 would not suffice for a distinctive, because it is removed
 by pause [640]. The ع is therefore converted into ا,
 either because they do not take the preceding ا into
 account; so that the unsound letter, coming, as it were,
 immediately after the Fatha, is converted into ا, as
 being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with
 Fath [684, 703]: or because they consider the ا equi-
 valent to Fatha [697], as being an augmentation of the
 latter, and having the same essence and outlet. And,
 since two ا s then concur, while they dislike to elide
 either, as likewise to mobilize the first, because of what
 has been mentioned, [vid. that such elision or mobiliza-
 tion would obliterate the shape of the *act. part.*,] they
 mobilize the last, on account of the concurrence of two
 quiescents, by converting it into Hamza, because of the
 proximity of Hamza to ا [732]. But to dot [the ى
 representing] the Hamza, as H dots it, in the "Speckled
 Epistle", in such as نَائِلُ يَدَيْهِ فَاَصْ, where he says
 وَنَائِلُ يَدَيْهِ فَاَصْ, is a mistake (Jrb). As for عَارُ [683 (case 2), 707], صَائِدُ

[above], and the like, the ع [in them] is sounded true, not converted into Hamza, because sounded true in the *v.*, as عَوَّرَ and صَيَّدَ [707], since the *act. part.* is conformable to its *v.* in respect of sounding true and transformation [683 (case 2, b)]; and, for the same reason, the ع is sounded true in مُقَاوِمٌ, مُبَايِنٌ, and the like [707], because sounded true in قَاوَمَ and بَايَنَ [703] (IY). Some of the Arabs transpose the ع and ل in some *act. parts.* of the hollow, and then subject the *act. part.* to the same transformation as قَاوَسَ [16, 719], as

لَا تِ بِهِ الْأَشْيَاءُ وَالْعُبْرَى

[by Al'Ajjāj (S), *Wherein the things, and the lote-trees growing on the banks of the streams, are tangled* (MAR)] and

فَتَعَرَّفُونِي أَنَّنِي أَنَا ذَاكُم * شَاكٍ سِلَاحِي فِي الْكَوَادِثِ مُعَلِّمٌ

(R), by Ṭarīf Ibn Tamīm al'Ambarī (S, IATH) at Tamīmī (IATH), *Then seek to know me : verily I, or that I, this one, am such that sharp is my weapon in mishaps, am a bearer of the cognizance, or badge, or device, of the valiant* (MAR). This is what has beguiled Khl [below] into venturing upon transposition in the whole *act. part.* of the hollow whose ل is a Hamza. For he says that, since they transpose the [ع and ل of the hollow] sound in the ل, from fear of a single Hamza

after the **ا**, they are more inclined to escape from the combination of two Hamzas. And similarly, since he sees them say شَوَاع, by transposition, for [شَوَاعِ] *pl.* of شَائِعٌ *dispersed*, he says that in such as حَطَايَا and مَطَايَا [661, 726], and جَوَاءٌ and شَوَاءٌ [248, 726], transposition is more appropriate. But the answer is that they resort to transposition in لَاتٍ and شَانٍ only from fear of Hamza after the **ا**; whereas, in such as جَاءٌ [below], one Hamza after the **ا** is inseparable, whether the **ا** and ع be transposed, or not (R). And [S says that (R)] most of the Arabs say لَاتٌ and شَانٌ (S, R), by elision of the ع (R). But such as شَانٍ and شَانٍ are anomalous (SH). شَانٍ is from شَوْكَةٌ, i. e., *vehemence of prowess or valour* (IY, Jrb), and *point or edge, and weapon* (IY); or [from] قَدْ شَانَ الرَّجُلُ, [aor. يَشَانُ (Jh. KF),] *inf. n.* شَوْنٌ, i. e., *The man's vehemence of prowess or valour, and his sharpness, have been displayed* (Jrb). It has three forms [of *act. part.* (Jrb)]:— (1) شَائِكٌ [276], with Hamza, according to rule (IY, Jrb), like قَائِمٌ and بَائِعٌ [above] (IY): (2) شَانٍ [276, 278], by relegation of the ع to the position of the **ا**, [its measure being فَالِعٌ (Jrb), of the class of the defective (IY),] like قَائِسٌ [16] (IY, Jrb) and غَائِيٌّ [685] (IY):

(a) similarly لَاتٌ أَلْعِمَامَةُ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ [278], from *He wound the turban upon his head*, aor. يَلُوْتُ (IY, Jrb), *inf. n.* لَوْتُ (Jrb); and هَارٍ, as IX. 110. [276], i. e., هَائِرٌ (IY): (3) شَانٌ and لَاتٌ [276, 278], by elision of the ع [above] (IY, Jrb). Z says in the K [on IX. 110.] (Jrb), هَارٍ is [i. q.] هَائِرٌ, i. e., *cracked, on the point of being demolished and falling*: but its measure is فَعْلٌ, abbreviated from فَاعِلٌ, like خَلِفٌ [*pregnant she-camels* (Jh, KF)] from خَالَفٌ; while its counterparts are شَانٌ [711] and صَاتٌ *loud of voice*, for شَائِئٌ and صَائِئٌ: and its ا is not the ا of فَاعِلٌ; but only its ع, the o. f. being هَوْرٌ, شَوْرٌ, and صَوْرٌ (K, Jrb). And [R says that] لَاتٌ and شَانٌ may be *orig.* لَوْتُ and شَوْرٌ, intensive forms of لَائِئٌ and لَائِسٌ [343], like عَمِلٌ and لَبِسٌ for عَامِلٌ and لَابِسٌ [312], in which case they are like كَبَشٌ صَافٌ [703] and جَافٌ *windy day* (R). But this is contrary to what Z mentions in the M, about what has a *rad.* letter elided from it, and not restored in the *dim.* [276], which is confirmed by what IH mentions in the CM on this passage of the M, vid. that هَارٍ may not be فَعْلٌ, because Z lays down that a letter is elided from it; nor transposed, because its predicament would be like [that of] قَافٍ

[above], where the *ي* is quasi-expressed, its elision being accidental, as [you see in] رَأَيْتُ قَوِيضِيًّا *I saw a little judge*; so that it must be فَاعِلٌ, its *ع* being elided: while this [conclusion] is corroborated by what is mentioned in some of the Glosses (Jrb). The *o. f.* of هَارٌ and شَاكٌ is هَاوِرٌ and شَاوِنٌ: so that the *و* is irregularly elided; the rule being to convert it into Hamza [above], as هَآئِرٌ and شَآئِنٌ, which also occur, on the measure of فَاعِلٌ (Sn on the Diminutive): [or] it seems that they convert the *ع* into *ا*, and then elide the *ا* because of the two quiescents; and do not mobilize [it], in order to escape from Hamza: the elided [*ا*] being apparently the second, because the first is the sign of the *act. part.* (R): [or] these [Arabs] elide the Hamza (S). Their measure is, therefore, فَاَلٌ [by elision of the *ع*, considered as *و*, or *ا* or Hamza, from فَاعِلٌ]. Some say that the *aug.* *ا* is elided, and the *و*, converted into *ا*, because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath. Their measure is then فَعْلٌ with quiescence of the *ع* from regard to its state after conversion, and with Kasr of the *ع* from regard to its state before conversion. But A proceeds on [the assumption] that the elided is the *و*, since he says “ And هَوِيرٌ by restoration of the elided is

anomalous" [276]; because the discussion is on restoration of the *rad.*, not of the *aug.*, elided (Sn). And about such as جَاءَ [661] there are two sayings:—(1) Khl [above] says that it is transposed, like شَاكَ: (2) it is said [by others] to be [formed] according to rule (SH). But فَاعَلْ [247, 373] is treated as sound, like what is not a *n.* [on the measure] of a *v.* [703, 712]: you say قَاوِلٌ and بَايَعٌ (S).

§. 709. When [the *pass. part.* (MKh)] مَفْعُولٌ is formed from the *tril.* (MKh)] *v.* whose ع is unsound, ي or و, the same transfer and elision are necessary as in اِنْفَعَالٌ and اِسْتِفْعَالٌ [338, 697, 703, 714]; so that from مَقُولٌ and قَالٌ you say مَبِيعٌ and مَبُوعٌ [347, 703]. The *o. f.* is مَبِيعٌ and مَقُولٌ: but the vowel of the ع is transferred to the preceding quiescent; and, since two quiescents, the ع and the و of مَفْعُولٌ, then concur, the و of مَفْعُولٌ is elided (IA), according to S (MKh) مَبُوعٌ ought to be said for مَبِيعٌ (IA), like مُيَقِنٌ for مُوَقِنٌ [686] (MKh); but they convert the Damma into Kasra, in order that the ي may be sounded true (IA). The elided, (1) according to S, is the و of مَفْعُولٌ [703] (SH): (a) S elides the second of the two quiescents, not the first, although the rule is to elide the first, when two quiescents are combined, and the first is a letter of prolongation [663]: (b)

he decides upon this because, seeing that, after the transformation, the *ی* in the *pass. part.* [of the hollow] belonging to the *cat.* of *ی* remains extant, as *مَبِيعٌ*, he opines that in it the *و*, [of *مَفْعُولٌ*] is the [quiescent] elided, and then extends this decision to the hollow belonging to the *cat.* of *و*; (c) the process of [avoiding] the concurrence of two quiescents is varied here, according to him, because the word becomes lighter than by elision of the first [quiescent]; and also in order that a distinction may be produced between the two *pass. parts.*, in the *cats.* of *و*, and *ی* respectively, which, if the first [quiescent] were elided, would be liable to confusion, one with another: (d) when the *و*, of *مَبِيعٌ* is elided, the *Damma* is pronounced as *Kasra*, in order that the *ی* may be preserved, by analogy to the saying of S on such as *تَبِيعٌ* from *بِيعٌ* [710] (R): (2) according to Akh, is the *ع*: [that is plain in the *cat* of *و*, (MASH);] while [in the *cat.* of *ی* (MASH)] the *و*, of *مَفْعُولٌ* is, according to him, converted into *ی* because of the *Kasra* [below] (SH) on the letter before it (MASH): (a) as for Akh, he elides the first quiescent in the *cats.* of *و*, and *ی*, as is the rule in a concurrence of two quiescents: (b) it being said to him "Then, according to thee, *مَبِيعٌ* ought to remain: so what is this *ی* in *مَبِيعٌ*?", he said "When the *Damma* is transferred to the preceding letter, it is

pronounced as Kasra, on account of the *ی*, before elision of the *ی*; then the *ی* is elided, because of the two quiescents; and then the *ی* is converted into *ی*, because of the Kasra" [above]: (c) this requires consideration, because it is only when the *ی* is going to remain that it is entitled to have the Damma of the preceding letter converted into Kasra, not when it is going to be elided: so that, according to his opinion, one should rather say "First the *ی* is elided; and then the Damma is converted into Kasra, and the *ی* converted into *ی*, for a distinction between the *cats.* of *ی*, and *ی*" (R). Each [authority], therefore, contravenes his own rule (SH), S because he elides the second of the two quiescents; whereas his rule, and that of others, is to elide the first [663]: and Akh because his rule is that the quiescent *ی* is converted into *ی*, on account of the preceding letter's being pronounced with Damm [710], though the *ی* [so converted] is going to remain; whereas here he converts the Damma of the letter before the *ی* into Kasra, notwithstanding that the *ی* is going to be elided (R). The sound [opinion] is that the elided is the second [quiescent], because it is *aug.* [338], and near the end (Aud); but Akh holds that the elided is the *ع* of the word, because the *ع* is often exposed to elision in other positions than this [703] (Tsr). The [effect of the dispute appears in the (Tsr)] measure [of مَصْرُوع preserved

(A), which (Tsr)], according to S, is مَفْعُلٌ [with Damm of the ف , and quiescence of the ع (Sn)]; and, according to Akh, is مَفْعُولٌ (A, Tsr). And the utility of the dispute is displayed in such as مَسُوءٌ *vexed*, [orig. مَسُوءٌ on the measure of مَفْعُولٌ (Sn),] when alleviated [658] (A), by changing its Hamza into و , and then incorporating the و of مَفْعُولٌ into it, according to the opinion of Akh; or by transferring the vowel of the Hamza to the و , which is an ع , and then eliding it, according to the opinion of S [below] (Sn). IJ says, F having asked me about the alleviation of مَسُوءٌ , I said “ According to the saying of Akh, I say رَأَيْتُ مَسُوءًا *I saw a vexed*, as you say مَقْرُوءٌ for مَقْرُوءٌ [658], because, according to him, the و [of مَسُوءٌ] is the و of مَفْعُولٌ ; but, according to the opinion of S [above], I say رَأَيْتُ مَسُوءًا , as you say خَبٌ [by elision of the Hamza after transfer of its vowel to the ب (Sn)] for خَبٌ [658], the و being mobile, because, in his opinion, it is the ع ”: and F then said “ So it is ” (A), i. e., the alleviation of مَسُوءٌ , because the mobile Hamza, when the [quiescent] و before it is a non-co-ordinative *aug.*, is converted into و , and has the [preceding] و incorporated into it; but, when the [quiescent] و before it is a *rad.*, has its vowel transferred to the و , and is elided [658] (Sn). But مَشِيبٌ for مَشُوبٌ *mixed*, [as

سَيَكْفِيكَ صَرَبَ الْقَوْمِ لَحْمٌ مُعْرَصٌ

وَمَاءٌ قُدُورٌ فِي الْقِصَاعِ مَشِيبٌ

(Jh, IY), by AlMukhabbal or AsSulaik, *Flesh laid out in the court to dry, and water of cooking-pots in the bowls, mixed with seeds for seasoning and with sauces, will suffice thee for the sour milk of the people (MAJh),* from شَاب , aor. يَشُوبُ , [inf. n. شُوبٌ mixing (MAR),] and مَنِيلٌ for مَنْوُلٌ given, from نَالَ gave, aor. يَنْوُلُ , and مَلِيمٌ for مَلُومٌ blamed, as though formed according to [the pass. (Jh)] شِيبٌ was mixed [436, 706], نِيْلٌ was given, and لِيمٌ was blamed, are anomalous ; as likewise is مَهْرُوبٌ [for مَهْيَبٌ dreaded (Jh), as

وَتَأْوِي إِلَى زُغَبٍ مَسَاكِينَ دُونَهُمْ * فَلَا لَا تَخْطَاؤُا الرِّفَاقُ مَهْرُوبٌ
(Jh, IY), by Humaid (IY), *And it (a sand-grouse) returns to poor downy young birds, before whom are deserts, that companies of travellers have not passed over, dreaded (MAJh), cited by Ks (Jh)],* from هَيْبَةٌ dread, as though formed according to [the dial. of those who say in (IY) the pass. (Jh, IY)] هُوبٌ [436, 706] (R). The Banù Tamīm treat the cat. of ي as sound ; [but not the cat. of و , because ي is lighter to them than و , (Tsr):] so that they say مَبْيُوعٌ sold and مَخْيُوطٌ sewn (Aud), as they say مَضْرُوبٌ [347] ; and that is regular,

according to them (Tsr). A [Tamīmī (MN, Tsr)] poet says, [describing *wine* (Tsr),]

وَكَأَنَّهَا تَفَاحَةٌ مَطْيُوبَةٌ

(IY, Aud, A), which As says that he heard IAl recite (IY), *And it is as though it were a scented apple* (MN), by rule مَطْيُوبَةٌ, [like مَبِيعَةٌ (Tsr),] but pronounced according to the o. f. (MN, Tsr); and the poet [Al'Abbās Ibn Mirdās (MN, Tsr, Jsh) as Sulamī (Jsh)] says

قَدْ كَانَ قَوْمُكَ يَحْسِبُونَكَ سَيِّدًا * وَإِخَالُ أَنتَ سَيِّدٌ مَعْيُونٌ

[below] (Aud, A) *Thy people have been accounting thee to be a chief; but I fancy that thou art a chief smitten by the evil eye* (MN, Jsh), by rule مَعِينٌ, from عَنِتُّ الرَّجُلَ, *I smote the man with the evil eye*, act. part. عَاتِنٌ, pass. part. مَعِينٌ according to rule, and مَعْيُونٌ according to the o. f. (MN, Tsr); and the poet [Alkama (IY, MN, Jsh) Ibn 'Abada (MN, Jsh), describing a male ostrich (Jsh),] says

حَتَّى تَذَكَّرَ بَيضَاتٍ وَهَيْجَةً * يَوْمَ رَذَانٍ عَلَيْهِ الدَّجْنُ مَغِيومٌ

[below] (M, A) *Until he remembered eggs (belonging to him); and a day of light rain, whereon was cloud covering the sky, overclouded, aroused him*, by rule مَغِيومٌ (MN, Jsh). The right way is to say مَبِيعٌ and مَعِيبٌ

upbraided, like their counterparts in the *Kur* وَ قَصْرٍ مَشِيدٍ
 XXII. 44. [and a palace plastered with gypsum, or
 raised high (K, B)] and وَكَانَتْ الْجِبَالُ كَثِيبًا مَهِيلاً LXXIII.
 14. [And the mountains shall be a sand-heap strewn
 (K, B), and made to run down (K), from هَيْلٌ, *inf. n.*
 هَيْلٌ (K, B)], *orig.* مَشْيُودٌ and مَهْيُولٌ : whereas رَجُلٌ مَدِينٌ
 or مَدْيُونٌ a man indebted and مَعِينٌ or مَعْيُونٌ overlooked,
 i. e., that the evil eye has smitten, are anomalous ; and
 hence

نَبِّئْتُ قَوْمَكَ يَزْعُمُونَكَ سَيِّدًا * وَإِخَالُ أَنَّكَ سَيِّدٌ مَعْيُونٌ

[below] *I have been told that thy people assert thee to be
 a chief ; but I fancy etc.* [above] (D). But the case is
 not as H says : for مَبْيُوعٌ and مَعْيُوبٌ have been heard
 from the Arabs, contrary to rule ; while the *KF* has
 هُوَ مَعِيبٌ or مَعْيُوبٌ *He is upbraided*, and also هُوَ مَبِيعٌ or
 مَبْيُوعٌ *It is sold* ; and all of this is according to the *o. f.*,
 so that what H mentions is only from crabbedness.
 And مَعِينٌ or مَعْيُونٌ is said, as نَبِّئْتُ قَوْمَكَ أَخْج [above]
 (CD). And they say مَزَيَّتٌ or طَعَامٌ مَزَيَّتٌ *food dressed
 with olive-oil*, [the like of] which is frequent (IY). Mb
 says that the *pass. part.* in the *cat.* of ي may be com-
 plete in poetry, citing the saying of 'Alkama رَإِذَاكَ أَخْج

[above] as an instance of that (CD). But this is a Tamīmī *dial.* (A). ISh says "The Arabs differ about the *pass. part.* in the *cat.* of ي: for the Banū Tamīm make it complete, saying مَكْبُورٌ , مَخْطُورٌ , مَغْيُوبٌ *measured*, and مَزِيَّوتٌ; while the inhabitants of the Hijāz say مَعِيْبٌ , مَكِيْلٌ , and مَزِيَّتٌ [above]. But both parties agree upon making it defective in the *cat.* of و, except what occurs anomalously, vid. ثَوْبٌ مَصُونٌ [below], لَفْظٌ مَقُولٌ , فَرَسٌ مَقُودٌ , مِسْكٌ مَذُوفٌ; where the better-known [form] is مَقُونٌ , مَذُوفٌ , مَقُودٌ , and مَقُولٌ" (CD). Some of the Arabs treat a few *pass. parts.* in the *cat.* of و as sound, whence ثَوْبٌ مَصُونٌ *a garment preserved*, [from صَانَ , aor. يَصُونُ (Tsr); and مِسْكٌ مَذُوفٌ (A, Tsr), i. e., *moistened musk* (Tsr, Sn);] and فَرَسٌ مَقُودٌ *a led horse* (Aud, A), from قَادَ , aor. يَقُودُ; and قَوْلٌ مَقُولٌ *a saying said*, from قَالَ (Tsr); which have been heard (Aud). And Mb allows completion of مَفْعُولٌ from [the *cat.* of] و, as مَرِيضٌ مَعْرُودٌ *a sick man visited*; that, says he, not being heavier than سُورٌ *inf. n.* of سَرَتْ *I leaped* and غُورٌ *inf. n.* of غَارَ [683], because سُورٌ and غُورٌ contain two و s and two Dammās; whereas مَصُونٌ [above] contains, with two و s, only one Damma (IY). But that is not regular, contrary to the opinion of Mb (A).

§. 710. The opinion of [S (IY),] the author of the Book [11], in the case of every **ي** being a quiescent **ع** preceded by a letter pronounced with Damma, is that the Damma is converted into Kasra, in order that the **ي** may be preserved (M). But Akh differs from him in this rule, and substitutes **و** for the **ي** (IY). S converts the Damma into Kasra, in order that the **ي** may be preserved; and does not convert the **ي** into **و**, because the first [method] involves less alteration [706]. But Akh reverses the matter, adducing as evidence their agreement upon conversion of the **ي**, when a **ف**, into **و**, because of Damma on the preceding letter, as in **مُوسِرٌ** [686 (case 1, a), 699]. It is replied, however, that this is on account of the distance from the end, contrary to what happens when the **ي** is near the end, as in what we are discussing (R). Therefore, when such [a **فُعَلٌ** (IY)] as [the *sing.*] **بُرْدٌ** *a kind of striped garment* is formed from [**بَيْعٌ** *sale* and (IY)] **بَيَافٌ** *whiteness*, S says [**بَيْعٌ** and (IY)] **بَيْفٌ**: but Akh says [**بُوعٌ** and] **بُوفٌ**; and restricts conversion [of the Damma] to the *pl.*, such as **بَيْضٌ** *pl. of أَبْيَضٌ* [686 (case 1, α, γ), 718 (M), where, the *pl.* being heavier than the *sing.* [below], he substitutes Kasra for Damma, in order that the word may not increase in heaviness (IY). Similarly such [*sings.*] as **قِيلٌ** *saying* and **دَيْكٌ** *cock*, according to S, may be **فُعَلٌ** or

فَعِلٌ⁹; but Akh differs from him in that, holding that their measure must be [فَعِلٌ⁹,] according to the apparent [form] (BS). And مَعِيشَةٌ⁹ [333, 686], (1) according to S, may be (a) مَفْعَلَةٌ⁹ (M), in which case it contains transfer and conversion, transfer of the Damma to the ف, and its conversion into Kasra, in order that the ي may be sounded true (IY); (b) مَفْعَلَةٌ⁹ (M), in which case the vowel of the ع is transferred to the ف, nothing else [being done] (IY): (2) according to Akh, is [only (IY)] مَفْعَلَةٌ⁹; while, if it were مَفْعَلَةٌ⁹, you would say مَعْرَشَةٌ⁹ (M). But Akh contravenes this rule in such [*pass. parts.*] as مَبِيعٌ⁹ and مَعِيبٌ⁹ [709], where the elided, according to him, is the ع of the word, because it is the first of the two quiescents [663]: so that [first] the Damma [of the ي in مَبِيعٌ⁹ and مَعِيبٌ⁹] is transferred to the [ع and] ب [respectively], for transformation [697, 703]; then Kasra is substituted for it, in order that the ي may be preserved; and then the ي is elided, because of the two quiescents; so that the [quiescent] و, coming immediately after Kasra, is converted into ي [685 (case 5)]. Therefore the measure of the word, according to him, becomes مَفِيلٌ⁹; and this demolishes what he sets up [above] as a rule (IY). And, when a [*n.*] like تَرْتَبٌ⁹ [274, 678] is formed from بَيْعٌ⁹, S says تُبَيْعٌ⁹ [709, 712];

but Akh says ^{تُبُوعٌ} [712] (M), changing the *ى* into *و*, because quiescent and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as in ^{مُوسِرٌ} [above] and ^{مُوتِنٌ} [686], because Kasra is not substituted [by him] for Damma in what is a *sing.* [above]. And, but for the saying of the Arabs ^{مَعِيبٌ} and ^{مَبِيعٌ} [above], Akh's rule would be sound, strong; but hearsay furnishes cause for dissatisfaction with his rule (IY). And ^{مَضُوفَةٌ} in the saying [of Abù Jundab alHudhali (DH, Jh, MN)]

وَكُنْتُ إِذَا جَارِي دَعَا لِمَضُوفَةٍ
أَشِيرُ حَتَّى يَنْصَفَ السَّاقَ مِثْرَزَى

[And I was wont, when my neighbour called me for a matter that was feared, to tuck up my waist-wrapper until it went half-way up the shank (MN), which contains a confirmation of Akh's opinion, because it conforms to his rule (IY),] is, according to S, [anomalous (IY),] like ^{قَوْدٌ} [684, 703, 711] and ^{الْقُصْوَى} [685 (case 6, c), 725] (M), by rule ^{مَضِيفَةٌ} (IY); but, according to Akh, regular (M). ^{مَضُوفَةٌ} is ^{مَفْعَلَةٌ} from ^{جَلَّ} [I alighted at the man's abode as a guest (Jh), meaning a matter that has befallen him, and lighted on him, and distressed him (DH)]; or from ^{أَصَفْتُ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ}, i. e., I feared, or was cautious of, the matter, meaning a matter that one is afraid [or cautious] of: and in it they do

not convert the Damma into Kasra, but the *ى* into *و*, (Jrb). This verse, however, is [said by Skr to be (Jh)] related in three ways, with *مَضْرُوفَةٌ* [above], *مَضِيبَةٌ*, and *مُضَافَةٌ* (Jh, Jrb).

§. 711. Transformation and alteration belong to *vs.* [667, 684 (condition 11, a), 703, 712], because of their plasticity in the variation of their shapes for indication of *time* and other meanings, such as *command* and *prohibition*, imported from them. And transformation of *ns.* is only by conformity to them (IY). Of unaugmented *tril. ns.*, only those which are on the model of the *v.* [482] are transformed, as *بَابٌ* *door* and *دَارٌ* *house* [684, 703], *شَاكَّةٌ* *thorny tree* and *رَجْدٌ* *مَالٌ* [703], [and the like, which, being of the same formation as the *v.* (IY),] because on [the measure of] *فَعْلٌ* and *فَعِلٌ* (M), *بَابٌ* and *دَارٌ* on [the measure of] *فَعْلٌ* [with Fath of the *ع*], and *شَاكَّةٌ* [708] and *مَالٌ* on [that of] *فَعِلٌ* with Kasr of the *ع*, have their *ع* converted [into *ا*], because mobile and preceded by a Fatha; so that they become among *ns.* like *قَالَ* and *بَاعَ* among *vs.* [684, 703]. What necessitates conversion in them is the combination of similars, because the soft letters resemble vowels [697]: so that the Arabs dislike their combination, and therefore convert [the soft letter in] such as *قَالَ* and *بَاعَ*, and *بَابٌ* and

دَار , into a letter, vid. ا , with which one is absolutely safe from a vowel [703]; for which reason ا , according to them, is equivalent to a mobile letter, because it is incapable of receiving a vowel, as the mobile letter is incapable of receiving another vowel (IY). Such [trils.], however, sometimes remain sound, [as though serving to notify the o. f. (IY),] like (1) قَوْدٌ [684, 703], and حَوَكَةٌ and حَوْنَةٌ [247, 684] and جَوْرَةٌ [pl. of جَائِرٌ acting wrongfully (KF), which belong to the cat. of بَابٌ and دَارٌ (IY)]; (2) رَجُلٌ رَوَعٌ a timid man and حَوْلٌ [below] (M), which belong to the cat. of شَاكَةٌ and مَالٌ (IY). Their sayings رَوَحٌ [684], غَيْبٌ [257, 684], خَوْلٌ [dependents, sing. خَائِلٌ (MAR),] and قَوْدٌ [above] are anomalous; and so are رَجُلٌ حَوْلٌ an artful man and رَوَعٌ [above]. But فَعْلٌ with Damm of the ع does not occur in the hollow n., from the heaviness of Damma [upon the unsound letter] (R). Whatever is not on the model of the v. is treated as sound, [because it is not commensurable with the v. (IY),] like (1) لَوْمَةٌ blaming much (IY), نَوْمَةٌ [sleeping much (IY)], and عُيْبَةٌ [703] (M) one that upbraids people much, where the formation becomes [a preventive of transformation,] like the augment in جَوْلَانٌ and صَوْرَى [684, 703], what differs from the v. in mode of formation being treated like what differs therefrom in augment;

so that the formation of the *n.* necessitates its being treated as sound, because of its remoteness from resemblance to the *v.*, as likewise does the augment at its end (IY) : (2) عَوْضٌ [684, 713], عَوْدَةٌ [685, 713] (M), حَوْلٌ [below], and طَوْلٌ *tether*, all of which are [treated as] sound because their formation differs from that of *vs.* : (a) moreover, if we transformed such [*ns.*] as these, we should not arrive at a letter with which one is safe from a vowel [above], because we should arrive at و, in such as عَيْبَةٌ and لَوْمَةٌ, since the preceding letter is pronounced with Damm ; and at ي in such as حَوْلٌ and طَوْلٌ, since the preceding letter is pronounced with Kasr ; contrary to such as بَابٌ and دَارٌ, where we arrive at ا, a letter with which one is safe from a vowel (IY). They transform قِيمٌ [685, 713] only because it is an *inf. n.*, i. q. قِيَامٌ ; [though] used as an *ep.* in [the reading (IY)] دِينًا قِيَمًا VI. 162. [368, 713] (M) : and, but for that [quality of *inf. n.*], it would be [treated as] sound, like حَوْلٌ [removal from one place to another, which is a simple substantive (Jh, KF)] in لَا يَبْغُونَ عَنْهَا حَوْلًا XVIII. 108. *Not seeking removal from them*, because they do not make it conformable to a *v.* [331] ; whereas, if it were conformable to the *v.*, vid. حَالٌ, *aor.* يَحُولُ, you would say حَيْلٌ, because of the transformation of its

v. (IY). The *inf. n.* is transformed by reason of the v. 's being transformed (M), and [treated as] sound by reason of the v. 's being [treated as] sound, as لَبَّادٌ *inf. n.* of لَبَّدَ [713], and لَوَّادٌ *inf. n.* of لَوَّدَ [685 (case 2, b), 699, 711], because of the connection between them (IY): while حَوْلٌ *inf. n.* of حَالَ [685 (case 2, d), 713] is [explained] by Z as anomalous (IY),] like قَوْدٌ [above] (M); though the [better] account is what we have premised, [vid. that حَوْلٌ is a simple substantive, not an *inf. n.*,] because it is [then] regular (IY). And فَعْلٌ, (1) if from [the *cat. of*] و, has its ع made quiescent, because of the combination of two Dammās and the و, as نُورٌ [712, 721] and عُونٌ, *pls.* of نَوَارٌ and عَوَانٌ [246]; but in poetry is uncontracted, [according to the *o. f.* (IY),] as فِي أَغْرِ الثَّنَايَا الْحِ [246, 712] (M) and أَغْرِ الثَّنَايَا الْحِ [246]: (a) the use of the *o. f.*, vid. Damm [of the ع], here is a poetic license, according to S; but is allowable in prose, according to Mb, who says that, if you mean to substitute a Hamza for the و, [683], that [substitution] is allowable, because the و is pronounced with Damm (IY): (2) if from [the *cat. of*] ي, is like the sound: he that says كُتِبَ and رُسِلَ says غَيْرٌ and بَيُضٌ in the *pl.* of غَيُورٌ [246, 348] and بَيُوضٌ [246]; while he that says كُتِبَ and رُسِلَ says غَيْرٌ and بَيُضٌ [246] (M), because, being

فَعَّلٌ, it is subject to the same [transformation] as the pl. of أَبْيَضُ [686 (case 1, α, γ), 718] (IY).

§. 712. The condition of transformation of the ع in the *n.* [of more than three letters, like مَفْعَلٌ and تَفْعَلٌ (Jrb),] not *tril.*, [like بَابٌ and نَابٌ (MASH),] nor conformable [below] to the *v.*, [like the *inf. n.* and *act.* and *pass. parts* (MASH),] but such as has not been [hitherto] mentioned [below], is agreement with the *v.* in vowel and quiescence, together with difference from it in an augment, [like the م of مَفْعَلٌ (MASH),] or a mode of formation, [like تَفْعَلٌ (MASH),] peculiar to the *n.* (SH). In the *tril.* [*n.*], together with commensurability with the *v.* [703, 711], no difference is prescribed. The reason why difference is not prescribed in the *tril.*, but is prescribed in the augmented, is that [without difference] the augmented, if transformed, would, when used as a [proper] name [18], be confounded with the *v.*, because of the omission of Kasra and Tanwin [17]; whereas the *tril.*, even if a proper name, is distinguished from the *v.* by its Kasra and Tanwin. By "conformable" [248, 252, 331, 343, 349] IH means (1) the *inf. n.*, such as إِقَامَةٌ and اسْتِقَامَةٌ [703]: (2) the *act.* and *pass. parts.* from the *tril.* and *non-tril.* [703, 708, 709, 714]: (a) they may be said to contain commensurability, فَاعِلٌ

being on the measure of **يَفْعَلُ** [343, 703, 714] in respect of vowels and quiescences; and the , in **مَفْعُولٌ** being contrary to the *o. f.*, which is **مُفْعَلٌ**, like **يَفْعَلُ** [347, 703, 714]. IH's saying "such as has not been [hitherto] mentioned" is not needed, because, for conversion of the ع into ا [703], every *n.*, whether such as has, or such as has not, been [hitherto] mentioned, must possess the agreement specified [above], in the case of [both] the *tril.* [703, 711] and the augmented; together with the difference specified [above], in the case of the augmented: and similarly for transfer of the vowel from the ع of the augmented to the preceding quiescent, except in such as **إِفَامَةٌ** and **إِسْتِقَامَةٌ** [697, 699, 703], which, notwithstanding [their] lack of the agreement specified, contain transfer and conversion, because of their perfect affinity to their *v.*; and except in the *cat.* of **بَوَآئِعُ** [703, 708, 715], which also, notwithstanding [its] lack of agreement, contains conversion, because of [its] extreme heaviness. In the augmented *tril.*, then, together with commensurability with the *v.*, difference from it in some respect is prescribed, like the *aug.* letter (1) not used as an *aug.* in the *v.*, like the م of **مَقَامٌ** and **مُقَامٌ** [703]; for in the *o. f.* [**مَقْرُومٌ** and **مُقْرُومٌ**] they are like **تَحْمَدُ** *Thou praisest* and **تُحْمَدُ** *Thou art praised*, but in the initials of the *v.* م is not used as an augment: (2) used as an augment in the

v., but mobilized with a vowel not used as its vowel in the v., as تَبَاعٌ on the measure of تَفَعَّلَ with Kasr of the ت and Fath of the ع ; for it is commensurable with [the imp.] اَعْلَمَ Know thou, but in the initial of the v. there is no aug. ت pronounced with Kasr, such [a formation] as تَعْلَمُ being [merely] a *dial. var.* of some people [below], and withal not being general [even among them, but confined to particular classes of vs.], as before explained [404]. Sometimes the augmented *tril.* is transformed because of a difference other than the two mentioned, as بَآئِعٌ and قَائِمٌ [683 (case 2), 703, 708]: for they are commensurable with يَفْعَلُ [above]; but their *aug.* is not in the same place as, nor identical with, its *aug.* (R). Therefore, if from بَيَّعَ you formed [an augmented *tril. n.*], (1) like مَضْرِبٌ [361] and تَحْلِيٌّ [372, 678], you would say مَبِيعٌ and تَبِيعٌ, transformed (SH), because of their agreement with the v. in vowel and quiescence, together with [their] difference [from it] in مَبِيعٌ through the augment م, which is not used as an augment in vs.; and in تَبِيعٌ [below] through the Kasr of the ت, since ت, though used as an augment in the v., is not pronounced there with Kasr together with Kasr of the ع [404]: so that no confusion [of the n. with the v.] results from transformation (MASH): (2) like تَضْرِبُ [678], you

would say تَبِيعٌ, treating [it] as sound (SH), lest, if transformed, it should be confounded with the *v.*, since there would be no difference at all (MASH). The *n.* resembling the *aor.*, [then,] i. e., agreeing with it in number of consonants and vowels, shares with the *v.* [703] in the necessity of transformation by the transfer mentioned, provided that it contain a mark distinguishing it from the *v.* (A), to avert its being mistaken for the *v.* (Sn). Two sorts [of augmented *tril. n.*] are included in that [*cat.*]:—(1) what agrees with the *aor.* in its measure, but not in its augment, like مَقَامٌ *standing-place* [above]: for it agrees with the *v.* in its measure only, [because *orig.* مَقَرٌّ, like يَفْعَلُ (Sn);] but contains an augment, vid. the م, announcing that it does not belong to the class of *vs.*; so that it is transformed: (a) similarly such as مُقِيمٌ *setting upright* and مُبِينٌ *separating*: (b) if from تَبِيعٌ you formed مَفْعَلَةٌ with Fath [of the ع], then you would say مَبَاعَةٌ; if مَفْعَلَةٌ with Kasr, then مَبِيعَةٌ; and if مَفْعَلَةٌ with Damm, then also مَبُوعَةٌ according to the opinion of S, but مَبُوعَةٌ according to the opinion of Akh [710] (A): (α) مَفْعَلَةٌ is transformed on account of its resemblance to the *aor.* in measure, but not in augment; because the ة of femininization,

being virtually separate [266], does not prevent [agreement with] the measure (Sn): (c) such as (M) مَكْوَزَةٌ *Makwaza* [4, 716] (M, R), مَزِيدٌ *Mazyad*, and مَرِيْمٌ [below] (M), among (R) proper names (IY, R) of human beings (IY), and مَدَيْنٌ [below] (M), a name of a place (IY), and مَشُورَةٌ *consultation, counsel*, مَصِيدَةٌ *snare, trap, net*, [with Fath of the م (R), as وَقَعَ الصَّيْدُ فِي مَصِيدَتِنَا *The game fell into our trap* (IY),] and مَقْوَدَةٌ [as] اَلْفَكَاةُ *The jest is a means of leading to annoyance*, [among ns. not proper names (IY),] are anomalous (M, R), by rule مَكَازَةٌ [Part I, Note on p. 8, l. 1]; مَرَامٌ, مَرَامٌ, and مَدَانٌ, like مَقَالٌ *saying* [366] and مَقَامٌ [above]; and مَقَادَةٌ, [مَصَادَةٌ,] like مَقَالَةٌ *saying* and مَعَانَةٌ *help* (IY): and لَمْتَرَبَةٌ II. 97. [591] is read (M), like مَشُورَةٌ [above] (K, IY, B), by Kātāda and Abu-sSimāk, by rule مَثَابَةٌ; while AZ transmits هَذَا شَيْءٌ مَطْيِبَةٌ لِّلنَّفْسِ *This is a thing giving pleasure to the soul* and هَذَا شَرَابٌ مَبْرُوكٌ *This is a diuretic drink*: (d) this in the n. is like اسْتَحْوَذَ and أَغْلَيْتِ الْمَرْأَةُ [703, 707] in the v., as though they produced some of the unsound [formations] according to their o. fs., for a notification thereof, and for preservation of the altered o. fs. (IY):

(e) as for مَرِيْمٌ and مَدْيَنٌ [above] (R, A), if you make them فَعِيلٌ, there is no anomaly, since the ي is co-ordinative [703]; whereas, if you make them مَفْعَلٌ, they are anomalous (R): [but] it has been already mentioned [674] that their measure is فَعْلَلٌ; not مَفْعَلٌ, otherwise transformation [by transfer and then conversion (Sn)] would be necessary; nor فَعِيلٌ, because it is not found in the language: (2) what agrees with the *aor.* in its augment, but not in its measure, as when you form from قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ a *n.* on the model of تَحْلِيٌّ with Kasr of the ت, in which case you say تَقِيلٌ and تَبِيعٌ [above] with two Kasras followed by a quiescent ي [original in تَبِيعٌ, and converted from تَقِيلٌ, the transformation of تَبِيعٌ being by transfer only, and of تَقِيلٌ by transfer and conversion (Sn)]: (a) when you form from بَيْعٌ a *n.* on the paradigm of تَرْتُبٌ, you say, according to the opinion of S, تَبِيعٌ with Damm and then Kasr; but, according to the opinion of Akh, تَبُوعٌ [710]: (b) the mark distinguishing this sort [of augmented *tril. n.*] from the *v.* is its being on a measure peculiar to the *n.*, because تَفْعَلٌ with Kasr, or Damm, of the ت [and ع together (Sn)] is not [found] in the *v.*; [so that its commensurable is not fancied to be a *v.* (Sn),] and is therefore transformed (A). According to Mb, together

with the commensurability and difference mentioned, another condition is prescribed, vid. that the word should be one of the *ns.* connected with *vs.* [330]. Therefore مَرِيْمٌ and مَدِيْنٌ [above] are not transformed; and, according to him, are not anomalous: nor are تَقْرِئٌ and تَبِيْعٌ transformed, according to him, since they do not contain the sense of the *v.* (R). As for what resembles the *aor.* in its measure and augment, or differs therefrom in both together, it must be treated as sound. The first [sort] is such as اَبْيَضٌ and اَسْوَدٌ [348, 707] (A), which are *eps.* on the measure of اَحْمَرٌ [249, 372, 671, 672], but resemble [the *aor.*] اَعْلَمُ *I know* in measure and augment (Sn); [and are therefore treated as sound,] because, if transformed, they would be fancied to be *vs.* (A). If the augmented [*tril.*] *n.* be not different from the *v.* in any respect, as اَبْيَضٌ and اَسْوَدٌ [above], اَدُوْنُ مِنْكَ *lower than thou* and اَبْيَعُ [707], اُبْيَعُ on the measure of اِصْبَعٌ [372], and تُرْتَبُ on the measure of تَبِيْعٌ [372, 678], it is in no case transformed, in order that *ns.* may be distinguished from *vs.*, which one worrier of transformation, because it is principally [found] in them [703, 711] (R). And [similarly (R)] اَدُوْرٌ and اَعْيُنٌ [242] (M, SH), *pls.* of دَارٌ and عَيْنٌ (MASH), are [treated as] sound (Jrb), (1) because liable to confusion (SH) with the *v.* on being used as names, as above shown (R), [i. e.,]

(a) with the *pret.* of إِدَارَةٌ making to turn round and إِعَاذَةٌ reaching a spring in digging for water, if they were transformed by conversion of the , and ي into ا , because mobile and preceded by a letter virtually pronounced with Fath [703]; as being so pronounced in their *sing.*; or (b) with the 1st pers. of the *aor.* from دَارَ turned round and عَانَ [683 (case 2)], if أَذُورُ and أَعِينُ were said (MASH): or (2) because not conformable [above] (SH) to the *v.* (Jrb, MASH), which is obvious (Jrb); nor different (SH) from it [MASH] in the prescribed mode, which means that, though their agreement with the *v.* [in measure] is realized, still the condition of its being taken into consideration is that they should be different from the *v.* in some respect, while in default of such difference the condition of transformation is missing (Jrb). And أَخُونَةٌ (M, R) and أَصُونَةٌ (R), *pls.* of خَوَانٌ table [713] and صَوَانٌ [685, 713] (MAR), and أَعِينَةٌ (M), *pl.* of عِيَانٌ [246] (KF), where, though the ة [at the end], like the م at the beginning, makes them different from the *v.*, transfer is not employed, because the ة , though necessary here [265], is constitutionally separable [266]; so that, being here like the ة in أُسُودَةٌ *fem.* of أُسُودٌ serpent [685 (case 7, d)], it is [virtually] non-existent. Nor is transfer employed in such as أَهْوَنَاءُ and أَبْيَنَاءُ [251, 714], because the [prolonged] ا of feminization,

being inseparable and like part of the word, excludes them from commensurability with the *v.*, as the [abbreviated] ا does in صَوْرَى and حَيْدَى, and the ا and ن in طَيْرَانٌ *flying* and جَوْلَانٌ [684 (condition 11, a, d), 703]. Some of the Arabs transfer the Kasra of the ي in أَبِينَاءُ, saying أَبِينَاءُ [714], not because of resemblance to the *v.*, otherwise they would also transfer [the Kasra of the و] in أَهْوَنَاءُ; but because of dislike to Kasra on ي, they being similars [697]; as the [second] Damma is elided in نُورٌ [for نُورٌ] *pl.* of نَوَارٌ [246, 711, 721], because Damma on و is deemed heavy: so that such as أَبِينَاءُ exclusively, notwithstanding the lack of the commensurability mentioned, is transformed by transfer because of the extreme heaviness. But [even] in such as أَبِينَاءُ non-transformation is more frequent: nay, transfer is anomalous, contrary to نُورٌ [above], where quiescence is more frequent, because و pronounced with Damm is heavier than ي pronounced with Kasr; so that the و and Damma in فِي الْأَكْفِ الْأَمْعَاتِ الْخ [246, 711] are anomalous (R). As for such as يَزِيدُ *Yazid* [4, 18], when a proper name, [which resembles the *aor.* in measure and augment (Sn),] it was transformed when a *v.*, and afterwards transferred to the *cat.* of proper name (A, MASH). And [similarly (MASH)] أَبَانٌ *Abān* (R, MASH),

when a proper name, if said to be **أَفْعَلٌ** (MASH), according to those who decline it as a diptote, is transferred from a transformed *v.* (R); whereas, if said to be **فَعَالٌ**, [according to those who decline it as a triptote (R),] it does not belong to what we are discussing (R, MASH). And the second [sort] is like **مَخِيطٌ** [366, 714] (A), which is different from the *aor.* in Kasr of its initial, and in its initial's being an *aug.* م (Sn). This is the obvious [conclusion] (A), i. e., that such as **مَخِيطٌ** is treated as sound because of its difference from the *aor.* in measure and augment, without regard to those who pronounce the aoristic letter with Kasr [404], because they are few (Sn). IM and his son say that such as **مَخِيطٌ** ought to be transformed, because its augment is peculiar to *ns.*; while it resembles **تَعَلَّمَ** [404], i. e., with Kasr of the aoristic letter in the *dial.* of some people [above]: but that it is made to accord with **مَخِيطٌ** [366, 714], because of its resemblance thereto in form and sense. But it is sometimes said that, if what they say were correct, the paradigm of **تَحَلَّى** [above] would not be transformed, because it resembles **تَحَسَّبَ** [with Kasr of the ت (Sn)] in its measure and augment (A); while the reply that Kasr of the ع in **تَحَسَّبَ** [482] is anomalous is effective only in **تَحَسَّبَ** exclusively, not

in other *aor.* vs. regularly pronounced with Kasr of the ع, like تَجْلِسُ, تَضْرِبُ, and تَعْرِفُ, with which, according to the *dial.* of those who pronounce the aoristic letter with Kasr, تَحِلِّيُ is commensurable without any anomaly in respect of Kasr of the ع (Sn). And moreover, if it were admitted that transformation was obligatory because of what they mention [about the resemblance of مَخِيطٌ to تَعْلَمُ], it would not be obligatory upon all [of the Arabs (Sn)], but only upon those who pronounce the aoristic letter with Kasr. IM indicates this second [sort], [which differs from the *aor.* in measure and augment, like مَخِيطٌ (Sn),] by his saying “But مَفْعَلٌ is treated as sound, like مَفْعَالٌ”, meaning that مَفْعَالٌ being different from the *v.*, i. e., not resembling it in measure or augment, is entitled to be treated as sound, like مَسْوَاكٌ tooth-stick and مَكْيَالٌ corn-measure; and that مَفْعَلٌ is made to accord with it in being treated as sound, because resembling it in sense, like مَقُولٌ [252] and مَقْوَالٌ loquacious, eloquent [714], مَخِيطٌ and مَخِيَاطٌ [above] (A). By analogy, such as مَقُولٌ and مَخِيطٌ should be transformed, since they are on the measure of اَعْلَمُ [above]: but KHi says that they are not transformed, because contracted from مَفْعَالٌ, which is incommensurable with the *v.*; the

proof that *مِفْعَالٌ* is the *o. f.* of *مِفْعَلٌ* being that they are often associated, as *مَخِيْطٌ* and *مَخِيَّاطٌ* [366], *مِنْكَتٌ* and *مِنْكَاتٌ* *adz* (R). The obvious [conclusion], however, is what I have mentioned before, *vid.* that the cause of *مَخِيْطٌ*'s being treated as sound is that it differs from the *v.* in measure and augment, because, being contracted from *مَخِيَّاطٌ* [366], it is [identical with] the latter; not that it is made to accord with *مَخِيَّاطٌ*: and many etymologists are of this opinion (A). And such as *حَدَوْلٌ* [369], *خِرْوَعٌ* [374], and *عَلِيْبٌ* [below] (SH) are [treated as] sound (Jrb), (1) for preservation of the co-ordination (SH), since the co-ordinated is not transformed by elision, or transfer, of a vowel, nor by elision of a consonant, lest it vary from the standard [form], in which case the object of co-ordination would be defeated: except when the transformation is in the final, which is transformable, because finals are the seat of alteration; and because elision of the vowel from the final, as in *مِعْرَى* [272, 375, 673], does not spoil the measure; while elision of the final consonant, on account of Tanwīn [643, 683], as in *مِعْرَى*, is like no elision, because Tanwīn is not inseparable from the word [609, 731 (condition 1, f, b, α)]: (a) *عَلِيْبٌ* [374], according to Akh, is co-ordinated with *جُخْدَبٌ* [392]:

and, according to S also, is due to co-ordination, like سُودٌ [331, 718]; although فَعَلٌ [392], according to him, does not occur (R): or (2) because of pure quiescence (SH), since the quiescence before the unsound letter is permanent; and in that case the preceding letter is neither pronounced, nor virtually pronounced, with Fath [703] (Jrb): (a) this is the true excuse, not the first, because , and ى preceded by a quiescent are converted into † only on account of that quiescent's being pronounced with Fath in the o. f. of that word [703]; whereas, in what we are discussing, no vowel exists in the o. f. (R).

§. 713. The mobile , preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr ought not to be converted into ى , except at the end of the word [301, 721], like رَأَيْتُ الْغَارِيَّ *I saw the raider* [16, 685 (case 1), 720, 724], as the mobile ى preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is not converted into , [even at the end], like التَّرَامِيَّ *competition in shooting*, [orig. التَّرَامِيَّ (MAR),] هَيَامٌ [686 (case 1, α, α), 714, 724], and عَيْبَةٌ [703, 711, 724], because Kasra's requirement of ى after it is like Damma's requirement of , after it; while, the , and ى being strengthened by the vowel, the Kasra and Damma, respectively, of the letter before them are not powerful enough to convert them. And, when they are doubled [716], they are

still stronger, as أَجْلِيَّوَانُ [332, 685 (case 5, b), 716] and بَيْعٌ; while أَجْلِيَّوَانُ [685, 716] is anomalous. But the non-final mobile, preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr is sometimes liable to the intervention of what requires it to be converted into ي, vid. conformity to another [word], as قِيَامٌ *inf. n.* of قَامَ [below]. That does not occur in the non-final mobile ي preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, which therefore remains in its *o. f.* (R). The , [mentioned, then (R)], preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, is converted into ي in [three things (R),] (1) such *inf. ns.* as قِيَامٌ [685 (case 2), 699, 724], عِيَادٌ [*inf. n.* of عَادَ sought protection (R)], قِيَمٌ [685 (case 2, d, α), 711], [and اِقْتِيَادٌ *inf. n.* of اِقْتَادَ led, attracted (R),] because their *vs.* are transformed (SH): (a) we do not mean that the *v.* is transformed in this way; but in some way, as the , in عِيَادٌ is converted into ي because عَادَ is transformed by conversion of the , into ا: (b) if it be said "How is it that such [an *inf. n.*] as عِيَادٌ is, and such as طَيْرَانٌ [712] is not, transformed by reason of the transformation of its *v.*, when neither of them is commensurable with its *v.*, whereas, if the *inf. n.*'s being conformable to [331], and exercising the government of, the *v.* be sufficient for transformation in عِيَادٌ ,

it is so in طَيْرَانٌ^٥, I say that Kasra's demand for conversion of , after it into ى is stronger than Fatha's demand for conversion of , and ى after it into ا , since such as قَوْلٌ and بَيْعٌ are frequent, while such as بَيْعٌ is rare, and such as قَوْلٌ with Kasra of the ف and quiescence of the , is not to be found [703]; so that, with the least resemblance between the *inf. n.* and its *v.*, the *inf. n.* is transformed by conversion of its , into ى , because of the preceding letter's being pronounced with Kasr, since the incentive to such conversion is strong (R): (c) حَوْلٌ^٥ *inf. n.* of حَالٌ [685 (case 2, d), 711] is [anomalous (R, Jrb),] like قَوْدٌ^٥ [703, 711] (SH), the regular form being حَيْلٌ^٥ (Jrb); contrary to the *inf. n.* of such as لَوْدٌ [685 (case 2, b), 699] (SH) and قَاوَمٌ [698], which have لَوَاذٌ^٥ and قَوَامٌ^٥ (Jrb), because [the , in (Jrb)] the *v.* is [treated as (R)] sound (R, Jrb), whence الَّذِينَ يَتَسَلَّلُونَ مِنْكُمْ لِوَاذًا^٥ XXIV. 63. [Those of you who steal away from the congregation, covering themselves one by another K, B)]; whereas, if the *v.* were لَازٌ took refuge, لِيَاذًا would be said [711] (Jrb): (d) [the , of] such as عَوْضٌ [684, 711] is not converted, because it is not an *inf. n.*; while قِيَمًا in VI. 162. [368, 711] is *orig. an inf. n.* (R): (2) such [pls. (R, Jrb)] as جِيَادٌ^٥ and دِيَارٌ^٥ [685 (case 3, a, and b, d,

α), 724] and رِيَّاح [below], تَيَّرٌ and دِيَمٌ, because [the ع of (R)] the *sing.* is transformed (SH) by its conversion into (a) ا, as in تَارَةً α *time*, *pl.* تَيَّرٌ [238]; (b) ي, as in دِيَمَةٌ, *pl.* دِيَمٌ [238, 278, 685 (case 3, a)], and رِيحٌ, *pl.* رِيَّاحٌ [237] (R): (α) the proof that the ي of تَيَّرٌ is [orig.] , is their saying تَارَتْهُ *I returned to him time after time* and النَّاسُ يَتَأَرَّرُونَ *The people return time after time*; and [also] what A.B. mentions, vid. that the ا of تَارَةً is substituted for , , its derivation being from تَوَّرٌ, which is *a messenger between people*: but the [opinion] mentioned in the Jh is that it belongs to the [cat. of] ي [below] (b) similarly دِيَمٌ is *orig.* دَوْمٌ, because it is from دَامٌ *continued*, *aor.* يَدُومُ: this is mentioned by one of the learned in his commentary on the Taṣrīf of IM; and is implied by the words of IH and Z: but the [opinion] mentioned in the Jh is what we have stated in the chapter on the Plural (Jrb), [vid. that] it belongs to the *cat. of* ي, because of their saying دَيَّمَتِ السَّمَاءُ *The sky rained continually*, *inf. n.* تَدْيِيمٌ: so he mentions in the Jh; whereas the truth is that it belongs to the *cat. of* , (Jrb on the Plural): (c) طَيَّالٌ [pl. of طَوِيلٌ (R) in تَبَيَّنَ لِي (Jrb)] is anomalous [246, 685 (case b, d, α)] (SH), by rule (Jrb), since [the ع of (R)] its *sing.* is not transformed (R, Jrb); and by usage also, since

the most frequent [form] is طَوَّال (Jrb): (d) رَوَّآء [685 (case 3, b, d, β)], pl. of رَيَّانُ, [notwithstanding that its *sing.* is transformed in the ع (R),] is [treated as] sound, [like هَوَّى and طَوَّى (R),] from dislike to [the combination of (Jrb)] two transformations [728]: and [so is (R, Jrb)] رَوَّآء pl. of نَارُ (SH), i. e., *fat* [camel (Jrb, MAR), from نَوَّى meaning *distance*; though it is regular (Jrb)], because the ع of its *sing.* is not transformed (R, Jrb); while even if it were transformed, still transformation of the pl. would not be allowable, because two transformations would be combined (R): (3) such [pls. (R)] as رِيَّاض [685 (case 3, b), 724], ثِيَاب [242, 279, 724] (SH), and حِيَاض [242, 685] (R), because the و is quiescent in the *sing.*, and followed by an † [in the pl.]; contrary to عَوْدَةٌ [685 (case 3, b, c), 711] and كَوْرَةٌ, [because the † is missing (Jrb)]: whereas ثَيَّرَةٌ [685, 724] is anomalous (SH), by rule ثَوْرَةٌ [below], because the † is missing; but, like اسْتَحْوَذَ [703, 707], it is anomalous [only] by rule, not by usage (Jrb): (a) this is the weakest of the three things; and therefore needs another condition, vid. that the و, occurring after Kasra should be followed by †; because the و of the *sing.* is not transformed, but [merely] contains a quasi-transformation, vid. its quiescence, which makes it dead, so that it is, as it were,

transformed : (b) the condition mentioned is effective because , between Kasra and ʾ is like a combination of three unsound letters [697] ; so that the heaviest of them, i. e., the , is converted into what is homogeneous with the preceding vowel, vid. ى : (c) although this condition is not prescribed for the two first [things], as in [the *inf. n.*] قِيمٌ [above], and [the *pls.*] تِيرٌ [below] and دِيمٌ [above], still it strengthens them ; and therefore حَوْلٌ [above], though an *inf. n.* of a transformed *v.*, may be treated as sound : (d) ثِيرَةٌ , together with ثَوْرَةٌ [above], is allowable, for conformity with ثِيرَانٌ [685 (case 3, b, c, δ)] : (e) خِرَانٌ [712] and صِرَانٌ [685 (case 5)] are [treated as] sound, because they are not *pls.* (R). But [Jh says that] تِيرٌ [238] is contracted from تِيَارٌ ; and is [so] altered only on account of the unsound letter, [which he holds to be ى (above)] ; while, but for that, it would not be altered, since they say رِحَابٌ , and not رِحْبٌ , as *pl.* of رَحْبَةٌ [238, 254] (Jh).

§. 714. The [augmented *tril.*] *n.*, when not like إِقَامَةٌ and اسْتِقَامَةٌ [below], which are transformed by reason of the transformation of their *vs.*, is debarred from transformation by [the fact] that the letter before, or after, its , or ى is quiescent (M) ; so that, if the , and ى were made quiescent, two quiescents would

concur, and elision or mobilization [of one of them] would be necessary, in which case the formation would be obliterated (IY). That [*n.* (IY)] is [of three kinds, being treated as sound because of the quiescence of (IY)] (1) [the letter before the ع , like (IY)] حَوْلٌ [experienced (IY)]; مَقَامٌ and مَعَايِشُ [717] (M), as in the saying of AlAkhtal

وَإِنِّي لَقَوَّامٌ مَقَامٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ * جَرِيرٌ وَلَا مَوْلَى جَرِيرٍ يَقُومُهَا

And verily I am wont to stand in places wherein Jarîr is not, nor the patron of Jarîr, one to stand and جَعَلْنَا وَجَعَلْنَا لَكُمْ فِيهَا مَعَايِشَ VII. 9. And have made for you therein means of subsistence [717] (IY); and أَهْوَنَاءُ and أَبْيَنَاءُ [251, 712]: (2) [the letter after the ع , like (IY)] سَوَوْقٌ [242], غُرُورٌ [242, 683], and شُبُوحٌ [239, 242]; طَوِيلٌ [348, 683-685]; هَيْأَمٌ [686, 713]; and خِيَارٌ, [as خِيَارٌ مِنْ قَوْمٍ], [as خِيَارٌ A good man, come of good people (IY)]: (3) the letter before, and the letter after, the ع , like (IY)] عَوَّارٌ [ophthalmia and بَيَّاعٌ great seller (IY)]; مِشْوَارٌ [place where beasts are exhibited and مِقْرَالٌ copious, excellent, in speech (IY)]; and تَقْوَالٌ (M), [تَجْوَالٌ and (IY)], [from جَوَلْتُ [489] and قَوَلْتُ I said much, like تَسْيَارٌ [332, 334], denoting multiplication: (a) the preventive of transformation here is the unsound letter's being enclosed by two quiescents [below]; so that, if it were converted

into ۱, three quiescents would concur, which would be a sort of impossibility [663]. Moreover these *ns.* have not the same formations as *vs.*, while only what is on the measure of the *v.* is transformed [703, 711, 712]; so that these *ns.* are [treated as] sound from their lack of resemblance to *vs.*, since they are not on the measure of *vs.*, nor conformable to them. In أَهْوَنَاءُ and أَبْيَنَاءُ, however, the ع is sounded true because they are on the measure of the *v.*, and the augment at their beginning is like the augment in the *v.* [712], أَهْوَنَ being like أَضْرَبَ *I should strike*; while the ۱ of femininization is not accounted a distinctive, because it is quasi-separate, since, if you formed a *dim.* from what contains it, you would form the *dim.* from the first part [of the *n.*], and afterwards put the ۱, as حَمَرَآءُ and خَنَفَسَاءُ from حَمَرَآءُ and خَنَفَسَاءُ [274, 282, 283]: although they do say أَعْيَاءُ and أَبْيَنَاءُ for أَعْيَاءُ [728] and أَبْيَنَاءُ [712], the Kasra of the ى being thrown upon the preceding [quiescent] letter. As for إِقَامَةٌ and إِسْتِقَامَةٌ [699, 703], we transform them, as we transform their *vs.*, because إِفْعَالٌ and إِسْتِفْعَالٌ are as inseparable from [the *inf. ns.* of] أَفْعَلٌ and إِسْتَفْعَلٌ [332] as يُفْعِلُ and يَسْتَفْعِلُ from their *aors.* [404]; whereas, if they differed [from their *vs.*], as the unaugmented *trils.* differ from their *inf. ns.*, of which various

kinds occur [331], they would be [treated as] sound, as ^{فُعُولٌ}, like ^{غُورٌ} [above], is (IY). Such [ns.] as ^{نَوَالٌ} *gift* and ^{سَيَالٌ} *a species of mimosa or acacia*, ^{طَوِيلٌ} [above], ^{غُورٌ} [348, 684, 685] and ^{قَوُولٌ} *eloquent* [730. A], ^{تَقَوَالٌ} and ^{تَسَيَارٌ} [above], are not transformed, (1) because of their incommensurability with the *v.* [712]: (2) as is said, because of ambiguity [below], since, if they were transformed, elision would ensue; or mobilization by conversion into Hamza, as in ^{قَائِلٌ} and ^{بَائِعٌ} [708]: but this is reputed by [the fact] that transformation is proper if its cause be existing, as in the *exs.* mentioned (R). ^{تَقَوَالٌ} and ^{تَسَيَارٌ}, [though *inf. ns.* of transformed *vs.* (R, MASH), i. e., ^{قَالَ} *said* and ^{سَارَ} *journeyed* (MASH),] are [treated as] sound, because of ambiguity [above] (SH); and are not made to conform to their *vs.*, as ^{إِقَامَةٌ} and ^{إِسْتِقَامَةٌ} are made to conform to ^{أَقَامَ} and ^{إِسْتَقَامَ} [703, 712], lest, after transformation, they be mistaken for ^{فَعَالٌ} [below] (R). The generality of Commentators say that, if the ع here were converted into ا, after mobilization of the ف, two اs would be combined; and, after elision of one of them, ^{تَقَالٌ} and ^{تَسَارٌ} would remain, which might be mistaken for the *pass.* of ^{تَقُولُ} and ^{تَسِيرُ}: but this is [unsatisfactory,] as you see, since the ت here is pronounced with Fath; so that one is reduced either to

[the hypothesis] that ambiguity in appearance, [not in sound,] is meant; or to what R says, that they might be mistaken for ^{فَعَالٌ} [above], the ^ت being fancied to be *rad.* (MASH). This [suggestion of ambiguity as the cause] is the saying of IH (R): but [R says that (MASH)] the [true] reason is what has been mentioned before, vid. that the ^ع of the *inf. n.* is not transformed in this way unless the *inf. n.* be regular, equal to its *v.* in keeping its augment in the same relative position as that of the *v.*, like ^{إِنْقَامَةٌ} and ^{اِسْتِقَامَةٌ} [699, 703]; whereas ^{تَقْرَأُ} and ^{تَسِيرُ} are not so (R, MASH). And ^{مَقْرَأٌ} [above] and ^{مَخِيَّاطٌ} [366, 712], (1) because of ambiguity (SH), since, if they were transformed, ^{مَقَالٌ} and ^{مَخَاطٌ} would be said; so that one would not know whether they were ^{مَفْعَلٌ} or ^{مَفْعَالٌ} (Jrb): (a) IH means that, being instrumental *ns.* [366] conformable to the *v.* [331], they would [naturally] be treated, as regards transformation, in the same way as the *v.* [703]; but that they are not transformed, because they might be mistaken for ^{مَفْعَلٌ} or ^{مَفْعَالٌ}: whereas the truth is that, since the cause of transformation, vid. commensurability with the *v.*, does not exist in them, they are not transformable; and that every *n.* connected with the *v.* [330] is not subject to this transformation (R): (2) because they are not on the pattern of the *v.*, from which they are differentiated

by the **ا** after the **ع** : (3) because the unsound letter here is enclosed by two quiescents [above]: while that necessitates sounding [it] true [even] in the *v.*, as **اِسْوَادٌ** [707]; and *a fortiori*, therefore, in the *n.* (Jrb). And **مِقْوَلٌ** [252, 712] and **مَخِيْطٌ** [366, 712] are contracted from, or *syn.* with, them (SH); and therefore not transformed (Jrb). These need excuse, because, being commensurable with the *v.*, as **اِحْمَدٌ** *Praise thou* and **اِذْعَبْ** [423, 667], and containing the [prescribed] difference [712] by the *aug.* **م** at the beginning, they ought properly to be transformed. And the excuse is that, being contracted from **مِفْعَالٌ**, they are treated like their *o. f.*: or we may say that, though they are not *derivs.*, but *o. fs.*, **مِفْعَلٌ** is made to conform, in omission of transformation, to **مِفْعَالٌ**, because *syn.* with it; and this is more appropriate, since agreement of **مِفْعَلٌ** with **مِفْعَالٌ** in meaning does not prove it to be a *deriv.* thereof (R). But such [*pass. parts.* (Jrb)] as **مَقْوَمٌ** [constructively **بِهِ مَقْوَمٌ** *undertaken* (Jrb)] and **مَبِيعٌ** are transformed by another [process] (SH), not by conversion of their **ع** into **ا** (R, Jrb, MASH), as in their *o. fs.* (R), on account of its being mobile and preceded by a letter virtually pronounced with Fath [703] (MASH), in which case **مَقَامٌ** and **مَبَاعٌ** would be said, for conformity with **قَامٌ** and **بَاعٌ**; but by quiescence

of their ع , and transfer of its vowel (Jrb), because of ambiguity (SH), since, if مَبَاعٌ and مَقَامٌ were said, no one would know whether they were مَفْعُولٌ [697, 703, 709] or مَفْعَلٌ [703, 712] (MASH). And such [formations] as جَوَادٌ [246], طَوِيلٌ [above], and غَيُورٌ (SH), notwithstanding the unsound letter's being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath (MASH), are [treated as] sound (Jrb), (1) because [after conversion of the unsound letter into ا , two quiescents would be combined, the first of them an ا : so that, if the second were mobilized, and جَادِدٌ , طَائِلٌ , and غَائِرٌ were said (MASH),] they might be mistaken for فَاعِلٌ ; or [if the first were elided, and جَادٌ , طَيْلٌ , and غَوْرٌ remained, they might be mistaken (MASH)] for فَعْلٌ (SH), with the ع mobile in جَادٌ , and quiescent in the two last: while, if the second quiescent were elided, then جَادٌ , طَائِلٌ , and غَائِرٌ would remain, which might be mistaken for فَعْلٌ mobile in the ع ; or for the *pret.* of جَادٌ was liberal, aor. يَجُودُ , طَائِلٌ was long, aor. يَطُولُ , and غَائِرٌ was jealous, aor. يَغَارُ (MASH): or (2) because they (a) are not conformable to the *v.* [712] (SH), since the [*eps.*] conformable to it are the *act.* and *pass. parts.*, which agree with it in shape, and in indication of *coming newly into existence* [343, 347], for which reason Z says in the M, in explanation of the *act.* and *pass. parts.*, that they are " what

is conformable" [in its vowels and quiescences (IY on §§. 343, 347), and the number of its letters (IY on §. 347),] "to the *يَفْعَلُ*" and "*يَفْعَلُ*", respectively, ["of its *v.*" (M on §§. 343, 347)]; and, in explanation of the assimilate *ep.*, that it is "not [one of the *eps.* (M on §. 348)] conformable" to the *v.* (Jrb): and (b) do not agree with it (SH) in vowel and quiescence [712], which is obvious (Jrb). But the truth is that they are not transformed because they do not belong to the sorts of *n.* mentioned by us [703] as transformed (R).

§. 715. When the *l* of [the *pl.* belonging to] the *cat.* of *مَسَاجِدُ* [18, 256] is enclosed by two unsound letters, the second is converted into *l*, because of (1) its nearness to the end (R) of the word, for which reason it is assimilated to the *و* of *سَمَاءُ* [246, 683 (case 1, *k, β*)], as they say *صِيمٌ* [below], treating it like *عَتِيٌّ* [684, 685, 722] (S); and (2) the combination of two unsound letters having between them a weak separative (R), not an insuperable barrier, but only *l*, which is so faint that [for *قَوَائِلُ*] you seem to say *قَوُولُ* (S). And afterwards the second [*l*] is converted into Hamza, as in *قَائِلٌ* and *بَائِعٌ* [683 (case 2), 708], whether each of the two [enclosing letters] be a *و*, as in *أَوَائِلُ* [357, 683 (case 4, *b*), 708, 726] (R), orig. *أَوَاوِلُ* (IY); or a *ي*, as in *بَيَّاعُ* *pl.* of *بَيْعٌ* seller,

chafferer [730. A.]: or the first be a , and the second a ي , as in بَوَاعٍ *pl.* of بَوَيْعَةٌ , [on the measure of] فَوَاعِلُهُ from بَيْعٌ ; or the converse, as in عَيَّالٍ *pl.* of عَيْلٌ [below], *orig.* عَيْرٌ , because from عَالٌ [had many dependents to support (MAR)], *aor.* يَعُولُ (R), *inf. n.* عَوْلٌ (MAR). And, as for ضَيَّانٌ , [by rule ضَيَّانٌ with Hamza (R),] it is anomalous (R, A) in the *pl.*, as [ضَيِّونٌ is] in the *sing.* [685 (case 7, c, b, α, and d, d)] (R): but, since the , is sounded true in the *sing.*, it is sounded true in the *pl.*; so that they say ضَيَّانٌ , as they say ضَيِّونٌ , by rule ضَيِّينٌ [685, 716] (A). That [conformity of the *pl.* to the *sing.* in lack of alteration] is, however, not universal, since you say بَنَاتُ الْبَيْتِ [veins in the heart, whence comes tenderness (Jh, MAR)], with dissolution of incorporation, anomalously, [as an Arab woman of the desert, reproving a son of hers, on being asked “What ails thee that thou dost not curse him?”, said

تَأْبَى لَهُ ذَاكَ بَنَاتُ الْبَيْتِ

My heart-strings forbid, or My tenderness forbids, that for him (Jh, MAR)]; and, in the *pl.* [256], بَنَاتُ الْأَبِّ , incorporated (R): though it is stated in the Ṣaḥāḥ that (MAR), in the *pl.* and *dim.* of الْبَيْتِ , you say الْأَبِّ and الْبَيْتِ , which [statement] is more probable than the saying of those who transform them (Jh MAR) by

incorporation of the ب into its like (MAJh). And the correct [opinion] is that ضَيَّانٌ is not to be taken as a precedent (A) for sounding the , true, whenever a *pl.* is found resembling it in soundness of [the , in] the *sing.*; though some people make a precedent of it: so in [the commentary of] IUK (Sn). Out of all those [four cases] the [only one actually] heard is where the | of the *pl.* is enclosed by two , s; while S constructs the remaining three by analogy to it, because two ى s, or , and ى , are deemed heavy like two , s (R). What is mentioned [in §. 683 (case 4)] as to there being no difference, in the two soft letters, between two , s, two ى s, and , and ى , is the opinion of S and Khl and those who agree with them (Tsr). But Akh holds [that Hamza is only in the case of two , s : and (Tsr)] that [by analogy (R)] there is no Hamza in the case of two ى s, or of , and ى [716] (R, Tsr), because their combination is not like that of two , s [in degree of heaviness] (R); so that you say نَيَّافٌ [683], سَيَّادٌ , and صَوَّائِدٌ , according to the *o. f.* (Tsr); while بَوَّائِعُ *pl.* of بَائِعَةٌ [247] is pronounced with Hamza only because it is *pl.* of what has its ع converted into Hamza [708], [an argument which applies equally to صَوَّائِدٌ]. Therefore, when you form the *act. part.* from حَيَّى [697, 728] and شَوَّى *roasted*, saying حَايٍ with ى and شَاوٍ [685 (case 10, b, a)], like قَايٍ [16], you say,

in its *pl.* for irrational objects [247], (1) according to S, حَوَايَا and شَوَايَا [726], because the *h* of the *pl.* occurs between *و*, and *ي* in the *pl.* of حَايٍ, and between two *و*, *s* in the *pl.* of شَاوٍ : (a) you do not make the *pl.* of شَاوٍ imitate its *sing.*, as you do in the *pl.* of إِدَاوَةٌ [281], since, if you did, you would say شَوَاوِي [726], which would be a flight [back] to what has been fled from : (2) according to the opinion of Akh, حَوَايٍ with *ي* : (a) as for شَوَايَا, there is no dispute about it, because of the combination of two *و*, *s* (R). Akh's doubt is that the substitution in the case of two *و*, *s* is only because of their heaviness; while there is a precedent for that, vid. [in] the combination of two *و*, *s* at the beginning of the word [683, 699]; whereas, when two *ي* *s*, or *و*, and *ي*, are combined at the beginning of the word, there is no [substitution of] Hamza, as يَوْمٌ and يَيْنٌ [698]. But the sound [opinion] is what S holds, vid. that the substitution is unrestricted, because of (1) analogy, since the substitution in [the penultimate of] أَوْ آئِلٌ is only by conformity to [the final of] كَسَاءٌ and رَدَاءٌ [683 (case 1), 723], because of its resemblance to the latter in respect of its nearness to the end; while in كَسَاءٌ and رَدَاءٌ there is no difference between *ي* and *و*, and so therefore here : (2) hearsay, because AZ transmits سَيَاتُقُ with Hamza, as *pl.* of

سَيْقَة *stalking-animal*, which is فَيْعَلَة from سَاق *drove*,
 aor. يَسُوقُ ; and Jh transmits جَيَّائِدُ [and سَيَّائِدُ (Jh)]
 with Hamza, as *pl.* of جَيِّدُ (Tsr) and سَيِّدُ (Jh). Mz
 says "I asked As how the Arabs form the broken *pl.* of
 عَيْلُ [below], and he said 'They pronounce with Hamza,
 as in the case of two , s'"; and this is an authority in
 support of Khl and S (IY). When the unsound letter
 after the | of the *pl.* is far from the end, you do not
 convert it into |, whether the two enclosing letters be
 both , s, as in طَوَائِيسُ [708]; or both سى s, as in بَيَّائِعُ *pl.*
 of بَيَّاعُ [714, 730. A]; or different, as in قَيَّائِمُ *pl.* of قَيَّامُ
 [384, 716], and بَوَائِعُ *pl.* of بَيَّاعُ [685 (case 7), 716] on
 the measure of تَوَرَّابُ [377], from بَاعَ, if you give these
 [broken] *pls.* to the *ns.* mentioned [252]. As for عَوَارِزُ
 [252] *pl.* of عَوَّارُ [714] meaning *mote*, as

وَكَحَّالَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ بِالْعَوَارِزِ

[253], [the , in (MAR)] it is [sounded true (MAR)]
 because its *o. f.* is عَوَارِيزُ, the ى being elided because
 sufficiently represented by the Kasra : while عَيَّائِلُ, as

فِيهَا عَيَّائِلُ أُسُودٍ وَنَمَرٍ

[237], is [pronounced] with Hamza because its *o. f.* is
 عَيَّائِلُ, the Kasra being impleted (R), since it is *pl.* of

عَيْدٌ [708] (R, Aud, A), with Kasr of the ي (Aud), like سَيْدٌ [251], meaning *poor* (R) [or *dependent*], *sing.* of عِيَالٌ *dependents* (Aud, A), عَيْدٌ having thus two *pls.* عِيَالٌ and عَيَائِدٌ (Sn); [for] Sgh says “The *sing.* of عِيَالٌ is عَيْدٌ, *pl.* عَيَائِدٌ, like جَيْدٌ, *pls.* جَيَّادٌ and جَيَّائِدٌ” (A): so that in both *pls.* [عَوَائِدُ and عَيَائِدُ] the *o. f.* is observed (R). And hence the transformation of صَيْمٌ [above] and قَيْمٌ [247], [by conversion of the , into ي (IY)], because of [it’s (IY)] nearness to the end; [contrasted] with the treatment of صَوَامٌ and قَوَامٌ [384] as sound, [when the unsound letter is far from the end (IY);] while فَلَانٌ مِّنْ صُيَابَةِ قَوْمِهِ [Such a one is of the choice, or best, set of his people, transmitted by Fr (IY),] and فَمَا أَرْقَ النَّيَّامُ آلِخِ [685 (case 10, b, b), 716, 722] are anomalous (M). All of this is in the *pl.*: but, if the like [enclosure of an antepenultimate † by two unsound letters] occur in the *non-pl.*, then also S converts the second into †, and afterwards into Hamza; while Akh and Zj do not alter it [683 (case 4, b)] (R).

§. 716. The , whether [it be (MASH)] an ع, or a ل [722], or anything else, [i. e., *an aug.*, like the , of مَفْعُولٌ and the , of the *pl.* (MASH),] when it is combined with ي, and the first [of them, whichever it be (MASH),] is quiescent [below], is converted into ي; and

[the first ى (MASH)] is incorporated [into the second (MASH)]; while the preceding [vowel], if Damma, is converted into Kasra [below]: as, (1) [when the , is an ع (R),] (a) سَيِّدٌ [251, 747] (SH) and مَيِّتٌ (Jrb), *orig.* فَيَعِلُّ (MASH) and مَيِّتٌ (Jh), on the measure of فَيَعِلُّ [685 (case 7, a, a), 703] (Jrb): (b) أَيَّامٌ [747] (SH), *orig.* أَيَّامٌ (R, Jrb): (c) دَيَّارٌ [322, 499] (SH), *orig.* دَيَّارٌ, being فَيَعَالٌ from دُرْتُ *I went round* (Jrb); and قَيَّامٌ [384, 715] (SH), *orig.* قَيَّامٌ (R), being فَيَعَالٌ (R, Jrb) from قَامَ, *aor.* يَقُومُ (Jrb): whereas, if [دَيَّارٌ and (Jrb)] قَيَّامٌ were [on the measure of (Jrb)] فَعَالٌ, then [دَوَّارٌ and (Jrb)] قَوَّامٌ would be said (R, Jrb), because they are from [us. whose ع is] , (Jrb): (d) قَيَّومٌ [377] (SH), *orig.* قَيَّومٌ, being فَيَعُولٌ (R, Jrb) from قَيَّامٌ [713] (Jrb); whereas, if it were [on the measure of (Jrb)] فَعُولٌ, then قَوَّومٌ would be said (R, Jrb): (e) طَيٌّ [278, 302, 685 (case 7, a, b)] (SH), *orig.* طَوًى, *inf. n.* of طَوَّيْتُ (Jrb): (2) [when the , is a ل (R),] دَلِيَّةٌ (SH), *orig.* دَلِيَّةٌ (R, Jrb), because *dim.* of دَلْوٌ *bucket* [280], the ة being put because دَلْوٌ is *masc.* and *fem.* [282] (Jrb): (3) [when the , is anything else (R),] (a) مَرْمِيٌّ [294, 347] (SH), *orig.* مَرْمُوءٌ (Jrb), the , being the , of مَفْعُولٌ (R), because it is مَفْعُولٌ from رَمَيْتُ; (b) مُسْلِمِيٌّ [685 (case 7), 728, 730], when a *nom.* (SH), *orig.* مُسْلِمُوءٌ

(Jrb), the , being the , of the *pl.* (R): (a) IH says "when a *nom.*" [above], because , and ى are not combined in مُسْلِمِي when an *acc.* or *gen.* [129]: (b) مَرْمِي and مُسْلِمِي, though not belonging to this chapter, [which treats of the unsound letters as *rad.*s.,] are mentioned here, because they happen to be included in the predicament (Jrb). Although , and ى are not so approximate in outlet [732] that one should be incorporated into the other, as in اَذْكَرَ and اَثْغَرَ *grew his front teeth* [756], still, since their combination is deemed heavy, a very slight affinity between them, vid. their being letters of prolongation and softness, is considered sufficient [cause] for alleviating them by incorporation (R). The , and ى are treated as likes [731], because they join in prolongation [of the preceding vowel]; and for the same reason they are combined in the backed rhyme, as in the saying [of 'Amr Ibn Kulthūm at Taghlabī (EM)]

تَرَكْنَا الْبَحِيلَ حَاكِفَةً عَلَيْهِ * مَقْلَدَةً اَعْنَتَهَا صُفُونَا

after

رَسِيدٍ مَعْشَرٍ قَدْ تَرَجَّوْهُ * بَتَاجِ الْمَلِكِ يَحْمِي الْمُبْجَرِينَ

(IY) *And (many) a chief of a clan, whom they have crowned with the diadem of sovereignty, who defends the refugees, have we left (our) horses biding over, having their reins hung upon them, standing upon three legs and the point of the toe of the fourth! (EM). And*

incorporative alleviation is encouraged in their case by the fact that their first is quiescent [above]; for the condition of incorporation is quiescence of the first [731]. Although the rule, in incorporating two approximates, is to convert the first into the second [735], the , , whether it precede or follow, is converted into ي , in order that the intended alleviation may be realized, because , and ي are not heavier than double , [715]. You do not incorporate, however, in (1) سُورٍ [685 (case 7, b, b, β), 730] and تُبَوِّعَ , (a) because, says Khl, the , is not inseparable; but its predicament is that of the ا , for which it is a *subst.*, since their *o. f.* is سَائِرَ and تَبَايَعَ [703]; and therefore, as ا , which is the *o. f.* of this , is not incorporated into anything [739], so likewise the , which is a *subst.* for it: (a) for the same reason you do not incorporate in such as قُرُولَ [730, 731] and تُقْرُولَ : (b) because, if you did incorporate in such as سُورٍ and تُبَوِّعَ , قُرُولَ and تُقْرُولَ , they might be mistaken for فَعَلَّ and تَفَعَّلَ : (a) the omission of incorporation here is not on account of the mere prolongation, because this prevents incorporation only when it is at the end of the word, as in **XII 71. قَالُوا وَأَقْبَلُوا** *They said (and came forward)* and **XIV. 21. فِي يَوْمٍ** *On a day* [731]; not in a single word, as مَغْرُو² [301, 685 (case 8, b), 722], and مَرْمَى²

[above]: (2) such as دِيَوَانُ [332, 685] and اِجْلِيَوَانُ [685, 713], because the conversion [of the first , into ى] supervenes irregularly; and ceases in the *pl.* and *dim.* of دِيَوَانُ, as دَوَاوِينُ and دَوِيَرِينُ [685]; while for اِجْلِيَوَانُ you more often say اِجْلَوَانُ [332, 685 (case 5, b), 713]:

(a) if دِيَوَانُ were فِيعَالُ [377], conversion of the , into ى and incorporation of the [first] ى [into it] would be necessary, as in أَيَّامُ [above]; but it is فِعَالُ [384], the [first] , being irregularly converted into ى, as in قِيرَاطُ ,

pl. قَرَارِيطُ [278, 332, 685]: (3) رُوْيَا and رُوْيَةٍ, [685 (case 7, b, b, B)], when you alleviate رُوْيَا and رُوْيَةٍ by converting the Hamza into , [658]. Some of the Arabs convert [this , into ى], and incorporate [it into the second ى], saying رِيَا and رِيَةٍ [685 (case 7, c, α), 702]. That is nowise allowable in سُورِ and بُوعِ [above], because confusion with the *conj.* of فُعَلْ would be produced,

contrary to such as رِيَا and رِيَةٍ [above]. But, by analogy to it, some of the GG say قَرَى in lightening قَرَى [685 (case 7, b, b, γ)] (R). As for ضَيُونُ [685, 715], حَيَوَةٌ [below], and نَهْرُ [686], they are anomalous (SH). The second ى of [حَيَّةُ *o. f.* of (Part I, p. 7 A)] حَيَرَةٌ [4, 685, 689, 698] is converted into , in the proper name

exclusively, because proper names are often altered to a form different from that which the word must assume, like ^{مَوْعَبٌ} and ^{مَكْوَرَةٌ} [4, 712], for a notification of their exclusion from their original application ; but, according to Mz, the ^و of ^{حَيَوَةٌ} is original, as we mentioned in the case of ^{حَيَوَانٌ} [698] (R). The Damma is changed into Kasra in ^{مَرْمِيٍّ} and ^{مُسْلِمِيٍّ} [above], lest a quiescent ^ي preceded by Damma should occur (Jrb). But ^{لِيٍّ} with Kasr and Damm occurs in the *pl.* of ^{أَلْوِيٍّ} [728] (SH) *violent in altercation* ; contrary to the *inf. n.* ^{لِيٍّ} [278, 685 (case 7, a, b)], where Kasr and Damm are not allowable (Jrb). And, when you alleviate such as ^{رَوِيٍّ} [above] and ^{نَوِيٍّ} *trench dug round a tent, to keep out rain-water* [by converting the Hamza into ^و], and [then convert this ^و into ^ي], and [incorporate [it into the second ^ي], Damm and Kasr are allowable [in ^{رَوِيٍّ} and ^{نَوِيٍّ}], as in ^{لِيٍّ} [above] : and so, when you form ^{فَعْلٌ} from ^{وَأَيْتٌ} *I promised* [699], and alleviate the Hamza by conversion [into ^و], you say ^{رَوِيٍّ} ; and similarly ^{شِيٍّ} for ^{فَعْلٌ} from ^{شَوَيْتٌ} *I roasted* (R). But ^{صِيٍّ} and ^{دَقِيٍّ} [^{صِيٍّ} and ^{قِيٍّ} IY on §. 715),] are anomalous [247, 685 (case 10), 715, 722] (SH), because they convert the ^و into ^ي notwithstanding the lack of motive (Jrb). IH means

that the property of , is to be converted into ى when it is combined with ى , and the first of them is quiescent [above]: whereas here two , s are combined, the first of which is quiescent; and are then converted into ى , which [conversion] is therefore anomalous. Such anomalies, however, should rather be mentioned after the section on ذَلِيّ and مَرَضِيّ [722]; for double , [713], though approximate to a sound letter, is still converted into ى when it occurs in the *pl.* as a final, because the *pl.* is heavy, while the final is the seat of alteration: whereas in قَوْمٌ and نَوْمٌ [247] it does not occur as a final; but is nevertheless converted into ى , which is anomalous. The reason of its conversion is its nearness to the end in the *pl.*; and it will afterwards be shown that, in such [a position], conversion is [not anomalous, but] regular [722] (R). And فَمَا أَرْقَى النَّيَّامُ الْحَجَّ [685, 715] is more anomalous (SH), because the [double (R)], [is converted without any motive; and, by reason of the | occurring here (Jrb),] is [more (R)] remote from the end (R, Jrb), which is the seat of alteration (Jrb).

§. 717. If there be no , or ى before the | [715], then the unsound letter (Jrb), [whether] , or ى (R), occurring after the | (R, Jrb) of the [ultimate] *pl.* [18, 256] (R), (1) if *rad.*, as in مَقَامٌ and مَعَايِشُ [246, 279, 683 (case 3, e, b), 708, 714], remains [unaltered]; (2) if

aug., as in رَسَائِدُ , عَجَائِرُ , and صَحَائِفُ [246, 683 (case 3, a-d), 703, 708], is converted into Hamza, for distinction from the *rad.*, the *aug.* being fitter for alteration (Jrb): [or, more accurately,] (1) if not an *aug.* letter of prolongation [in the *sing.*], whether it be *rad.*, as in مَقَامَةٌ and مَرِيْبَةٌ , *pl.* مَقَامٍ [above] and مَرَايِبُ , or *aug.*, as in جَدْرٌ and عَثِيرٌ [253, 374, 708], [*pl.* جَدَاوِلُ and عَثَائِرُ ,] remains unaltered, the *rad.* because of its originality; and the mobile *aug.* because of its strength through the vowel, and of its co-ordination with a *rad.* letter: (2) if an *aug.* letter of prolongation in the *sing.*, is converted into ا , and then into Hamza, as in تَنَائِفُ [*pl.* of تَنْوَفَةٌ *d sert* (MAR)], كَبَائِرُ [661, 708], and رَسَائِدُ [above] (R). But [sometimes (R)] مَعَائِشُ with Hamza [246, 683 (case 3, e, b, β)] occurs (SH), by assimilation to نَعِيْلَةٌ (R); and Ibn 'Āmir (K), [like] Nāfi' [683] (B), is reported to have pronounced it in VII. 9. [714] with Hamza, by assimilation to [the *pl.* where the ي is *aug.*, like (B)] صَحَائِفُ [above] (K, B): though it is weak (SH); and Hamza is oftener eschewed. And similarly مَنَائِرُ *pl.* of مَنَارَةٌ [683 (case 3, e, b, α)], by assimilation to نَعَالَةٌ; though the ohaste [form] is مَنَارٌ (R). And مَصَائِبُ [683] is constantly pronounced with Hamza

(SH), (1) by assimilation of مُصِيبَةٌ to فَعِيلَةٌ, as مَسِيلٌ *channel of a torrent*, [pl. مَسَائِلُ (Jh),] has [also (Jh)] for its pl. [مُسَلٌّ, اَمْسِلَةٌ, and (Jh)] مُسْلَانٌ, [irregularly (Jh),] by assimilation to فَعِيلٌ (R), like رَغِيفٌ, pl. رُغْفٌ, اَرَغِفَةٌ, and رُغْفَانٌ [246] (Jh); or (2) by imagination (R). As for مَصَائِبُ [above], it is a blunder of theirs, because they imagine that مُصِيبَةٌ is فَعِيلَةٌ, whereas it is only مُفْعَلَةٌ; but they do say مَصَارِبُ [683] (S). Jh says that all the Arabs pronounce it with Hamza, (1) because they imagine that مُصِيبَةٌ is فَعِيلَةٌ; so that they pronounce it with Hamza, when they pluralize it, as they pronounce the pl. of سَفِينَةٌ with Hamza, saying سَفَائِنُ [246]: or (2) [because] they assimilate the [rad. (Jh)] ي in مُصِيبَةٌ to the [aug. (Jh)] ي of صَحِيفَةٌ, since it is substituted for , and is not original, as the ي of صَحِيفَةٌ is not original. But the regular form is مَصَارِبُ, [which also is used (Jh),] because the , [of the sing.] is mobile in the o. f. [below]. And Zj used to hold the Hamza in مَصَائِبُ to be converted from the , pronounced with Kasr in مَصَارِبُ, as in إِشَاحٌ for وَشَاحٌ [683, 699], which [opinion] is not free

from weakness, because the *ج*, pronounced with Kasr does not become Hamza when it is medial, that being allowable only when it is initial (IY). IH means that, by rule, the *ج*, here should not be converted into Hamza because it is the *ع* of the word, and there is no *ج*, or *ي* before the *ا* [715]; for which reason the rule requires it to remain, as in *مَقَامٌ* [above]: but that they constantly pronounce this *pl.* with Hamza, irregularly, for a notification that it is not *pl.* of *مَفْعَلَةٌ* or *مَفْعِلَةٌ*, like *مَقَامٌ* and *مَعَايِشُ*; but of *مُفْعَلَةٌ*, since the *o. f.* [above] is *مُضْرِبَةٌ*, the vowel of the *ج*, being transferred to the *ص*, and the *ج*, [then] converted into *ي* because quiescent and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr. This notification is needed because, by ru'e, the *pl.* of such an *act. part.* should be sound, as *مُصِيبَاتٌ*, since, in such as *مُكْرِمٌ* [252], the sound *pl.* is considered sufficient, and the broken *pl.* is dispensed with: so that, when this [*act. part.*] has a broken *pl.*, the idea naturally suggests itself that it is not *pl.* of *مُفْعَلَةٌ*, but of *مَفْعَلَةٌ* or *مَفْعِلَةٌ*, with Fath of the *م*, and Fath or Kasr of the *ع*; and therefore the *ج*, is converted into Hamza, for a notification that it is *pl.* of *مُفْعِلَةٌ* with Damm of the *م*, and Kasr of the *ع*, contrary to the general rule that the *pl.* of the latter should be sound (Jrb). But *مَصَاتِبُ*, *مَنَائِرُ*, and *مَعَايِشُ* with Hamza are anomalous (R).

§. 718. The **ي** [serving as the **ع** (IY)] of **فُعَلَى**, when a substantive, is converted into **و** (M, SH), because quiescent and preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm [686 (case 1)] (IY), as **طُوبَى** and **كُوسَى** [686 (case 4)] (IY, SH), *orig.* **طُيْبَى** and **كُيْسَى** (IY). **طُوبَى** is either an *inf. n.*, like **رُجْعَى** [248, 272], as in XIII. 28. [686 (case 4, a, a)], i. e., **طِيْبًا**, like **فَتَغَسَّا لَهُمْ** XLVII. 9. [62]: or *fem.* of **أَطْيَبَ**, in which case it ought to be **الطُّوبَى** with the *art.* [356]. But [even in the latter case] its predicament is that of substantives [686 (case 4, b, e, ß), 725], as S says "This is the *cat.* of what has its **ي** converted into **و**, vid. **فُعَلَى** when it is a substantive" (R), as **الطُّوبَى** and **الْكُوسَى** (S, M) from **طِيْبٌ** *happiness* and **كَيْسٌ** *shrewdness* (M). The author of the CHd mentions that **طُوبَى** and **كُوسَى** are *fems.* of **أَطْيَبَ** and **أَكْيَسَ**; but that, though *orig. eps.*, they are treated as substantives, because without an *art.* they are not *quals.* (Jrb). The reason why **فُعَلَى** without the *art.* is not a *qual.* is that it is not used with **مِنْ**, as is known [356]: while, with prothesis, the *post.* explains the qualified, because the **أَفْعُلُ** of superiority is part of the *post.* [118]; so that you do not say **عِنْدِي جَارِيَةٌ حُسْنَى الْجَوَارِي** *In my possession is a girl, the most beautiful of the girls* [with the intention

of making حُسْنِي an *ep.* of جَارِيَّةٌ], because [the *ep.* would then be *pre.* to its qualified (121), since] الْكَوَارِي indicates the qualified. And, since فَعْلَى without an *art.* is not an *ep.*, nor is it so freely employed in qualification as the rest of the *eps.*, it is treated as a substantive. And, because of the small sense of qualification in the أَفْعَلُ of superiority, this أَفْعَلُ divested of مِنْ is triptote, by common consent, when made *indet.* after being a proper name, contrary to the *cat.* of أَحْمَرُ [18], as to which there is a dispute (R). In the *ep.*, however, the ي is not converted; [but the letter before it is pronounced with Kasr, so that the ي is preserved (SH),] as مَشِيَّةٌ حَيْكِي and قِسْمَةٌ ضَيْرِي [686 (case 4, b, c)] (M, SH), which are [judged to be (Jrb)] فَعْلَى (R, Jrb), *orig.* حَيْكِي and ضَيْرِي (IY, Jrb), with Damm, [not فَعْلَى (R, Jrb) with Kasr (Jrb),] because, [says S (R),] there is no فَعْلَى [with Kasr (IY)] among *eps.* (IY, R, J1b), except عِرْهَي [272] (Jrb), while عِرْهَاءٌ is with ة [272]; though some authorize رَجُلٌ كَيْصِي [272], which may, however, be فَعْلَى with Damm, co-ordinated with جَعْدَبٌ [392], like سُودٌ [331, 712] and عُوْطٌ [said by Ks. to be (Jh) *pl.* of عَائِطٌ (Jh, KF, MAR), i. e., a she-camel that does not conceive for some years, without being

barren (MAR), but held by some, says AUd, to be an *inf. n.*, not a *pl.* (Jh)], the co-ordination not being marred by alteration of the Damma [into Kasra], because the object of co-ordination, *vid. correctness of metre, rhythm, and the like*, is not lost thereby (R); whereas there [often (Jrb)] is *فُعَلَى* with Damm, like *حُبَلَى* (IY, Jrb) and *فُضَلَى* [272] (Jrb). They do not convert the *ى* into , here (IY, Jrb), as they do in *كُوسَى* and *طُوبَى* [above] (IY); but convert the Damma into Kasra, in order that the *ى* may be preserved (Jrb), to distinguish the *ep.* from the substantive (IY, Jrb); and do not reverse [the procedure], because the substantive, on account of its lightness, is more fit for conversion of the *ى* into , (Jrb). And so in the *cat.* of *بَيْضٌ* [686 (case 1, α, γ), 710, 711, 728] (SH), i. e., the *pl.* *فُعَلٌ*, from the heaviness of the *pl.* (R). *بَيْضٌ* is *orig.* *بُيْضٌ* with Damm of the *ف*, because *pl.* of *أَبْيَضٌ*, like *حُمَرٌ* *pl.* of *أَحْمَرٌ* [249]. They convert the Damma into Kasra, in order that the *ى* may be preserved, because the *pl.* is deemed heavy; so that, if they converted the *ى* into , the heaviness would be excessive (Jrb). But sometimes the Damma is left unaltered in the *cat.* of *بَيْضٌ* *pl.* of *أَبْيَضٌ*, and the *ى* then converted into , because of the lightness of the measure [*فُعَلٌ*] (R).

THE , AND ى AS J S.

§. 719. The , and ى , when J s, are more unsound, and weaker in state, than when ع s , because (1) they are consonants of inflection, which become altered by the vowels of inflection [16, 404, 720]; (2) the ى of prothesis [129], which causes the preceding letter to be pronounced with Kasr, is affixed to them; and (3) the ى of relation [294] and the sign of the *du*. [228] are affixed to them: while all of that necessitates their alteration. The e-fore, when J s, they are weaker than when ع s [703]; and when ع s, are weaker than when ى s [699]: so that the further they are from the end, the stronger they are; and the nearer they are to the end, the more inseparable is transformation from them. Transformation contains a kind of alleviation [697], and is therefore lighter than the use of the *o. f.* (IY). Their predicament, [when they occur as finals, last (IY),] is to be (1) transformed (M), by (a) alteration of [their] vowels [into quiescences]; (b) conversion into another letter (IY): (2) elided (M), (a) because of a quiescent that meets them [663]; (b) for a kind of alleviation [697] (IY): (3) preserved (M), and sounded true (IY). Their transformation is [effected] by (1) conversion (a) of both into † [684]; (b) of one of them into its fellow [685, 686]: (2) quiescence (M). They are converted into †, when

they are mobile [below], and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, if they be not followed by any cause necessitating Fath [of the *ل* (Jrb)], as *رَمَى* and *غَرَا* [403, 663, 673, 684], *يَقْرَى* is *strong* and *يَحْيَا* *lives* [728, 730 A]; *رَحَى* and *عَصَا* [16, 300, 328, 673]; contrary to (1) *رَمَيْتُ* and *غَزَوْتُ* [403, 697, 698], *رَمَيْنَا* and *غَزَوْنَا*, and *يَأْبَيْنَ* and *يَخْشَيْنَ* (SH), where the *و* and *ي* are quiescent (R): (a) *يَأْبَيْنَ* and *يَخْشَيْنَ* are [2nd or 3rd pers.] *pl. fem.*, their measure being *يَفْعَلْنَ* [406]: or *تَخْشَيْنَ* [663] and *تَأْبَيْنَ* are 2nd pers. *sing. fem.*, orig. *تَخْشَيْنَ* and *تَأْبَيْنَ*, like *تَفْعَلِينَ* [405], their *ل* being converted into *ا*, because mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath; and then elided, because of the concurrence of two quiescents; so that their measure is *تَفْعَيْنَ*: while the *ي* [before the *ن*, whether this *ي* be the *ل* of the *v.* as in the two *pls. fem.*, or the *pron.* of the *ag.*, as in the *sing. fem.*] is not converted into *ا*, because it is quiescent (Jrb): (2) *رَمَى* and *غَرَوُ* [684 (condition 5), 698] (SH), where the *و* and *ي* are preceded by a quiescent (R): (3) *رَمَيَا* and *غَزَرَا* [663, 684 (condition 6, b)]—with which *رَحِيَانِ* and *عَصَوَانِ* (R); *يَغْزِيَانِ* and *يَرْضِيَانِ* [229, 684] are made to accord—because of ambiguity [684 (condition 6, g, a), (727)] (SH), unrestrictedly in the [*pret.*]

v., and on [elision of the ن for inflection or] prothesis [405, 228] in [the aor. v. and] the n., [respectively,] since the ا converted [from the , or ي] would inevitably be elided, on account of the concurrence of two ا s: (a) the attached pron. and the ا of the du. are, each of them, the "cause necessitating Fatḥh" [of the J] (MASH): (b) these affixes, as [will be] mentioned, necessitate return of the ا s [converted in the sing. from , and ي] to their o. fs. [below], lest ambiguity be produced; and, after restoration to the o. f., the , and ي are not converted into ا, lest such conversion be a return to that [ambiguity] which has been escaped (R): (4) اِخْشَيَا [663], because it belongs to the cat. of كُنْ تَخْشَيَا Ye two shall not dread (SH), since the imp. is derived from the aor., and in [each of] them the J is followed by the ا of the pron.; so that, since the J is not transformed in [the subj.,] such as كُنْ تَخْشَيَا, lest it be elided, and the du. be [then] mistaken for the sing., it is not transformed in [the imp.] اِخْشَيَا also, although ambiguity would not be produced [by its elision], because اِخْشَا with ا would then be said, and in the sing. اِخْش without ا [428, 431] (Jrb): (5) اِخْشَيْنَ, because of its resemblance to that, [which means that the ن affixed to the v., without intervention of a pron. between them, is like the ا; so that اِخْشَيْنَ is

like اِخْشَا (R),] contrary to اِخْشَوْ [below] and اِخْشَوْنَ [610, 663, 664], اِخْشَى [below] and اِخْشَيْنَ [610, 663] (SH), orig. اِخْشَيُوا [664] and اِخْشَيُوْنَ, اِخْشَى and اِخْشَيْنَ, where the ل is converted into ا, and elided, because elision of the ل does not produce ambiguity here, as it would in تَخْشَيَانِ [663], where the ا is therefore not elided; while اِخْشَا [above] is made to accord with the latter, because it is a *deriv.* thereof, though ambiguity would not be produced; and اِخْشَيْنَ [also], because the ن in such [a position] resembles the ا [of اِخْشَا]. But, [in the chapter on the Corroborative ن] at the end of the commentary on the IH, we have mentioned [in the following terms] the objection to this language (R):—IH says that the [double or single (MAIH)] ن, when it is after the prominent *pron.*, [as in اِخْشَوْنَ and اِخْشَيْنَ], becomes like a separate word, because the *pron.* is a separative; but, when there is no prominent *pron.* [before it, as in اِخْشَيْنَ], is like an attached [*nom.*] *pron.*: this is the gist of his language, which is open to the objection that the attached [*nom. pron.*] is not only the ا [in اِخْشَا and اِرْضَا]; but also the , and ي in اِرْضَا and اِرْضَى [663], with which you do not retain

the *ج*, as you do with the *ل*; so that his saying "like an attached [*nom.*] *pron.*", unrestrictedly, is not true (R on IH). And the better [opinion] is that the non-conversion, (1) in [*لِيَخْشَيْنَ* and (R on IH)] *اِخْشَيْنَ*, [like *اَرْضَيْنَ* and *لَا تَرْضَيْنَ* below,] is because the *ل* is restored [to its place], on account of what we mentioned there (R), [vid. that] its elision [in *لِيَخْشَ* and *اِخْشَ*] was [a substitute] for apocopation [404] or quiescence [428, 431]; whereas, when the *v.* is intended to be *mninfl.* upon *Fath* [402, 406, 610, 663, 664], because compounded [with the *corrob.* *ن*], there is no apocopation or quiescence (R on IH): and, if it were then converted, its elision would be necessary; so that its restoration would not be evident: (2) in *اِخْشِيَا*, is because it is a *deriv.* of *تَخْشِيَانِ* [663]. And we do not maintain that [in these formations the non-conversion is because] the vowel is accidental; since, if the vowel in such [a position] were not taken into account, the *ع* would not be restored in *خَانَا* and *خَانَنَ* [663]. We have mentioned the predicament of such as *اِخْشَوْا* and *اِخْشَى* [above] in the chapter on the Concurrence of Two Quiescents [663]. And in such as *اِخْشَوْنِ* and *اِخْشَيْنَ* [above] the *و*, and *ي* are not converted, (1) because each of them is an entire word, which must not be totally altered; (2) because their vowels are accidental [684 (condition 2)],

arising from the [concurrence of] two quiescents; (3) because the vowel of the preceding letter belongs to another word [684 (condition 4)], as mentioned [below under *إَرْضُونَ* and *إَرْضِيْنَ*] (R). IH's saying "[when] they are mobile" [above] means "with a permanent vowel" [684 (condition 2)], to exclude such as *غَزَزَا* and *رَمِيَا* [above], *عَصَوَانِ* [and *رَحِيَانِ*], [*إَرْضُونَ*] and *إَرْضِيْنَ* [below]: while, in such as *أَلْعَصَا* and *أَلْرَحَى*, although the inflectional vowel is accidental, the , and *ي* are converted, because, though its sort is accidental, [being regulated by the *op.*,] its genus is permanent, since every *n. infl.* with vowels, whether *nom.*, *acc.*, or *gen.*, must have some [inflectional] vowel [16] (R on the , and *ي* as *ع* s). The , and *ي*, when *ج* s, are converted into *ا*, when they are mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, even if they be in a *n.* not conformable to, nor commensurable with, the *v.*, as *رَبَا*, *gain* and *رَبِيَّ* [*pl. of رَبِيَّةٌ a kind of small beast or reptile* (MAR)]; or in a *n.* commensurable with, but not differing from, the *v.*, as *أَحْرَى* [*black* (MAR)] and *أَشْقَر* *more wretched*: for the conformability, or the affinity mentioned, is prescribed only in the *ع* [703, 711, 712], not in the *ج*, because the *ج* is the seat of alteration; so that the weak cause, i. e., its being mobile, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [703], is effective in converting it

(R on the , and ى as ل s). And the reason why such as نَزَوَانٌ and غَلِيَانٌ [331] are not transformed is only that the ا and ن , being inseparable [from the word], exclude the ل from the end; so that the , and ى become [medial,] as in جَوْلَانٌ and طَيْرَانٌ [684 (condition 11, a), 703]. If it be said “Why does not the inseparable ة in such as غُرَاةٌ [247] and تُقَاةٌ [689] prevent transformation of the ل [into ا], as the inseparable ة in such as عُنْصُورَةٌ and تَمَحْدُورَةٌ [721] prevents conversion of the , into ى?”, I say “Because , preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is not converted into ى in any position except when final, contrary to the conversion of , and ى into ا , which is often found in the medial also, as in قَالٌ [684, 703] and مَقَالٌ [712]; so that the ة , which is *orig.* not inseparable [266], is not taken into account; contrary to the ا and ن , which are constitutionally inseparable”. And, from the affinity of conversion to the end of the word, the , and ى , when final, are subject to this transformation, even if they be preceded by ا , provided that the ا be *aug.*, because then it is virtually non-existent, as كِسَاءٌ and رِدَاءٌ [683 (case 1), 720, 723]; whereas, when it is *rad.*, as in رَاىٌ and ثَاىٌ [723], they are not transformed, because the [ا intervening as a] separative [between the mobile , or ى and the preceding Fatha] is strong by reason of [its] originality. But, from the

weakness of this cause—I mean mobility of the , or **ی** , and precedence of a letter pronounced with Fatḥ [703]—in necessitating conversion, the **ا** is restored to its *o. f.* [above] of , or **ی** , and admits of being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fatḥ, when omission of restoration would lead to ambiguity in the *v.* or *n.*, vid. when the **ا** is met by a subsequent quiescent letter, with which the **ا** , if retained unaltered, would be elided, and so ambiguity would be produced. The *v.* is such as (1) **رَمَيَا** and **غَرَزَا** [above], where the **ا** of the *pron.* is attached to the transformed **رَمَى** and **غَرَا** [above] : so that, if the **ا** [converted from the , or **ی**] were not restored to its *o. f.*, it would be elided because of the two quiescents ; and [then] the [*v.*] attributed to the *pron.* of the *du.* might be mistaken for the [*v.*] attributed to the *pron.* of the *sing.*, or to the explicit *n.* [21] : (2) **يَرْضِيَانِ** [and **يُغَرِّيَانِ** above], because the **ن** would be elided in the [*subj.* and] *apoc.* [405] : (3) [**اِخْشِيَا** or **تَرْضِيَانِ**], because it is a *deriv.* of [**تَخْشِيَانِ** or **تَرْضِيَانِ**] [above]. And the *n.* is such as (1) **صَلَوَاتُ** *prayers* [726] and **فَتَيَاتُ** *damsels* [234], where, if the **ا** [converted from the , and **ی**] were elided because of the two quiescents, the *pl.* might be mistaken for the *sing.* : (2) **عَصَوَانِ** *two staves* [above] and **فَتَيَانِ** *two youths* [684 (condition 6, b)],

where, if it were not restored, the *du.* might, on prefixion, be mistaken for the *sing.*; while [عَصْرَيْنِ and] فَتَيَانِ and رَحِيَيْنِ are *derivs.* of [عَصْرَانِ and] رَحِيَانِ [above]. And, with the *ى* of relation, the *ا* elided in عَصَا and رَحَى [643, 683, 697], when pronounced with Tanwīn, is restored [to its place], because the [concurrency of] two quiescents, the *ا* and Tanwīn, ceases to exist; and, after its restoration, you convert it into *و*, on account of the *ى* of relation [300], as you convert the *ا* in [the synarthrous (MAR)] أَلْعَصَا and أَلرَّحَى [above] when you form a *rel. n.* from them : but you do not say that the elided *ا* is restored to its *o. f.* of *و*, or *ى* ; and, for the reason mentioned by us in the chapter on the Relative Noun [300], the [restored] *ا* is not elided, on account of the quiescent *ى* [of relation] affixed to it. And, after restoration and mobilization of all the letters mentioned, you do not convert them into *ا* , notwithstanding their mobility and their being preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, (1) because their vowel is accidental [300, 684 (condition 2)]; (2) because, having fled from the *ا* , lest, after [its] elision, ambiguity be produced, one cannot revert to what one has fled from. But, as for the restoration of the *ا* to its *o. f.* in such as تَرْضَى and تَرَى , *orig.* تَرْضِيْن and هَلْ تَرِيْن , it is not from fear of ambiguity, but for conformity to هَلْ تَغْزُوْنَ and

تَرْمِينَ. The *ج* is restored [to its place] in such as اُغْرُونَ [663] and لَا تَرْضَيْنَ [above], and similarly اِرْضَيْنَ and اِرْمِينَ, because with the *ن* the *v.* is not quiescent [in the final] nor apocopated, while elision of the *ج* is only [a substitute] for apocopation [404] or quiescence [428, 431]. And, after restoration of the *ج* [to its place], the *ي* in اِرْضَيْنَ and لَا تَرْضَيْنَ [above] is not converted into *ا*, lest elision of the *ا* be entailed thereby, which would lead to what one has fled from, [vid. elision of the *ج* without apocopation or quiescence] (R on the *و* and *ي* as *ع* s). But, in the *dial.* of 'Tayyi, according to what Fr transmit from them, the *ي* that is a *ج* is elided in the *sing. masc.*, after Kasr or Fath, in the *infl.*, [i. e., *aor.* (AKB),] and *uninfl.*, [i. e., *imp.*, the Kasra or Fatha remaining unaltered (AKB),] as وَاللّٰهِ لَيَرْمِيَنَّ زَيْدٌ, *By God, assuredly Zaid shall shoot* and اِرْمِيَنَّ يَا زَيْدٌ *Do thou surely shoot, O Zaid*, لَيَخْشَنَّ زَيْدٌ *assuredly Zaid shall dread* and اِخْشَنَّ يَا زَيْدٌ *Do thou surely dread, O Zaid*: and hence إِذَا قَالَ قَطْنِي قُلْتُ بِاللّٰهِ حَلْفَةً * لَتَغْنِيَّ عَنِّي ذَا إِنَائِكَ أَجْمَعًا [119] (R on IH), where there is another version لَتَغْنِيَّ meant to be with the single *ن*, which, says IY, is suppressed by poetic license [614]; and

وَأَبْكِي عَيْشًا تَقْضَى بَعْدَ جِدَّتِي * طَابَتْ أَمَاتِلُهُ فِي ذَلِكَ الْبَلَدِ

which also is an address to a male, *And do thou weep, O 'Amr, for a life that has passed away after its newness, whose evenings were pleasant in that country; and the Prophet's saying in tradition* لَتَوَدََّنَّ الْحَقُوقُ إِلَى أَهْلِهَا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ *Assuredly the rights shall indeed be rendered to their owners on the day of resurrection* (AKB). And so in اِرْضَيْنَ يَا امْرَأَةً and اِرْضَوْنَ [above], the و and ى are not converted, (1) because the vowel is accidental [684 (condition 2)], as we mentioned [under اِخْشَوْنَ and اِخْشَيْنَ] in the chapter on the Concurrence of Two Quiescents [663]; (2) because the و and ى [here] are independent ns.; (3) because و and ى are not converted into 1 except when the preceding letter pronounced with Fatḥ is part of their own word [684 (condition 4)], while here the و [or ى] is another word; (4) because, if altered by conversion, they would be elided without any indication of them, such as is [provided] in اُغْزِنَ [663, 664] and اُغْزِنَ (R on the و and ى as ع s), where the indication of the elision is the Damm and Kasr, respectively [610] (MAR); [since اِرْضَوْنَ and اِرْضَيْنَ would both be reduced to اِرْضَنَ]. But IM says that elision of the ى of the pron. after Fatḥa, as اِرْضَنَ from اِرْضَى [663], is a Ṭā'ī dialectic variation (R on IH). If, however, elision of the 1, on account of two quiescents, do not lead to ambiguity, the 1 is not restored, as

يَرْضَوْنَ *They are pleased* يَغْزَوْنَ *They are raided*, and
 تَرْضَيْنَ *Thou [fem.] art pleased* [663], مُصْطَفَوْنَ and
 مُصْطَفَيْنَ [234], غَزَوْا *They raided* and رَمَوْا *They shot*, غَزَتْ
 and رَمَتْ [607, 663] (R. on the , and ى as ع s). The ,
 and ى are made quiescent in the cat. of (1) يَغْزُوْ *raids*
 and يَرْمِيْ *shoots* [404, 720], in the ind.; (2) الْغَارِيْ *the*
raider [below] and الرَّامِيْ *the shooter* [720] in the nom.
 and gen. (SH). The , in يَغْزُوْ —and this [termina-
 tion] is peculiar to the v., not being [found] in the n.
 [721]—is made quiescent, because , pronounced with
 Damm after Damma [below] is deemed too heavy, since
 the v., together with its own heaviness, has two heavy
 things combined at its end; so that the last, vid. the
 Damma [on the ,], because the vowel is after the
 consonant [667, 697], is elided. Similarly ى pronounced
 with Damm after Kasra is made quiescent: but this
 [combination] is less heavy than the first; and is
 [found] in n. and v., as هُوَ يَرْمِيْ *He shoots* and جَاءَ
 الرَّامِيْ *The shooter came*. IH mentions الْغَارِيْ [685 (case-
 1, a), 724] and الرَّامِيْ in order to explain that the ى
 whose o. f. is , is like the original. And similarly ى
 pronounced with Kasr after Kasra is made quiescent,
 because of the combination of likes, as in , pronounced
 with Damm after Damma [above], which is heavier:

and this [combination] is [found] in the *n.*, as اَلرَّامِي [in the *gen.*]; and in the *v.*, as اَرَمِي [663], *orig.* اِرْمِي (R). The , and ي are elided in such as (M, SH) (1) لَا تَغْرُ Raid not and لَا تَرْمُ Shoot not [404, 697], اُغْرُ Raid and اَرْمُ Shoot [428, 431, 697] (M): (2) يَغْرُونَ They [masc.] raid and يَرْمُونَ They shoot (SH): (a) يَغْرُونَ is *orig.* يَغْرُو [above], to which the , of the *pl.* is affixed; so that the first , is elided, because of the two quiescents: (b) يَرْمُونَ is *orig.* يَرْمِي , to which the , of the *pl.* is affixed; so that the ي is elided, because of the two quiescents; and the م is then pronounced with Damm, in order that the , may be preserved, since it is a complete word, which must not be altered (R): (3) اُغْرَنَّ and اُغْرِنَّ [above], اِرْمَنَّ and اِرْمِنَّ (SH): (a) اُغْرَنَّ is *orig.* اُغْرُوا [663], to which the double ن is attached; so that the , is elided, because of the two quiescents: and اُغْرِنَّ is similar [mutatis mutandis]: (b) اِرْمَنَّ and اِرْمِنَّ [663, 664] are like اُغْرَنَّ and اُغْرِنَّ , because *orig.* اَرْمُوا and اَرْمِي [663] (R): (4) دَمَّ and يَدَّ (M). But such as دَمَّ and يَدَّ [687, 697, 698], اِسْمُ and اِبْنُ [667], اُخْتُ and اَخُّ [260, 307, 689], are not regular (SH), which means that the elision of the J in these *ns.* is not for any regular cause; but for bare alleviation, on which account the inflection

rests on the final of what remains (R). Analogy requires retention [of the *ل*] in some of them, like *يَدٌ* and *دَمٌ* and *إِسْمٌ*, because the letter before the unsound letter is quiescent, as in *طَبِيٌّ* [643, 720] and *قِنَوٌ* [667]; and change [of the *ل* into *ا*] in others, like *أَخٌ* and *إِبْنٌ*, because the unsound letter is mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as in *عَصَا* [above]: but they are docked [of the *ل*], contrary to analogy, because frequent in their speech (Jrb). As for *أُخْتُ*, however, it is not docked of the *ل*; but the *ت* is a *subst.* for its *ل* [689] (R). The *و* and *ي* are preserved in such as (1) *رَمِيٌّ* and *غَزَوٌ* [above]; (2) *يَرْمِيَانِ* and *يَغْزَوَانِ* (M), where the *و* and *ي* are preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm and Kasr, respectively [684 (condition 3)] (IY); (3) *رَمِيَا* and *غَزَوَا* [above] (M).

§. 720. As regards bearing the vowels of inflection, the *و* and *ي*, (1) when preceded by a quiescent, proceed like sound letters, as in (a) *دَلَوٌ* and *طَبِيٌّ* [16, 302, 643, 728] (M), because the origin of their unsoundness is their resemblance to *ا*, which they are like only when quiescent, and preceded, the *ي* by Kasra, and the *و* by Damma, in which case they become like *ا*, because quiescent and preceded by a vowel homogeneous with them, as likewise is *ا*, since it is quiescent and preceded by Fatha, which is homogeneous with it; so that, when

preceded by a quiescent, they are excluded from resemblance to **ا**, because **ا** is preceded only by a letter pronounced with Fath (IY): (b) **عَدُوٌّ** [643, 730] and **عَدِيٌّ** [299] (M), because the first **و**, and **ي** here are quiescent, like the **ب** of **ظَبْنِيٌّ** [above] and the **ح** of **نَحْيِيٌّ** [85] (IY): (c) **وَأُو** and **زَائِيٌّ** [683 (case 1, c), 723], and **آيٌ** [302, 683, 723, 728] (M), because **و**, and **ي**, when final, are transformed only after an *aug. ا*, as in **كِسَاءٌ** and **رِدَاءٌ** [683, 719, 723], not after an **ا** converted from a *rad.* letter; lest two transformations, of the **ع** and the **ل**, occur consecutively in the word (IY): (2) when preceded by a mobile [below], bear only [Fatha (IY),] the sign of the *subj.* or *acc.*, [because Fatha is light (IY),] as in (a) **لَنْ يَغْزُوَ** *He shall not raid* and **لَنْ يَرْمِيَ** *shall not shoot*, **أُرِيدُ أَنْ تَسْتَقِيَ** *I desire that thou shouldst draw water* and **تَسْتَدْعِي** *shouldst summon*; (b) **رَأَيْتُ الرَّامِيَّ** *I saw the shooter* and **الْعُمَى** *the blind (man)* and **الْمُضْرِبِيَّ** *the shouter* (M): (a) by “mobile” [above] **ز** means “with the vowel permissible”, vid. (α) Damma before **و**, which [combination] is [found] only in *vs.*, as **يَغْزُوَ** [404, 719] and **يَدْعُو** *calls* [727]; not in *ns.* [721]: (β) Kasra before **ي**, which [combination] occurs in *ns.*, as **الْقَاضِي** *the judge* [16, 294, 724] and **الرَّامِي** [719]; and *vs.*, as **يُرْمِي** [404, 719] and **يَسْقِي** *waters*: (b) when preceded by

a letter pronounced with Fath, و, and ی are converted into ا [684], as عَصَا and رَحَى [719]; when preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, ی is converted into و, [686]; and, when preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, و is converted into ی [685]: while only Damma occurs before و, and only Kasra before ی (IY). But [some of the Arabs assimilate the و and ی to ا, because of their affinity to it: so that (IY)] quiescence occurs [in the subj. or acc., which is then uniform with the ind. or nom. (IY)], (1) [among vs.,] in the saying [of ‘Āmir Ibn AṭṬufail (IY, MN) al‘Āmirī alJa’dī, the chief of the Banū ‘Āmir in heathenism (MN),]

فَمَا سَوَدَّنِي عَامِرٌ عَنْ وِرَاثَةٍ * أَبَى اللَّهُ أَنْ أَسْمُو بِأُمٍّ وَلَا أَبٍ
[Yet clan ‘Āmir has not made me chief by inheritance,
(but for mine own nobility and valor): God forbade
that I should rise through mother or father, properly
أَسْمُو (MN)]; and [hence (IY)] the saying of AlA’shà
[Maimūn Ibn Kais, praising the Prophet (Jsh),]

فَأَلَيْتُ لَا أَرْتِي لَهَا مِنْ كَلَالَةٍ * وَلَا مِنْ حَفَى حَتَّى تُلَاقِي مُحَمَّدًا
(M) Then I swore that I would not be merciful to her
for any weariness, nor for any soreness of foot, until she
should meet Muḥammad, by rule تُلَاقِي (Jsh): (a) some
make that a dialectic variation; and some a poetic
license, which, says Mb, is one of the approved poetic
licenses [below] (IY): (2) [among ns. (IY),] in the say-
ing of the poet, [one of the Sa’dīs (S).]

يَا دَارَ هِنْدٍ عَفَتْ إِلَّا أَثَانِيهَا

O dwelling of Hind, that hast been effaced, save its stones used to support the cooking-pot (M), where أَثَانِيهَا [properly أَثَانِيَّهَا] is an acc., because an exc. from an aff. [88]; and hence كَفَى بِالنَّأْيِ الْح [333] (IY); and the prov. أَعْطِ الْقَوْسَ بَارِيَهَا Give the bow to its maker (M), meaning Seek aid for thy work from the possessors of knowledge and skill therein (Md), where بَارِيَهَا [properly بَارِيَّهَا] is obj. of أَعْطِ: (a) ISh says " Mb says that this is one of the most beautiful poetic licenses [above], because they co-ordinate one case [of the n.] with [the other] two, meaning that they make the acc. like the gen. and nom.; while quiescence is lighter than vowels; for which [reasons] they determine upon making the ي quiescent in such comps. as مَعْدَى كَرِيبَ [below] and قَالَى [215]" (AKB on أَيْدِيَهُنَّ الْح below). Ka'b's saying أَنْ تَدُنُو [444] with quiescence [of the و] admits of two explanations, (1) that he makes the infinitival اِنْ inop., as in

إِذَا كَانَ أَمْرُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ عَجُوزِهِمْ * فَلَا بُدَّ أَنْ يَلْقَوْنَ كُلَّ تُبُورٍ

When the business of the people is in the hands of their old woman, there is no escape from this, that they encounter every loss, and in Mujāhid's reading يَتِمُّ in

II. 233. [525, 572] : (a) so they say : though the latter may be explained on [the supposition] that **أَنَّ** is *op.* ; but that the *o. f.* is **يَتِمُّونَ** with the , of the *pl.*, by concord with the sense of **مَنْ** , like X. 43. [182, 581] ; and that the **ن** is afterwards elided [405] because of the subjunctival [410], and the , because of the two quiescents [663] : (2) that he treats Fatha on , like Damma, by poetic license, which, says Mb, is one of the most beautiful poetic licenses [above] : (a) that occurs even in the case of a [letter] lighter than , , vid. **ي** , as in AlA'shà's saying **فَأَلَيْتُ الْخ** [above] : though **ثَلَاثِي** *thou shouldst meet* may be *orig.* **ثَلَاثِينَ** , an enallage from the 3rd to the 2nd *pers.* [1], which is attested by [the fact] that he addresses her in the following verse **مَتْنِي مَا تُنَاخِي** [565]. Quiescence of , occurs in prose, as in the reading of one of the ancients **أَرْيَعُفُو الَّذِي بِيَدِهِ عَقْدَةُ** II. 238. Or he in whose hand is the bond of marriage, [i. e., the husband, the master of binding and loosing it (B).] *should remit* : nay, quiescence of **ي** in the *n.*, notwithstanding that **ي** is lighter than , , and the *n.* lighter than the *v.*, occurs in prose, as in the reading of Ja'far Ibn Muhammad **مِنْ أَوْسَطِ مَا تَطْعُمُونَ** V. 91. [543] (BS), according to the *dial.* of those who make it quiescent in the three cases, like

[below] (B), for lightness, as they say مَعْدِي كَرِبَ [above], by assimilation of ي is ا (K); and also in the readings XIX. 5. وَإِنِّي خِفْتُ الْمَوَالِيَ مِنْ وَرَائِي [And verily I have feared the action of the next of kin, who will administer affairs after me, i. e., after my death (K, B),] and XXII. 37. فَادْكُرُوا اسْمَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهَا صَوَانِي Therefore mention the name of God over them, when pure, this being with a quiescent ي, pl. of صَانِيَّةٌ, i. e., exclusively belonging to God (BS). In [the position of (IY)] the ind. or nom., the و and ي are quiescent (M), because Damma upon them is deemed heavy; so that you say [in the v.] هُوَ يَغْزُو He raids and يَرْمِي shoots [719], and in the n. هَذَا الرَّامِي This is the shooter and الْعَبْيُ the blind (man) and الْمُصَوِّصِي the shouter. But some of the Arabs treat this ي like the sound [letter], mobilizing it with the vowels of inflection, as هَذَا قَاضِي This is a judge, رَأَيْتُ قَاضِيًا [643], and مَرَرْتُ بِقَاضِي I passed by a judge (IY). Mobilization [of the ي (SH)] is anomalous (M, SH) in the nom. and gen. [below] (SH), as

قَدْ كَادَ يَذْهَبُ بِالدُّنْيَا وَلَدَّتْهَا * مَوَالِي كِكِبَاشِ الْعُوسِ سَحَاحِ
(M, R, Jrb) Plump darlings, like the rams of the breed of sheep called الْعُوسُ, have wellnigh taken away (the life of) the world and its pleasure (Jsh), and مَا إِنَّ رَأَيْتُ آلَ حِجْ

[below] (IY, R, Jrb) : like (1) quiescence [of the , and ى (R, Jrb)] in the *subj.* or *acc.* (SH), as (a) فَمَا سَوَّدَتْنِي [below] (R, Jrb) : (b) فَكَلُوا أَنْ وَاشِ الْخ [333] ; the saying

كَأَنَّ أَيْدِيَهُنَّ بِالْقَاعِ الْقَرِيقِ * أَيْدَى جَوَارٍ يَتَعَاطَيْنَ الْوَرِقَ

(R), attributed by IR in the 'Umda to Ru'ba Ibn Al'Ajjāj, though I have not seen it in his Dīwān, *As though their (the camels') forelegs in the level plain were arms of maidens taking silver dirhams, one from another* (AKB) ; [above] يَا دَارَ هِنْدٍ الْخ ; and the prov.

أَعْطِ الْخ [above] (Jrb) : (2) retention of both [, and ى (R, Jrb)], and of ا , in the *apoc.* (SH), as (a) هَجَوْتُ الْخ [below] (R, Jrb), i. e., لَمْ تَهْجُ (Jrb) : (b) أَلَمْ يَأْتِيكَ الْخ

[below] (R) : and, in some readings, (a) أَرْسَلَهُ مَعَنَا غَدًا [below] (R) : and, in some readings, (a) أَرْسَلَهُ مَعَنَا غَدًا XII. 12. *Send him with us to-morrow : he will feed, and play* [from ارْتَعَى , aor. يَرْتَعَى (K, B)], where يَرْتَعَى being the *correl.* of the command, is governed in the *apoc.* [420] (Jrb) ; while Nāfi' reads [يَرْتَعِ] with Kasr, and يَلْعَبُ (B) ; and Ya'là Ibn Siyāba reads يَرْتَعِ with Kasr of the ع , and يَلْعَبُ *And he will play* in the *ind.* by inception [423] (K) : and (b) إِنَّهُ مَنْ

يَلْعَبُ XII. 90. [below] (Jrb) : (α) Damma is then

يَلْعَبُ *And he will play* in the *ind.* by inception [423] (K) : and (b) إِنَّهُ مَنْ يَلْعَبُ XII. 90. [below] (Jrb) : (α) Damma is then

supplied on the , and ی , in order that it may be elided [404] by the apocopative, because the apocopative must govern [419]; but more frequently and properly on the ی , because Damma on , is heavier than on ی (R): (c) لَا تَرْضَاهَا الْح [below] (Jrb), and مَا أُنْسَ لَا أُنْسَاهُ الْح [below]: (a) to supply Damma on the ا is more strange, because ا does not bear a vowel (R). In the *gen.* only ی occurs, because [the *gen.* is only in *decl. ns.*, while (IY)] among *decl. ns.* there is none whose final is , preceded by a vowel [721]. And the predicament of the ی in the *gen.* is the same as in the *nom.* [above]. But

فَيَوْمًا يُجَازِينَ الْهَوَى غَيْرَ مَاضِي * وَيَوْمًا تَرَى مِنْهُمْ غَوْلًا تَغُولُ
by Jarir, [And one day they reward love with an ineffective (meeting), and another day thou seest in them a she-devil that destroys (man), orig. تَتَغُولُ (MN),] is cited; and ['Ubaid Allāh (Dw)] Ibn [Kais (Dw)] ArRukayyāt says لَا بَارَكَ اللَّهُ فِي الْغَوَانِي الْح [547]; and another says مَا إِنْ رَأَيْتُ وَلَا أَرَى فِي مَدَّتِي * كَجَوَارِي يَلْعَبْنَ فِي الصَّخْرَاءِ
[above] (M) I have not seen, إِنْ being red. [563], nor shall I see in my period of life, aught in beauty like maids that play in the meadow (Jsh). Some of them make that a poetic license; and, according to this, the poet [in the last verse] combines two licenses, Kasr of the ی in the *gen.* [16], and triptote declension [17, 18] (IY). But [R says that] the , and ی are treated like

the sound [letter], in a case of choice, by some of the Arabs, who mobilize the *ى* of *الرَّامِي* [719] in the *nom.* and *gen.*, and of *يَرْمِي* [404, 719] in the *ind.*; and similarly the *و* of *يَغْزُو* [404, 719] in the *ind.* (R). In the *apoc.* they are elided [404, 697, 719] (M), because they are regarded as equivalent to *Damma*, inasmuch as their quiescence is the sign of the *ind.* [above]; so that they are elided for apocopation (IY), as the vowel [*Damma* (IY)] is elided [404]. But they are retained in the saying

هَجَوْتَ زَبَانَ ثُمَّ جِئْتَ مُعْتَذِرًا

مِنْ هَجْوِ زَبَانَ لَمْ تَهْجُو وَلَمْ تَدْعَ

[*Thou didst satirize Zabbān; then thou camest, apologizing for satirizing Zabbān: thou didst not satirize (him), nor let (him) alone* (MN, Jsh), by rule *تَهْجُ* (Jsh)]; and in *يَأْتِيكَ الْحَ* [503] (M), properly *يَأْتِكَ* (Jsh); while one version reported from Ibn Kathīr is *إِنَّهُ مَنْ يَتَّقِي* XII. 90. *Verily the case is this, whoso feareth etc.* [404]. As for the *ا* [above], it is retained, always quiescent; except in the *apoc.* mood [404, 697], where it is elided, like the *و* and *ى* [above], as *لَمْ يَخْشَ* *did not dread* and *لَمْ يُدْعَ* *was not called*. But it is retained in the saying [of ‘Abd Yaghūth (IY, Jsh) Ibn Waḳḳās alHārithī (Jsh)]

وَتَضْحَكُ مِنِّي شَيْخَةً عَبْشِيَّةً * كَأَنَّ لَمْ تَرَى قَبْلِي أَسِيرًا يَمَانِيَا

(M) *And an 'Abshamī [309] old dame laughs at me, as though she had not seen a Yamānī [311] captive before me, by rule* لَمْ تَرَى (Jsh); and [similarly (IY)] in

مَا أَنَسَ لَا أَنْسَاهُ آخِرَ عَيْشَتِي * مَا لَاحَ بِالْمَعْرَاءِ رَيْعُ سَرَابٍ

[above] (M) *Whatever I forget, I shall not forget him to the end of my life, so long as there appears on the rugged ground a quivering of mirage, properly* لَا أَنْسَاهُ (Jsh): and hence

إِذَا الْعَجُوزُ غَضِبَتْ فَطَلِّقِ * وَلَا تَرْضَاهَا وَلَا تَمَلِّقِ

[above] (M), by Ru'ba Ibn Al' Ajjāj, *When the old woman is angry, then divorce (her); and seek not to pacify her, nor coax (her)* (MN), cited by AZ (IY); though IJ says that there is a version وَلَا تَرْضَاهَا, according to the more recognized form (MN).

§. 721. Among *decl. ns.* there is none whose final is , preceded by a vowel [719, 720], because the vowel, if Fatha, makes the , become ا , as in عَمَّا [684, 719]; and, if Kasra, converts it into ي , as in اَلْعَاِزِي [685, 719, 724] (IY on § 720); while there is no [*decl.* (Jrb)] *n.* whose final is , preceded by Damma [686 (case 2, c, a)], that, being [found] only in *vs.*, as يَغْزُو [727] (IY, Jrb), and *indecl. ns.*, as هُوَ [below] and ذُو [176] (Jrb). The cause of that will [now] be explained (IY). When , after an

original Damma occurs as a ُ , final, as in أَذْلُو [243], or virtually final, as when followed by a separable letter, like the ة of femininization, when separable [266], as in تَغَارِيَّة [336, 686 (case 2, b)], or an ا of dualization [228], as in تَغَارِيَانِ *du.* of تَغَارٍ [727], and that [combination] is in a *decl. n.*, the و must be converted into ي , and the Damma before it into Kasra, because و preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is a heavy [thing] super-added to a heavy; and, above all, when it is final; and especially in the *decl. n.*, where it is the foot-rest of the different vowels of inflection (R). They say أَذِلْ [243, 685, 727] and أَحَقِّ , [by analogy أَذْلُو and أَحَقُّ (IY),] for the *pl.* [of paucity (IY)] on [the measure of] أَفْعَلْ , from دَلْو bucket and حَقْو waist; and عَرَقِي and قَلْنِسِي for the *pl.* of عَرَقُو [248, 723] and قَلْنِسُو [254, 390, 723], [by elision of the ة (IY),] on the principle of تَمْرَة and تَمَر [254], as

لَا صَبْرَ حَتَّى تَلْحَقِي بِعَنْسٍ * أَهْلَ الرِّبَاطِ الْبَيْضِ وَالْقَلْنِسِ

[There will be no patience until thou reach 'Ans (a clan of AlYaman), the wearers of white mantles and of caps, cited by As on the authority of IIU (IY)]: substituting Kasra for the Damma before the و , in order that the و may be converted into ي , as in مِيزَان and مِيقَات [685 (case 5), 699] (M); so that the word becomes of the

class of the defective, like قَاضٍ [16] (IY). [According to R, however, first] the و is converted into ي ; and afterwards the Damma into Kasra : and one does not begin by converting the Damma into Kasra, because alleviation of the final is more appropriate. The و is not converted into ي , (1) when it is not a ل , whether it be pronounced with (a) Fath, as in قَوَّاءٌ [273, 385] : (b) Damm, in which case, (a) if followed by a quiescent, as in حَوَّلَ [inf. n. of أَلْكَوْلَ] *The year passed over him* (KF, MAR)], it may be retained, or be converted into Hamza [683] (R), [as] حَوَّلَ (KF) ; (b) if followed by a mobile, it must be made quiescent, as نُورٌ , [orig. نُورٌ (MAR),] pl. of نَوَارٌ [711, 712] : or (c) Kasr, in which case it remains unaltered, as أَوْدٌ on [the measure of] أَكْرَمٌ from وَدٌ affection : (a) as for قَيْلٌ , orig. قَوْلٌ [436], it is because of what has been mentioned in the Commentary on the IH [706] : (2) when it is a ل , but is followed by an inseparable letter, like the ة of feminization in قَبْحَدْرَةٌ and عُنْصُرَةٌ [385, 399, 719, 724], and the non-dualistic ا and ن in أَفْعَوَانٌ and أَفْكَوَانٌ [274, 390, 724] : except when the Damma before it is upon another و , in which case it is converted into ي , because of the excessive heaviness, even if it be immediately followed by an inseparable letter, as in قَوِيَّةٌ and قَوِيَّانٌ [730. A] on [the

measure of] سَمَرَةٌ [254] and سَبْعَانُ [385, 686 (case 2, c)]; and is not subjected to incorporation, because transformation comes before incorporation [684 (condition 10, b, b, γ), 728]: (3) when the Ḍamma [before it] is not permanent, as in (a) أَبَوْنُ *thy father*, فَوْنُ *thy mouth* and أَخُونُ *thy brother* [16]: (b) خُطَوَاتُ *steps* [238, 240]; for, though the ا and ت [234] are separable, like the ة [336] of تَغَايِةٌ [above], still the Ḍamma of the ط is accidental in the *pl.*, where the ط may be made quiescent: (4) when the و is in a *v.*, like سَرُّو *was liberal* [729], *aor.* يَسْرُو [730], and [like] يَدْعُو [720], because, though the *v.* is heavier than the *n.*, so that alleviation is more appropriate and suitable for it, still the word becomes a *v.* only through the measure, since the *o. f.* of the *v.* is the *inf. n.* [331], which is transferred to the *cat.* of the *v.* through the formation only, the *inf. n.* being like the material, and the *v.* like a compound of the material and the form; and, since the quality of *v.* comes into existence through the formation only [724], while the formations of the *tril. v.* vary, and are distinguishable, one from another, only through the vowel of the ع [482, 704, 730. A], the Arabs take care to preserve that vowel, which is therefore not elided, except when the formation is not distinguishable by transfer [of that vowel] to the preceding letter, as in قُلْتُ and بَعْتُ, contrary to خِفْتُ and هَبْتُ

and طُلْتُ [705], and to يَقُولُ and يَخَافُ and يَبِيعُ [697, 703], as before explained : (a) similarly they say رَمَوْا الرَّجُلَ *How well the man shoots !* [476, 686 (case 2, a), 724], contrary to such as التَّرَامِي [713] : (b) thus it is established that the Damma of سَرَوْ and يَدْعُو [above] may not be converted into Kasra, lest one formation be mistaken for another : (5) when it is in a *n.*, and Fatha is inseparable from it, as in هُوَ *he* [161, 724] : (a) only this [instance] occurs : (b) here that [retention of the ,] is pardonable, because the word has little heaviness, by reason of its being *bil.*, and of Fatha's being inseparable from its , ; and because it might be mistaken for the *fem.* [هِيَ *she*], if the , were converted. And IH, notwithstanding that he is discussing the , preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, mentions خَيْلَاء [273] together with قُوبَاء [above], to demonstrate the predicament of the ي preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, as respects the fact that with the ي conversion of the Damma into Kasra is necessary where it is necessary before the , , as تَرَامٍ [332] and تَرَامِيَّة [336, 686 (case 2, b)], according to what we have mentioned [in connection with تَغَارِ and تَغَارِيَّة]; and unnecessary where it is not necessary with the , [above]. Fr says that سِيرَاء [273, 385] is *orig.* فَعَلَاء with Damm, being

pronounced with Kasr on account of the *ي*, as *يُوت* and *عِيُون* [242], *بَيِّت* and *عَيِّنَة* [274, 686] are said in the *pl.* and *dim.*; and, says Sf, what he says is not improbable, because we do not see any *n.* on [the measure of] *فَعْلَاء* with Kasr of the *ف*, except the hollow whose *ع* is a *ي*: but Khl says that no *فَعْلَاء* with Kasr of the *ف* occurs in the language, except *عَنْبَاء* i. q. *عَنْب* [368], *سَيَرَاء*, and *حَوْلَاء* i. q. *حَوْلَاء* *membrane enclosing the foetus in the womb of the she-camel* (R), which have no fourth (KF, MAR). They say *قَمَحْدَوَة* and *قَلَنْسَوَة* [above], *أَفْعَوَان* [above] and *عُنْفَوَان* [283, 389, 685 (case 1, b, b), 724], where the *و* is not final. And the counterpart of that is the transformation in such as *كِسَاء* and *رَدَاء* [683, 723], and its omission in such as (1) *نِهَائَة* and *عَظَائَة* and *صَلَائَة* and *شَقَاوَة* [266, 683 (case 1, d), 723]; (2) *أَبَوَة* *paternity* and *أَخَوَة* *fraternity* [722] (M), *inf. ns.* on [the measure of] *فُعُولَة* [331], from which the *ة* is inseparable in the first state of their formation in this shape [265 (case 10)] (IY); (3) *مَذَرَّان* and *ثَنَائَان* [228-230, 683 (case 1, f), 723, 727]. S asked Khl about their saying *صَلَاءَة* [683 (case 1, e), 723], *عَبَاءَة* and *عَظَاءَة*; and he said "They only pronounce the *n. un.* [254] conformably to *صَلَاء* [723], *عَبَاء* and *عَظَاء* (M); as they

say مَسْنِيَّةٌ and مَرَضِيَّةٌ, pronouncing them conformably to مَسْنِيٌّ and مَرَضِيٌّ [685 (case 8), 722]” (S, IY); meaning that صَلَّاءٌ and عَبَاءٌ are not treated like نَهَائَةٌ [above] and إِذَاؤَةٌ [281, 688 (case 1, d)], because the ة is affixed to صَلَّاءٌ and عَبَاءٌ after the conversion [of their ل] into Hamza has become necessary in them (IY): “but, as for those who say صَلَّايَةٌ and عَبَائَةٌ [266], they do not pronounce the *n. un.* conformably to صَلَّاءٌ and عَبَاءٌ; as those who say خُصَيَّانِ [228] do not form the *du.* conformably to the *sing.* used in speech (M), whereas, if they meant that, they would say خُصَيَّتَانِ” (S).

§. 722. They say جُتِيَ and عُتِيَ [act of] kneeling upright [728], and عَصِيَ [with Kasr of the ع and ص, or with Damm of the ف (IY)], doing to the final, after Damma in فَعُولٌ, notwithstanding that the letter of prolongation is a barrier between them, what they do to it in أَذِلَّ and قَلَنْسِ [721], as they do in كَسَّاءٌ [683, 723] the like of what they do in عَصَا [684, 719] (M). The , is converted into ي for alleviation, because of two matters, (1) that the word is a *pl.* [below], the *pl.* being deemed heavy: (2) that the first , , being an *aug.* letter of prolongation, is not taken into account as a barrier; so that the , , which is the ل of the word, comes, as it

were, immediately after the Damma, ^{عُصُو} becoming constructively ^{عُصُو}; and is therefore converted into ^ي, as in ^{أَحْقِي} and ^{أَدِلْ} [721]. Then, this ^ي being combined with [the preceding] ^و, the ^و is converted into ^ي [685 (case 7)]. And they pronounce the ^ع with Kasr in such as ^{عُصِي}, as they do in ^{أَدِلْ} and ^{أَحْقِي} [721] (IY). This process is invariable in what is a *pl.* [above], except in such an anomaly as ^{إِنَّكَ لَتَنْظُرُنِي نَحْوَ كَثِيرَةٍ} *Verily thou lookest in many directions* [685 (case 9, a, a)]; but not in what is [a *sing. n.* (IY),] not a *pl.* (M), because the *sing.* [below] is light (IY). They say ^{عُتُو} and ^{مَغْرُو} (M), as XXV. 23. [685 (case 9, b)] (IY); but they do say ^{عُتِي} and ^{مَغْرِي}, as

وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ عَرَسِي مُلَيْكَةً أَنَّنِي * أَنَا اللَّيْتُ مَعْدِيًّا عَلَيْهِ وَعَادِيًّا

[685 (case 8, b, a, γ)]: and they say ^{أَرْضُ مَسْنِيَّة} *irrigated land* [from ^{سَنَوْتُ الْأَرْضَ} *I watered the land* (IY)], and ^{مَرْضِي} [685 (case 8), 721]; or ^{مَرُضُو} [below], according to rule. S says “The proper letter in this sort”, [i. e., what is a *sing.* (IY),] “is ^و; but the other is [good] Arabic, [and] frequent: while the proper letter in the *pl.* is ^ي” (M). The final ^و, preceded by a letter pronounced with Damma, in the *decl. n.*, is, if doubled, rather strong. Conversion is then (1) necessary, notwithstanding that [strength], in two things, (a) that

[sing.] in which the Damma is on another , , as غُرُوْى on the measure of عَصْفُوْر [396] from غَزُوْ [728, 730. A]; and hence مَقْرُوْى pass. part. from قَرُوْ [685 (case 8), 730. A]: (b) a pl. on [the measure of] فَعُوْل [243, 685 (case 9)], like جُئِى pl. of جَاثِ kneeling upright, and عَصِى pl. of عَصَا [above]; and hence قُسِى after transposition [243]: (a) نَحُوْ pl. of نَحُوْ , as اِنَّهٗ لَيَنْظُرُ فِى نَحُوْ كَثِيْرَةٍ Verily he looks etc. [above] is anomalous; and so are نَجُوْ pl. of نَحُوْ c'oud, بَهُوْ pl. of بَهُوْ chest, and اَبُوْ and اُخُوْ , p's. of اَبٌ and اَخٌ [685 (case 9, a, a)] (R): (b) the author of the CHd says that (Jrb) those all occur anomalously, [as though (IY)] notifying the o. f., like قَوْد (IY, Jrb) and خَوْنَةٌ [684, 711] (IY): (c) they are not to be copied, contrary to the opinion of Fr: (2) proper, though it may be omitted, in every pass. part. in which the Damma is not on [another] , , but which belongs to the conjug. of فَعِلَ with Kasr [of the ع], as مَرَضِى [685 (case 8)], which is more frequent than مَرَضُوْ [above], for imitation of the pret. v.: (3) properly omitted, in every inf. n. on [the measure of] فَعُوْل , like جُئُوْ [act of] kneeling upright and عُوْ [685 (case 9, b)]; while those who convert [the , into ى] do so because of the transformation of [the , into ا in] the v. [عَتَا and جَتَا]. If not final, the , is not converted, as اَبُوْ and اُخُوْ [721].

Conversion is extraordinary in (1) ^{أَفْعُولُ} and ^{أَفْعُولُ}, like ^{أَغْزَوْ} and ^{أَغْزَوْ}: but ^{أَدْعَوْ} or ^{أَدْعِيَّ} riddle occurs; and hence ^{أَدْحَى}, [^{أَفْعُولُ} from ^{دَحَوْتُ} *I expanded* (Jh), and ^{أَدْحِيَّ} or ^{أَدْحَوَّ}, the *place where the ostrich lays eggs in the sand* (KF, MAR), because she *expands* it with her foot, and then *lays eggs* in it, the ostrich having no nest (Jh)]: (2) ^{فَعُولُ} and ^{فَعُولُ} as ^{أَلِيَّة} *oath*, which may be ^{فَعُولُ} or ^{فَعِيلُ} while its ^ل is a ^و, because they say ^{أَلْوَة} in the same sense: (3) the *pass. part.* in which the Damma is not on [another] ^و, and which does not belong to the *conjug.* of ^{فَعَل} with Kasr, like ^{مَغْزُو} [685 (case 8, b)]: but ^{أَرْضُ مَسْنُوَّة} or ^{مَسْنِيَّة} [above] is said; and the poet says

أَنَا اللَّيْثُ مَعْدِيَّ عَلَيْهِ وَعَادِيَا

[above] (R). The saying ^{أَنَا اللَّيْثُ أَخ} is recited in both ways [685 (case 8, b, *a*, α)]. The cause of the transformation is disputed, being said to be (1) conformity to the *pass. v.* [^{عُدِي} (Sn)]: (a) this is the saying of Fr, who is followed by IM; but it is objected that conversion is found in the *inf. n.*, which is not formed according to the *pass. v.*: (2) assimilation to the *cat.* of ^{أَدَل} and ^{أَجَر} [243, 721], because the first ^و, [of ^{مَعْدُو} (Sn)], being quiescent, *aug*, [and] fit for incorporation, is not taken into account as a barrier; so that

the , , which is the *l* of the word, is, as it were, immediately after the *Damma*; and is therefore converted into *ی*, as in *أَدِلَّ* and *أَجِرْ* [above] (A). The *pass. part.* whose *l* is a *Hamza* is sometimes subjected to this transformation, like *مَخْبِيٌّ*, *orig. مَخْبُوءٌ* *hidden* [658]. And *فَتَوَّ* occurs anomalously as *pl.* of *فَتَى* *youth*, notwithstanding that its *l* is a *ی*, as *نُكُوْ* is anomalous, except that the anomaly in *فَتَوَّ* is conversion of the *ی* into , [243], and in *نُكُوْ* is non-conversion of the , into *ی* [above]. After conversion of the , into *ی* [and of the *Damma* into *Kasra*], you may make the *ف* of *فُعُولُ*, whether a *pl.* or otherwise, imitate, or not imitate, the *ع* [in its vowel], as *عَتِيَّ* [684, 685 (case 9, b, a), 730. A] and *دَلِيَّ* [243, 685 (case 9)]. And in *فُعَلُ*, when a *pl.* of the hollow whose *ع* is , , as *صَوِّمُ* *fasters* [247] and *قَوِّلُ* *sayers* [730. A], you may convert the , into *ی*, as *صِيْمٌ* and *قَيِّلٌ* [685 (case 10), 715, 716], though it should rather be sounded true. That is allowable only because it is a *pl.* [above], and the , is near the end; while *حَيِّلٌ* for *حَوِّلُ* [714] is not allowable, because it is a *sing.* [above]. IH has previously adjudged this conversion to be anomalous [716]: whereas the language of S notifies that it is regular. But, as for *فَمَا أَرَقَ النَّيَّامُ الْحَـ* [685, 715, 716], it is anomalous, because of the remoteness from the end (R).

§. 723. The , and ى are converted [into | , and afterwards (R)] into Hamza [683 (case 1, k, θ)], when they occur as a final [below] after an *aug.* | , [because, the | being then like the non-existent, the mobile , and ى occur, as it were, after Fatha (R),] as كَسَا and رَدَا [328, 683, 708, 719] (SH), which are فَعَالٌ from كَسَوْتُ [327] and فَلَانٌ حَسَنُ الْرَدِيَّةِ *such a one is good in the fashion of wearing the cloak* (Jrb); contrary to رَاى and ثَاى [719] (SH), where the | , being converted from a *rad.* letter, [ى in the former *ex.*, and , in the latter,] is taken into account (R). It is mentioned, in the commentary ascribed to IH, that رَاى and ثَاى are *pls.* of رَايَةٌ and ثَايَةٌ: but this requires consideration; and it should rather be said that رَاى and رَايَةٌ [301, 302, 305], ثَاى and ثَايَةٌ [305, 684], are [collective generic *ns.* and *ns. un.*, respectively,] on the principle of تَمَرٌ and تَمَرَةٌ [254] (Jrb). The , and ى mentioned are converted into | because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684, 719]. Then, two quiescents being combined, the first is not elided [708], notwithstanding that it is a letter of prolongation [663], lest one formation be confounded with another, [vid. the prolonged with the abbreviated]; but the second is converted into a letter susceptible of a vowel, [and] akin to | , vid. Hamza, both being guttural [732]: [and such conversion of the

second is necessary,] since the first is a letter of prolongation having no share in a vowel; while there is no way to conversion of the second into , or ی , because one has only just escaped from them (R). It is stipulated, in the case of the [, or ی (IY)] converted after ۱ that the ۱ should be *aug.* [374, 673], as in كَسَاء and رَدَّآ [above]: whereas, if it be *rad.*, the , or ی is not converted, as وَآ [683 (case 1, a), 697, 698, 720] and رَآ [below], ۱آ and ۱آ [684 (condition 10, b, a)] (M). That is because of two matters, (1) that the letter, when *aug.*, may be assumed to be elided: so that the unsound letter comes, as it were, immediately after the Fatha; and is therefore treated, in respect of conversion and transformation, in the same way as in عَصَا and حَى [719]: whereas, when the ۱ is *rad.*, this assumption is not permissible: (2) that the ۱, when *rad.*, is converted from another [letter]; so that, when you proceed to convert the , or ی , which is a ۱ , you make two transformations consecutively, which is a catachresis. And Mz exaggerates in precaution by stipulating that the ۱, with which the , or ی is converted into Hamza, should be [not only] *aug.*, [but] third, to guard against ۱آ [below] and ۱آ [720]; for, though “*aug.*” is sufficient as a safeguard, he corroborates it by “third” (IY). As for ۱آ [321, 720], its ۱ is converted from a , , and

its **ل** is a **ي**, because it is from the crude-form of **زَوَيْتُ** meaning **جَمَعْتُ** *I collected*, except that its **ع** is transformed, and its **ل** preserved. The general rule is that the **ل** should be transformed, and the **ع** sounded true, as **هَوَى** [683, 684 (condition 10, a, α, γ)] and **نَوَى** [683, 713]; but **رَايَةً** is co-ordinated, in anomalousness, with **رَايَةً** [above] and **غَايَةً** [684 (condition 10, b)]. And, as for **ثَايَ** [above], the [fold or] *nightly resting-place* of camels, [sheep, or goats (Jh),] it is from **ثَوَيْتُ** *I abode*. Similarly, if the **و** and **ي** be followed by the [inseparable] **ة** of femininization [below], as in **سَقَايَةً** and **شَقَاوَةً** [266, 683 (case 1, d)], then being considered not quasi-final, but quasi-medial, because the **ة** of femininization is [permanently] attached to the word, they are not converted into Hamza (Jrb). Since the **و** and **ي**'s being mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fathā is a weak cause for their conversion [703], and, above all, when an **ا** separates them from the Fathā, it is prevented from taking effect by the occurrence of an inseparable letter after the **و** and **ي**, because their conversion into **ا** is produced not only by the cause, but also by their being final [above], since the final is the seat of alteration. That letter is (1) the **ة** of femininization [above], when inseparable from the word [683 (case 1, d)], as in **نَقَاوَةً** *choice part* and **نَهَايَةً** [266, 721];

(2) the † of dualization, when inseparable, as in ثَنَائِيَان [228, 230, 683 (case 1, *f*), 721], since ثَنَاءٌ for the *sing.* does not occur; (3) the non-dualistic † and ن, as in غَزَاوَانٌ and رَمَائِيَانٌ, on the measure of سَلَامَانٌ [390], from غَزَوْ and رَمَوْ: whereas, (a) if the ة be separable, which is (a) the ة distinguishing the *fem.* from the *masc.* in *eps.* [265], as سَقَاءٌ [682, 683 (case 1, *e*)] and غَزَاءٌ, because they say سَقَاءٌ [282] and غَزَاءٌ *great raider*, and (b) the regular ة of *un.* [336], as in اسْتِقَاءٌ *a drawing of water* and اصْطِفَاءٌ *a choice, an election*, or, (b) if the † of dualization be separable, as in كِسَاءَان and رِدَاءَان [230, 683 (case 1, *f*)], the , and ى are converted, because quasi-final. And the reason why عَظَاءٌ or عَظَايَةٌ [266, 683 (case 1, *e*), 721], عَبَاءٌ or عَبَايَةٌ, and صَلَاءٌ or صَلَايَةٌ, with Hamza or ى, are allowable, although in them also the ة denotes *unity*, as in اسْتِقَاءٌ and اصْطِفَاءٌ [above], is only that, in the *inf. n.* [336], the ة of *un.* is regular, frequent, so that its adventitiousness is obvious; contrary to the concrete *n.* [3], where those [specimens] whose *n. un.* is distinguished from their generic *n.* by the ة [254, 265] are rare, whether they be [denotative of] *created things*, like تَبْرَةٌ and تَفَاحَةٌ, or [of] *others*, like سَفِينَةٌ and لَبِنَةٌ [254]: so that, in the three *ns.* [under discussion], Hamza is allowable from regard to the

separability of the ة , since عَبَاءٌ [721], عَظَاءٌ , and صَلَاءٌ are said for the generic *n.*; while ى is allowable, because the ة [in the concrete *n.*], being generally inseparable, since, as we said, it is not regular, becomes like the ة of شَقَاوَةٌ and نِهَآيَةٌ [229, 266]. And, since the ة of *un.* in the concrete *n.* is quasi-inseparable, عَرَقَتْهُ and قَلَنْسُوهُ are allowable, although the generic *n.* is عَرَقٌ and قَلَنْسٌ [721]. But [the *inf. ns.*] شَقَاوَةٌ and شَقَاءٌ are not like [the concrete *ns.*] عَظَايَةٌ and عَظَاءٌ [above], since شَقَاوَةٌ does not denote the *individual*, and شَقَاءٌ the *genus*; nay, the *n. un.* would by rule be شَقَوَةٌ *a misery* [336]: so that شَقَاوَةٌ is not *orig.* شَقَاءٌ augmented by the ة; and for this reason the و is permanent, as غَبَاوَةٌ , not غَبَاءٌ [266]. The reason why the occurrence of an inseparable letter [after the و and ى] prevents conversion in the *cat.* of شَقَاوَةٌ [above] and خَزَايَةٌ *being ashamed* [below], and in the *cat.* of قَبْحَدُوَةٌ [719, 721], but not in the *cat.* of غَرِيَانٌ and غَرِيَّةٌ [685, 686, 724], فَعِلَانٌ and فَعِلَةٌ , respectively, with Kasr of the ع , even if we hold the ا [and ن] and the ة in them to be inseparable, is only that the cause of conversion is strong in the last [cat.], not in the two first. And for the same reason you convert the letter [و into ى], notwithstanding that it is separated from the Kasra by a sound letter, in

such as دَنِيًا [724]. The Hamza in such co-ordinates as عَلْبَاءٌ and حِرْبَاءٌ [248, 273, 385] is *orig.* ا converted from the ع added for co-ordination [683 (case 1)], as is proved by their *fem.* analogues, like دِرْحَايَةٌ [282] and دَعَايَةٌ [short, fat (IY on §. 683), fleshy, whether tall or short KF, MAR)], where, the ة being inseparable, as in خَرَايَةٌ [above], the ع is not converted, contrary to حِرْبَاءٌ ة female chameleon (R).

§. 724. The [final (Jrb)] و, preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr is [unavoidably (M)] converted (M, SH) into ع (IY, SH), as دُعَى and رَضَى [below], and أَلْغَايَ [685 (case 1, a), 719, 721] (SH); [and] as غَايَةَ [below] and مَكْنِيَّةٌ bend in a valley (M), مَفْعِلَةٌ [362] from حَنَوْتُ I bent, orig. مَكْنَوْتُ (BS). For the و, in addition to being preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, is a ج, while the ج is weak as being at the end [719]; and, since they convert the ع in the like of ثَيْرٌ pl. of ثَوْرٌ [685 (case 3, b, c, α), 713], and قِيَامٌ and ثِيَابٌ [685 (cases 2, 3), 713], notwithstanding that the ع is stronger than the ج, much more should the ج, which is weaker, be converted because of the Kasra before it (IY). The mobile و, preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, being strengthened by the vowel,

is not converted into *ي*, except on [one of] two conditions, (1) that it be a *ل*, because the final is the seat of alteration: (a) it is then converted into *ي*, whether it be in (a) a *n.*, as رَأَيْتُ الْغَارِيَّ [713]; or (b) a *v.*, *act.*, like رَضِيَ from رِضْوَانٌ [685 (case 1, a)], or *pass.*, like دُعِيَ *was called* [629]: and whether it (a) become virtually medial, through the occurrence of a subsequent letter inseparable from the word, as in غَزِيَانٌ upon [the measure of] فَعْلَانٌ [685 (case 1, d), 686 (case 2, c, a), 723] from غَزَوْ, and غَرِيَّةٌ upon [the measure of] فَعْلَةٌ [723] from the same, with inseparability of the ة, as in عُنْصُورٌ [385, 721]; or (b) do not become [so], as in غَارِيَّةٌ [265 (case 1, a, a), 685 (case 1, b)]: (b) مَقَاتِرُ pl. of مَقْتَرٍ [685 (case 1, b, c)] is anomalous, being treated as sound for conformity to مَقْتَرُونَ: (c) they say خِنْذَوْ [overtopping peak of a mountain (MAR)], with و, lest the rare فَعْلَوْ be confounded with the frequent فَعْلِيَّة, as عَفْرِيَّة [385], نِفْرِيَّة [an *all. seq.* of عَفْرِيَّة (KF, MAR)], هَبْرِيَّة [385], and the like: (d) if you contract رَضِيَ [above] and غَزِيَ *was raided*, you say رَضِيَ and غَزِيَ, as you say عَلِمَ for عَلِمَ [482, 685 (case 7, b, b, γ)], and عَصَرَ for عَصَرَ *was pressed, squeezed*; and the *ي* is not restored to its *o. f.* of و, notwithstanding the removal

of the Kasra in contraction, because its removal is accidental : (e) they say رَضُوا *They were pleased* and غَزُوا *They were raided*, taking the supplied Kasra into account as respects conversion of the و into ي , but not as respects retention of the Damma on the ي : whereas, if they took it into account in every respect, رَضُوا and غَزُوا would be said, because Damma on the ي is deemed heavy after Kasra ; and then the و 's being affixed to the contracted رَضَى and غَزَى would not be plain : (2) that it be an ع in a *n.* made conformable to something else, as in تَيَّامٌ [above], and دِيَّارٌ and رِيَّاضٌ [685 (case 3, a, b)], as before explained [713]. As for the mobile ي preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm, (1) if it do not occur as a ج , then, (a) if it be not pronounced with Kasr, as هَيَّامٌ and عَيْبَةٌ [713], and عَيْنٌ *pl.* of عَيَّانٌ [246], it is not converted into و , because it is strengthened by the vowel, and is also medial ; (b) if it be pronounced with Kasr, as in بَيْعٌ [436], its predicament has been explained [706] : (2) if it occur as a ج , then, (a) if Fath be inseparable from it, the ي is converted into و , on account of the preceding letter's being pronounced with Damm, because the final is the seat of alteration ; while, through the inseparability of Fath, a و preceded by a letter pronounced with Damm is not deemed heavy at the end, as it is not so deemed in هَوٌ [161, 721] : that is [found]

in (a) the v., as رَمَوْا الرَّجُلَ زَيْدٌ *Most excellent in shooting is the man, Zaid!* [468, 686 (case 2, a), 721] from رَمَى : (α) if you contract [فَعَلَ by eliding] the Damma of the ع , the و , is not altered, because the contraction is accidental, as رَمَوْا الرَّجُلَ , like ظَرَفَ for ظَرُفَ [368, 476] : (b) the n., but only when the و , is followed by an inseparable aug. necessitating Fath of what is before it, [i. e., of the و ,] like [the ا and ن in] أَرْمَوَانٌ on the measure of أُسْكَبَانٌ [a kind of tree (KF, MAR)] from رَمَى , where و , is not deemed heavy, as it is not so deemed in عُنْفَوَانٌ and أَفْخَرَوَانٌ and قَبَحْدُوَّةٌ [389, 390, 399, 721], because the و , is, as it were, not a ل : and like [the ة in] رَمُوَّةٌ on the measure of فَعْلَةٌ from رَمَى , when the ة is inseparable [686 (case 2, b)]; whereas, if it be not inseparable, you say رَمِيَّةٌ and رَمٍ [686 (case 2, c, α)], by conversion of the Damma into Kasra [721] : (α) the reason why Kasra is inseparable from the letter followed immediately by the ي in such as طَوِيَّانٌ with Kasr of the و , [orig. طَوِيَّانٌ] on the measure of فَعْلَانٌ with Damm of the ع , from طَوِيَ [hungred (MAR)], and مَطْوِيَّةٌ , [orig. مَطْوِيَّةٌ] on the measure of مَسْرَبَةٌ [362], from the same, is only that, the last و , of such as قَرَوٌ being always converted into ي [685 (case 1, a, α), 728], the ي of طَوِيَّانٌ [or مَطْوِيَّةٌ] cannot

possibly be converted into و; (b) if Fath be not inseparable from it, as in التَّجَارِي rivalry, competition and التَّجَارِي disputing, one with another, the Damma is converted into Kasra [700]; and not the ي into و, because the heaviest of the unsound letters, i. e. و, preceded by the heaviest of the vowels, i. e. Damma, is deemed too heavy to be a seat of inflection: (a) as for بَهْوُ الرَّجُلِ, aor. يَبْهَوُ, i. q. بَهَى, aor. يَبْهَى, meaning [The man] became handsome, its [original] ي, notwithstanding its being a seat of inflection [in the aor.], is converted into و, because of what we have mentioned (R), [i. e.] on account of the Damma [in فَعَلَ], because in vs. the formations are observed, never confused one with another, since the quality of v. comes into existence only by means of the formation and measure [721]; the o. f. of the v. being the inf. n. [331], which is a n., but, on being invaded by the measures, becomes a v. (R on the Preterite): (b) similarly the Damma is converted into Kasra, when the ي that is the seat of inflection is doubled, as in رَمَى on the measure of قُبِدَّ [375, 730. A] from رَمَى (R). But قَنِيتُ [acquiring for oneself, not for traffic (Jh)] and [هُوَ ابْنُ عَمِّي دَنِيًا in دَنِيًا] He is the son of my paternal uncle, closely related [723] are anomalous (SH), by rule قَنَوْتُ and دَنَوْتُ (Jrb); because you convert the و, that is a ل into ي, notwithstanding its separation

from the preceding Kasra by the quiescent. The reason of that, besides its anomalousness, is that the , is a ل , and the quiescent like the non-existent. قَنِیَّةٌ [on this hypothesis] belongs to [the cat. of] the , , because you say قَنَوْتُ [I acquired for myself, not for traffic (Jh)]: but it should rather be said to belong to قَنِیْتُ , because its ل is biform; and hence قُنَّیَانٌ [مَالٌ property acquired for oneself, not for traffic (Jh, MAR)], with Damm of the ق (R). And [similarly] صَبِیَّةٌ [246, 257, 685] is from صَبَا , aor. یَصْبُو ; and دَنِیًّا [above] from دُنُو nearness (IY). Tayyi convert the ی in the cat. of رَضِیَ and دُعِیَ into ا (SH), saying رَضَا and دُعَا and بَقِیَ [349, 482], because, deeming Kasra before the ی to be heavy, they convert it into Fatha; so that the ی becomes converted into ا (Jrb), as before explained [703]. This is a universal rule, according to them, whether the ی be orig. و , as in رَضِیَ and دُعِیَ [above]; or not, as in بَقِیَ (R). But that is peculiar to vs., to the exclusion of ns., like اَلْقَاضِیَ [16, 294, 720] (Jrb).

§. 725. When the ل of فَعَلِی , with Fath of the ف , is unsound, then, (1) if a و , it is preserved in the substantive, as دَعَوِی [248, 272]; and ep., as نَشَرِی [fem. of نَشْرَانٌ tipsy (MAZ, Sn)]: (a) they make no distinction

between the substantive and *ep.* in the *cat.* of the , [below] (A): (b) its , is not converted into ی , either in the substantive, as دَعَوَى [above], or *ep.*, as شَهْوَى *fem.* of شَهْوَانُ *lustful*, because the beginning and the end of the word are moderate [in weight] through [the lightness of] the Fatha and [the heaviness of] the , ; whereas, if the , were converted into ی , both ends of the word would become light (R): (2) if a ی , it is preserved in the *ep.*, as خَزْيَا and صَدْيَا [686 (case 3, a)], *fems.* of خَزْيَانُ and صَدْيَانُ ; and converted into , in the substantive, as تَقْوَى [686 (case 3)], شَرْوَى , and فَتْوَى , to distinguish the substantive from the *ep.*: (a) the substantive is selected for this transformation, because, being lighter [than the *ep.*, since the sense of the latter is composite (142, 313, 331) (Sn)], it is more tolerant of heaviness (A): (b) as for the *cat.* of the ی , moderation is intended in it: so that first [the excessive lightness of] the substantive, which is anterior to the *ep.*, is moderated by conversion of its ی into , ; and then the *ep.*, when it is reached, is left without conversion, for the sake of distinction (R): (c) this change occurs in most cases (IM): (d) IM says "in most cases" to exclude رَيَا [686 (case 3, a)], طَغْيَا , and سَعْيَا , as he expressly states in the CK ; but the exclusion of these requires consideration [for reasons here assigned by A, identical with those given in §. 686]. What IM mentions here

and in the CK, is agreeable with the opinion of S, [Z, IH,] and most of the GG: I mean that, in the substantive *فَعْلَى*, change of *ي* into *و* is regular, and retention of *ي* anomalous. But in the Tashil he reverses [the rule], saying that the substitution of *و* for the *ي* [serving as the *ل*] of *فَعْلَى*, when a substantive, is anomalous. And, in one of his [other] compositions also, he says "One anomaly in transformation is the substitution of *و* for *ي* in *فَعْلَى*, when a substantive, like *نَشْوَى* *Nashwà*, [a district in Adhrabījān (Sn),] *تَقْوَى* [above], *عَنْوَى* [with an undotted *ع* and a *ن* in the MSS, but not found by me in the KF or Ms^b or any other (work on lexicology) (Sn)], and *فَتْوَى* [above], the *o. f.* in them being *ي*". Then he says "But most of the GG make this regular; and, to the four [*exs.*] mentioned, they append *شُرْوَى* [above], *طَغْوَى* [i. q. *طَغِيَانٌ* (686, case 3, a) (Sn)], *لَقْوَى*, [so in the MSS, with *ق*, but not found by me in the KF or elsewhere, what is in the KF being *لَغْوَى* with the dotted *غ*, i. q. *لَغَوٌ*, i. e., *what is not taken into account, whether speech or anything else*, so that perhaps what is in the MSS is a mistranscription, though it is not noticed by the Glossators (Sn),] and *دَعْوَى* [above], asserting that their *o. f.* is *ي*: whereas, in my opinion, these last, [i. e., *شُرْوَى* and the three after it (Sn),] should rather be regarded as

belonging to [the *cat.* of (Sn)] the , , in order to preclude multiplication of anomalies" (A); though this argument does not apply to "most of the GG", because they do not profess that these four are anomalous (Sn). And afterwards he says "One thing which makes it plain that the change of ی [in نَشَوَى and the three after it (Sn)] into , is anomalous, is the sounding [of the ی] true in رَيًّا [above], طَغِيًّا , and سَعِيًّا ; for these three, which occur [with ی] according to the *o. f.*, and with avoidance of anomalousness, are more worthy of being considered regular". This is his language: but a criticism on his citation of these three as proofs has already been passed (A), deducible from the criticism on their exclusion by his saying "in most cases" [above] (Sn). When the ج of فُعَلَى , with Damm of the ف , is unsound, then, (1) if a ی , it is preserved in the substantive, as فُتْيَا *a legal opinion*; and *ep.*, as الْقُضْيَا *fem.* of الْأَقْضَى *the most decisive* (A), to be distinguished, say our Master and YH, from الْقُصْيَا , as to which the difference between the Hījāzīs and Tamīmīs will be mentioned below, the *o. f.* [of the ج] in the latter being , , while in this it is ی (Sn): (a) they make no distinction between the substantive and *ep.* in the فُعَلَى belonging to the *cat.* of the ی , as they make none in the فُعَلَى belonging to the *cat.* of the , [above] (A): (b) its ج is not converted, in the substantive or *ep.*, because

moderateness [in weight] is produced in the word by the heaviness of the *Ḍamma* at its beginning, and the lightness of the *ى* at its end ; whereas, if the *ج* were converted into *و*, both ends of the word would become heavy (R) : (2) if a *و*, it is preserved in the substantive, like *حَزَوَى* [272], as *أَدَارًا بِحَزَوَى الْح* [685 (case 6, e)] ; and converted into *ى* in the *ep.*, as XXXVII. 6. and *لِلْمُتَّقِينَ الْح* [685 (case 6)] : (a) as for the saying of the *Hijāzīs* *الْقُصَوَى* [685 (case 6, c)], it is anomalous by rule, [though] chaste by usage, serving to notify the *o. f.* (A), i. e. *و*, (Sn) ; while *Tamīm* say *الْقُصَا* [above], according to rule : (b) *الْحَلْوَى* the sweetest also is anomalous, according to all. The opinion adopted by IM is contrary to what is held by [S, Z, IH, and] the [other] Etymologists, who say that the *ج* of *فَعْلَى*, when a *و*, is converted in the substantive, not in the *ep.* ; and make *حَزَوَى* anomalous [685 (case 6, f)] (A). As for the *cat.* of the *و*, a sort of heaviness is produced in it by *Ḍamma's* being at the beginning of the word, and *و's* being near the end ; while, in addition to alleviation, distinction between the substantive and *ep.* is intended : so that the *و* is converted into *ى* in the substantive, not in the *ep.*, because the substantive is anterior to the *ep.*, and [its excessive heaviness] is therefore moderated by conversion of its *و* into *ى* ; and then, the *ep.*, when it is

reached, is left without conversion for the sake of distinction between them. And **أَلْعَلِّيَا** [below], **أَلْدُنِّيَا**, and **أَلْقُصِيَا**, though *fems.* of **أَلَاَدُنِّي** [359], **أَلَاَعَلِّي**, and **أَلَاَقُصِي**, the **أَفْعَلُ** of superiority, are mentioned by S under the substantive **فُعَلَى**, since **أَلْفُعَلَى** *fem.* of **أَلْفَعْلُ** is, according to S, virtually a substantive, because, not being a *qual.* without the *art.*, it is treated like a substantive, as before mentioned [718]. According to this, then, IH's making **أَلْقُصْرَى** [above] to be a substantive, and **أَلْغُرْزَى** [685 (case 6, f)] and **أَلْقُضِيَا** [above], *fems.* of **أَلَاَغْرَى** and **أَلَاَقُضَى**, to be *eps.*, requires consideration, because **أَلْقُصْرَى** also is *fem.* of **أَلَاَقُصَى** [above]. But, says S, they say **أَلْقُصْرَى**, [according to the *o. f.* (S)]; so that they do not convert its **ى**, into **ى**, because with the *art.* it is sometimes an *ep.* [356]. According to the opinion of S, then, **أَلْغُرْزَى**, and every *fem.* of the **أَفْعَلُ** of superiority whose **ل** is a **و**, should by rule have [its, converted into] **ى**, because treated like a substantive: Sf says "I have not found S mention any *ep.* on [the measure of] **فُعَلَى** with **Ḍamm**, whose **ل** is a **و**, except what is used with the *art.*, as **أَلْدُنِّيَا** [above], **أَلْعَلِّيَا**, and the like; and these, according to S, are like substantives" (R). But [S adds that], when you say **فُعَلَى** belonging to this *cat.* [whose **ل** is a **و**], it is pronounced according to the *o. f.*, when it is an *ep.*; being [then] *à fortiori*

pronounced according to the *o. f.*, since they say الْقَصَوَى , according to the *o. f.*, though it is a substantive (S).

“ And”, says Sf, “ he means that فَعْلَى , when a scion of the و , is [to be pronounced] according to its *o. f.*, when it is an *ep.*, even if no *ex.* of that [*ep.*] on [the measure of] فَعْلَى be remembered from their speech, because the rule is to make the thing accord with its *o. f.*, unless it be plainly excluded from its *o. f.*, deviating from its *cat.*” But, as for فَعْلَى , with Kasr of the ف , from the defective, its و , is not converted into ي , nor its ي into و , whether it be a substantive or an *ep.*, because Kasra is not so heavy as Damma, nor so light as Fatha, but is intermediate between the two ; so that moderateness [in weight] is produced in it with the ي and with the و ; while the real reason for converting the ي of فَعْلَى with Fath, and the و of فَعْلَى with Damm, is quest of moderateness [in weight], not of distinction between the *ep.* and the substantive: do you not see that there is no distinction between them in the فَعْلَى pronounced with Fath of its ف , when belonging to the *cat.* of the و , and the فَعْلَى pronounced with Damm of its ف , when belonging to the *cat.* of the ي , since moderateness is produced in both ? But, as for *exs.* of فَعْلَى , with Kasr of the ف , belonging to the *cat.* of the و , and likewise of the ي , they are scarce (R).

§. 726. When the final of the ultimate *pl.* [18, 256] is a **ي** preceded by Hamza, its *sing.* (1) contains an **ا** (a) second, followed by (α) a Hamza, (α) original, as in **شَأَوْتُ** **شَأَيْتُ** *I preceded, outwent*; (β) converted, as in **شِئْتُ** **شَأَيْتُ** *I wished*: (b) a **و**, as in **شَوِيْتُ** **شَوَيْتُ** *I roasted*: (b) third, followed by (α) a **و**, as in **إِدَاوَةٌ** [281] and **هَرَاوَةٌ** [below]; (b) a **ي**, as in **دَوَايَةُ** [*a thin skin that rises to the top of milk and broth* (MAR)] and **سَقَايَةُ** [266]: (2) is not formed in any of these ways, whether its **ل** be a Hamza, as in **خَطِيئَةٌ** *fault* [below]; or be not, as in **بَلِيَّةٌ** *trial, affliction*. The general rule in the [ultimate] *pls.* of all these *sings.* is that the two heavies—I mean the **ي** preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, and the Hamza—must be alleviated, because the measure is [heavy, as being] that of the ultimate *pl.*; while these two heavies are at its end, which is the position of alleviation. They are alleviated by converting (1) the **ي** into **ا**, and the Kasra before it into Fatha; and (2) the Hamza into **ي**. For, since the **ي** is allowably converted into **ا** in such as **مَدَارِي** [below], notwithstanding that the letter before the **ي** is not Hamza, it is reasonable that the conversion here should be necessary, because Hamza is heavy. And the Hamza is converted into **ي**, not **و**, because the former

is lighter than the latter, and nearer to Hamza in outlet [732]. The reason why, in such as حَمْرَاوَان [230, 686], it is mostly converted into , , not ى , is quest of moderation, because, ى being approximate to | , the insertion of a ى between two | s would be [equivalent to] a combination of three | s : so that a relief from the succession of likes is sought in , , notwithstanding its heaviness, (1) because the formation is light ; and (2) because the enclosure of the , by two | s in the *du.* is not permanent, since, the | of dualization [16, 228, 685] not being inseparable [from the *n.*], the , supervening on account of it is not permanent. But, as for the ultimate *pl.*, the Hamza in it is not converted into , , (1) because the formation is heavy ; and (2) because the enclosure [of the Hamza] by two | s is permanent, so that the , would be permanent, if the Hamza were converted into it. In the *pl.* of هَدِيَّةٌ present, however, هَدَاوَى occurs, for the sake of moderation, as in حَمْرَاوَان ; but this is anomalous, except according to Akh [below], who considers it regular, as in حَمْرَاوَان [above]. The general rule mentioned is contravened in two cases, (1) when the *sing.* contains an | [second], followed by a Hamza, as in شَائِيَّةٌ from شَاوْتُ or from شَيْتُ [above] ; in which case the Hamza and ى are left unaltered, as هُوَلَاءُ الشَّوَّائِي These are the preceders or the wishers, for observance of the

sing. in the *pl.*, as it is observed in such as حَبَالِي and حَنَاتِي [248]: (2) when the *sing.* contains an ʾ third, followed by a و, [as in إِدَاوٌ^٢ (above) and عَلَاوٌ^٢ (266);] in which case the Hamza is converted, but into و, as آدَاوِي and عَلَاوِي, not into ي, [this contravention] also [being] for observance of the *sing.* [715]. And, according to this, in the *pl.* whose *sing.* contains an ʾ second, followed by a و, like شَرَايَا *pl.* of شَارِيَّة^٢ [above], the *sing.* ought to be observed, as شَرَاوِي [715]; but, since it is *orig.* شَرَاوِي, and then the و, after the ʾ is converted into Hamza, as in أَوْآلٌ [683 (case 4), 715], because the ʾ of the *pl.* is enclosed by two unsound letters, the Hamza is not afterwards converted [back] into و, lest this [conversion] be a reversion to what has been fled from; so that here one returns from observance of the *sing.* to observance of conformity to the general rule, *vid.* conversion of the Hamza into ي, as شَرَايَا [715]. Similarly, [the general rule is observed] in the *pl.* whose *sing.* (1) contains an ʾ [third], followed by a ي, like دُرَايَّة^٢ and سَقَايَّة^٢ [above]; so that, if they were given this *pl.*, دَرَايَا and سَقَايَا would be said: (a) ي is more appropriate here for two reasons, observance of the *sing.*, and conformity to the general rule: (2) does not contain an ʾ followed by a Hamza, ي, or و; so that the Hamza [in the *pl.*] is converted into

ى , and the ى [after it] into ا , as خَطَايَا and بَلَايَا , *pls.*
 of خَطِيئَةٌ [below] and بَلِيَّةٌ [above] : (a) هَدَاوِى occurs in
 [the *pl.* of] هَدِيَّةٌ [above], as we have mentioned. This
 being established, know that (1) the ا [third] in all these
pls. is imported for pluralization [256], and is not
 [found] in the *sing.* : (2) the Hamza after the ا in شَوَآءٌ
pl. of شَاوِيَّةٌ [above], (a) from شَأْوَتٌ is the original
 [Hamza], which is [found] in the *sing.*, [being the ع of
 the word]; (b) from شِئْتُ is adventitious in the *pl.*
 [683 (case 4), 715], as in the *sing.* [683 (case 2), 708] :
 (3) the ا [second] in the *sing.* of both is converted into
 و , [247, 686] in the *pl.* [شَوَآءٌ] ; and so is the ا of شَاوِيَّةٌ
 from شَوَيْتُ [above] in the *pl.*, شَوَايَا : (4) the و of the
sing. [شَاوِيَّةٌ] , which is after the ا [second], is converted
 into Hamza [in the *pl.*], as in أَوَّآئِلٌ [above] ; and then
 the Hamza [pronounced with Kasr] into ى pronounced
 with Fath, as we mentioned : (5) the ا [third] in إِدَاوَةٌ
 is converted in the *pl.* into Hamza, as in رَسَائِلٌ [below] ;
 and its و into ى because [final and] preceded by a letter
 pronounced with Kasr [685 (case 1, a), 724] ; and then
 the Hamza [pronounced with Kasr] into و , pronounced
 with Fath, [and the ى into ا , as أَدَاوِى above] : (6) simi-
 larly, [mutatis mutandis,] in سِقَايَةٌ , [as سَقَايَا above] :

(7) the ی in خَطِیْمَةٌ [below] is converted into Hamza, according to S, as in صَحَائِفُ [246, 683 (case 3), 717]: and, two Hamzas being then combined, the second is converted into ی [below]; and the first into ی pronounced with Fath, as in بَلَايَا [above] and the like; and the ی after it into ا [684, 719], because the ی necessarily converted from Hamza is in the predicament of an original ی, [which is converted into ا when mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath;] while the second Hamza here is necessarily converted into ی [above], because final [661]: so that خَطَايَا is like هَدَايَا [below], the ی, i. e. the last letter, of both being converted into ا: (a) Khl [below] says that it is *orig.* خَطَايِي with Hamza after the ی that is [third] in the *sing.*, [so that its measure is فَعَايِلُ]; but that the ی is put into the position of the Hamza, and the Hamza into the position of the ی, [so that its measure becomes فَعَايِي]; and afterwards the Hamza, which is the ا of the word, is converted into ی pronounced with Fath. so that its measure is [فَعَايِي, which, by conversion of the final ی into ا, becomes] فَعَايِي [below]: (b) IH, therefore, says “And hence خَطَايَا, according to the two sayings” [661], meaning that, according to [both] Khl and S [above], it belongs to the *cat.* of conversion of the single Hamza into a ی pronounced with Fath (R on

Alleviation of the Hamza). When Hamza occurs after the *l* of the *pl.* upon [the measure of (Tsr)] مَفَاعِلُ [18, 256, 685], and that Hamza is adventitious in the *pl.* [below], and the *l* of the *pl.* is a Hamza, *ى*, or *و*, then two operations are necessary, (1) conversion of the Kasra of the Hamza into Fatha: (2) conversion of the Hamza (*a*) into *ى* in three cases, vid. when the *l* of the *sing.* is a Hamza, an original *ى*, or a *و*, converted into *ى*; and (*b*) into *و* in one case, vid. when the *l* of the *sing.* is a *و*, apparent (Aud) in the expression, preserved from conversion into *ى*: so that these are four cases, which need four *exs.* [given below] (Tsr). When the Hamza is not adventitious in the *pl.*, [but is found in the *sing.* as an *ع* (IY),] like the Hamza of جَوَّاءُ [248, 708] and سَوَّاءُ, *pls.* of جَائِيَّةٌ and سَائِيَّةٌ, [which are] فَاعِلَةٌ from جَاءَ *came*, [orig. جِيَّاءٌ] and سَاءَ *illtreated, vexed*, [orig. سَوَّاءٌ,] it is not converted (M), but remains in its *o. f.*, [whether the Hamza found in the position of the *ع* in the *sing.* be a *subst.* for a *و*, or *ى*, as in the two *exs.* just given by Z, or be original;] so that, in the *pl.* of جَائِيَّةٌ, [*fem.*] *act. part.* from جَاءَ عَلَيْهِ *bit it*, and of سَائِيَّةٌ [above] from سَاءَ preceded, outwent, him, you say جَوَّاءُ and سَوَّاءُ [248, 708], like جَوَّارٍ *girls* and غَوَّاشٍ *coverings* [18], to distinguish the original Hamza,

existing in the *sing.*, from the adventitious (IY). In order that such [a formation] as شَوَاءٌ *pl.* of شَائِيَّةٌ from شَأْوُتْ or شَتُّتْ [above] may be excluded, IH prescribes, as a condition for conversion of the Hamza of the *pl.* into ي , and of its ي into ا , that the *sing.* should not be like that, i. e., should not have after its ا a Hamza followed by ي , [as شَائِيَّةٌ , like شَوَاءٌ , has]; since, if it were like that, the Hamza and ي would be left in the *pl.* without conversion, in order that the *pl.* might match its *sing.*: do you not observe them say حَبَالِي as *pl.* of حُبَلِي [248], اِدَاوِي as *pl.* of اِدَاوِيَّةٌ [above], and شَوَاءٌ as *pl.* of شَائِيَّةٌ [above], to make the *pl.* match the *sing.*? S, however, [followed by Z and IHsh,] does not prescribe, as a condition for the conversion mentioned, that the *sing.* should not be like that, but that the Hamza in the *pl.* should be adventitious. If, then, it be said that, in the *pl.* of شَائِيَّةٌ from شَتُّتْ [above], S is bound to say شَوَايَا , because the Hamza is adventitious [683 (case 4), 715], according to him, [in the *pl.* شَوَاءٌ ,] as it is in the *sing.* [683 (case 2), 708], we say that, by its being “adventitious in the *pl.*” [above], he means [here] only that it is not a Hamza in the *sing.*: whereas the Hamza of شَوَاءٌ from شَتُّتْ is a Hamza in the *sing.* also; so that, by this interpretation, it is not “adventitious in the *pl.*”

(R on Transformation). The stipulation of adventitiousness excludes [also] such as *الْبَرَائِي* *pl.* of *الْبَرَاءَةُ* [658], where the Hamza, being found in the *sing.*, because *مِرْآةٌ* [366] from *رَوِيَّةٌ* [658], is not altered in the *pl.* (Aud); although *الْبَرَائِيَا* with change, anomalously, has been heard (Tsr). And the stipulation of unsoundness of the *ل* excludes such as *صَحَائِفٌ* [above], *عَجَائِزٌ*, and *رَسَائِلٌ* [below], in none of which also is the Hamza altered (Aud), although it is [adventitious] in the *pl.* (Tsr). Here [IHsh following] IM, according to the construction put upon his language by BD, includes Hamza among the unsound letters [697]; but in the *Tashīl* IM differentiates them, [because he couples “Hamza” to the “unsound letter”, and coupling necessarily implies difference (Sn):] and there are three sayings about the Hamza, (1) that it is a sound letter; (2) that it is an unsound letter, which [opinion] is adopted by F; (3) that it is a quasi-unsound letter (A). The *ex.* of the [first] case [specified above by IHsh], where the *ل* is a Hamza, is *خَطَايَا* [661, 708] (Aud), *pl.* of *خَطِيئَةٌ* [above], *فَعِيلَةٌ* from *خَطَأٌ* committing a fault (Tsr): [for] it is *orig.* *خَطَائِي* with a *ي* pronounced with Kasr, which is the *ي* of *خَطِيئَةٌ*; and followed by a Hamza, which is its *ل*: then (1) the *ي* [pronounced

with Kasr (Tsr)] is changed into Hamza, as in صَحَائِفُ [above]; so that the word becomes خَطَائِي with two Hamzas, [the first substituted for the ي, and the second the J of the word (Tsr)]: then (2) the second Hamza is changed into ي, because final Hamza after Hamza is changed into ي, even if it be not after a [Hamza (Tsr)] pronounced with Kasr [661], and *a fortiori* after a [Hamza (Tsr)] pronounced with Kasr; [so that the word becomes خَطَائِي]: then (3) the Kasra of the first [Hamza (Tsr)] is converted into Fatha for alleviation, since they sometimes do that where the J is sound, as in مَدَارِي [above] and عَدَارِي for مَدَارٍ and عَدَارٍ [248, 256], as وَيَوْمَ عَقَرْتُ لِلْعَدَارِي الْح [504] and

غَدَائِرُهُ مُسْتَشْرَزَاتٌ إِلَى الْعَلَى

تَضِلُّ الْمَدَارِي فِي مَثْنِيٍّ وَمُرْسَلٍ

[which also is (Tsr) by Imra alKals (MN, Tsr), *The plaits whereof are piled up on high, the hair-pins being lost in hair coiled and loosened* (MN)]; and *a fortiori* here (Aud), where the J is unsound, because [ي preceded by] Kasra is heavy (Tsr); [so that the word becomes خَطَائِي]: then (4) the ي is converted into ا [684, 719], because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath; so that the word becomes خَطَاءِ , with two اs, having a Hamza between them: and then,

(5) since Hamza resembles ا , [because it is from the same outlet (Tsr),] three ا s seem to be combined ; and, [that being disliked (Tsr),] the Hamza is therefore changed into ي , [not into و , because ي is lighter than it (Tsr)]: so that the word becomes خَطَايَا after five operations (Aud). This is the opinion of S and the majority of the BB [below]. Khl, however, holds that in this [case, where the ا is a Hamza,] the letter of prolongation [third] in the *sing.* is not changed into Hamza [in the *pl.*], lest a combination of two Hamzas ensue ; but is transposed by putting the Hamza before the ي , so that the word becomes خَطَائِي [661]; and then what has been mentioned [in operations 3—5] above, as to converting the Kasra into Fatha, then the ي into ا , and then the Hamza into ي , is done here. But it is objected that they sometimes pronounce the *pl.* according to the *o. f.*, since اَللّٰهُمَّ اَغْفِرْ اَلْح [661], with two Hamzas, has been heard in their speech; whereas, if it were [formed] as Khl says, no second Hamza would be there at all (Tsr). The *ex.* of the [second] case, where the ا is an original ي , is قَضَايَا [pl. of قَضِيَّة decision (Tsr)]: [for] it is *orig.* قَضَائِي with two ي s, the first the ي of فَعِيْلَة , and the second the ا of قَضِيَّة : then (1) the first [ي (Tsr)] is changed into Hamza, as in صَحَائِف [above] (Aud); so that the word

becomes قَضَائِي (Tsr) : then (2) the Kasra of the Hamza is converted into Fatha (Aud); so that it becomes قَضَاءِي (Tsr) : then (3) the ي is converted into ا (Aud); so that it becomes قَضَاء (Tsr) : and then (4) the Hamza [intermediate between the two ا s (Tsr)] is converted into ي , [for a return to its o. f. (Tsr)]; so that the word becomes قَضَايَا after four operations. The ex. of the [third] case, where the ج is a , converted into ي in the sing., is مَطِيَّةٌ [saddle-camel (Tsr)] : for it is orig. مَطِيرَةٌ , [being] فَعِيلَةٌ from مَطَا meaning *back* (Aud), or from مَطَرٌ i. q. مَدَّ , as مَطَوْتُ بِهِمْ فِي السَّيْرِ *I made them extend the journey*, i. e., مَدَدْتُ (Tsr); but the , is changed into ي , and the [preceding] ي then incorporated into it, on the principle of the change and incorporation in سَيَّوْدٌ and مَيَّوْتُ , for which سَيِّدٌ and مَيِّتٌ [685 (case 7, a, a), 716, 747] are said : and its pl. is مَطَايَا [661, 708], orig. مَطَايِوُ [with a ي pronounced with Kasr before the , (Tsr)]; where (1) the , is converted into ي , because final after Kasra, as in اَلْغَارِي and اَلدَّاعِي [685 (case 1, a), 724] (Aud); so that it becomes مَطَايِي (Tsr) : then (2) the first ي is converted into Hamza, as in مَحَايِفُ [above] (Aud); so that it becomes مَطَائِي (Tsr) : then (3) the Kasra is changed into Fatha (Aud);

so that it becomes مَطَّاءِى (Tsr): then (4) the ى [is changed (Tsr)] into ا; [so that it becomes ا مَطَّاءِى]: and then (5) the Hamza [intermediate between the two ا s is changed (Tsr)] into ى; so that it becomes مَطَّايَا after five operations. The *ex.* of the [fourth] case, where the ج is a , [apparent (Tsr),] preserved in the *sing.*, is هَرَّاءُ [big stick (Tsr)], *pl.* هَرَّاءِى: for (1) we convert the ا of هَرَّاءُ in the *pl.* into Hamza, as in رَسَائِلُ *pl.* of رِسَالَةٌ [246, 683 (case 3, a-d), 717] (Aud); so that it becomes هَرَّاءِو (Tsr): then (2) we change the , into ى, because final after Kasra [685 (case 1, a), 724] (Aud); so that it becomes هَرَّاءِوِى (Tsr): then (3) we convert the Kasra into Fatha (Aud); so that it becomes هَرَّاءِوِى (Tsr): then (4) the ى is converted into ا (Aud), because mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684, 719]; so that it becomes هَرَّاءِوِا with a Hamza between two ا s (Tsr): and then (5) we convert the Hamza into , , [in order that the *pl.* may be conformable to the *sing.* (Tsr);] so that it becomes هَرَّاءِوِى, [which result] also [is reached] after five operations (Aud). As for [غَدَايَا *pl.* of غَدَاةٌ in] فَلَانٌ يَأْتِينَا بِالْغَدَايَا وَالْعَشَايَا Such a one comes to us in the mornings and evenings, Jj in the Commentary on the *Takmilat* [*al-Idāh* by F (Hkh)] and ISd in the Exposition of the verses of the *Jumal* [by Zji

[Hkh]] say that *ي* occurs in it only in order that it may be akin to *عَشَايَا* [*pl.* of *عَشِيَّة*⁹ (KF)]. But the right [view] is that what is done [here] for conformity is only to give *غَدَاة*⁹ the *pl.* *غَدَايَا*, to which it is not entitled, [its measure being *فَعْلَةٌ*, which does not take the *pl.* *فَعَائِلٌ*,] contrary to *عَشِيَّة*⁹, which is like *قَضِيَّة*⁹ [above] and *وَصِيَّة*⁹ [*testament, precept, pl.* *وَصَايَا* (MAZ)]; whereas, after receiving this *pl.*, it is entitled to *ي*, which is substituted for the Hamza of *فَعَائِلٌ* [246], not for the *ل* of *غَدَاة*⁹, which is *و*, because its *pl.* is *غَدَوَات*⁹, like *صَلَوَات*⁹, *pl.* *صَلَوَات* [719]. For, since they give *غَدَاة*⁹ a *pl.* on [the measure of] *فَعَائِلٌ* for affinity [to *عَشَايَا*], while every *pl.* on [the measure of] *فَعَائِلٌ*, whose *ل* is a Hamza or *ي*, or a *و*, not preserved in the *sing.*, is entitled to have *ي* substituted for its Hamza, like *خَطَايَا* [above], *وَصَايَا*, and *مَطَايَا*, they do that in *غَدَايَا*, because the *و* of *غَدَاة*⁹ is not preserved. If you say “Assume *غَدَايَا* to be *pl.* of *غُدْوَةٌ*⁹ [286]: then their language is correct, because, the *و* being preserved in the *sing.*, the regular form would be *غَدَايِي*, like *هَرَاوِي* *pl.* of *هَرَاوَةٌ*⁹ [above]”, I say “This is forbidden by two considerations, (1) that, since they say only that it is *pl.* of *غَدَاة*⁹, I cannot put upon their language a construction contrary to what they expressly state; (2) that, when a matter admits of

two alternatives, attribution of the predicament to affinity, and its attribution to a matter requisite in the word itself, the second must be adopted." I Amb asserts that *غَدَايَا* is not said for affinity at all, since it is *pl.* of *غَدِيَّة*, not of *غَدَاة*; and, as evidence for the existence of *غَدِيَّة*, he cites the saying

أَلَا لَيْتَ حَظِّي مِنْ زِيَارَةِ مَيَّةٍ * غَدِيَّاتٍ قَيِّظُ أَوْ عَشِيَّاتٍ أَشْتِيَّةٍ

Now, would that my share of visiting Mayya were in mornings of summer or evenings of winters! : but there is no evidence in this, because *غَدِيَّاتٍ* may be allowable only for affinity to *عَشِيَّاتٍ*, not because *غَدِيَّة* is said (BS). Three sorts of anomaly occur in this *cat.*:—(1) sounding the Hamza true after the ا, as

فَمَا بَرَحَتْ أَقْدَامُنَا فِي مَقَامِنَا * فَلَا تُتِنَا حَتَّى أُذِيرُوا أَلْبَنَائِيَا

[by 'Ubaida Ibn AlHārith Ibn 'Abd AlMuṭṭalib alKuraṣhī alMuṭṭalibī, son of the Prophet's paternal uncle, *Then our feet ceased not to be steadfast in our post in the battle, the feet of the three of us, meaning himself and 'Alī and Ḥamza, until they were made to visit the fates, i. e., death (MN)*], by rule *أَلْبَنَائِيَا*, but pronounced according to the *o. f.* [by poetic license (MN)]: (2) sounding it, and the Hamza after it, which is a ل, true, as *اللَّهُمَّ آغْفِرْ أَلْح* [above], with two Hamzas, by rule *خَطَائِيَا*; and this is more anomalous

than the preceding : (3) changing the letter after the **ا** into a letter not required by rule, as **هَدَاوِي** *pl.* of **هَدِيَّةٌ** [above], by rule **هَدَايَا** (Tsr). Akh [above] holds **هَدَاوِي** to be regular : but this [opinion] is weak, [and Dm says that no reason for it is apparent (Sn),] since this word is the only instance of it that has been transmitted. The opinion of the KK is that all these *pls.* [mentioned above as *exs.* of the four cases] are on the measure of **فَعَالِي** [272] (A), where the letter after the **ا** of the *pl.* is the **ج** of the word, and the [final] **ا** is for feminization (Sn) : the **و**, being sounded true in **هَرَاوِي**, as in the *sing.* ; and transformed [into **ي**] in **مَطَايَا**, as in the *sing.* ; while [**قَضَايَا** or] **هَدَايَا** is [also] on the measure of the *o. f.* (A), i. e., matches the *sing.*, its **ج** being sounded true, like the **ج** of the *sing.* (Sn) ; and, as for **خَطَايَا**, it comes from **خَطِيئَةٌ** [658], with change and incorporation, on the measure of **هَدِيَّةٌ** (A), **خَطَايَا** also, according to this, being on the measure of the *o. f.*, like **هَرَاوِي** [above], **مَطَايَا**, and [**قَضَايَا** or] **هَدَايَا** (Sn). But the BB [above] hold that they are [on the measure of (KI Amb)] **فَعَائِلٌ**, [which is the opinion adopted by IM (Sn),] in order to make the unsound [in the **ج**], [like **هَدَايَا** *pl.* of **هَدِيَّةٌ** (Sn),] conform to the sound (A), like

صَحَائِفُ *pl.* of صَحِيفَةٌ (Sn). And the correctness of their opinion is proved by the saying

حَتَّى أَزِيرُوا الْمَنَائِيَا

[above]. As for the report [transmitted] from Khl, that the measure of حَطَايَا is فَعَالِي [above], it is not like the saying of the KK, because the [final] ا, according to them, is [an *aug.* put (Sn)] for feminization, [the *aug.* soft letter in the *sing.* being elided in the *pl.*, to avoid the concurrence of two quiescents (Sn)]; but, according to him, is a *subst.* for the *postpos.* letter of prolongation (A), i. e., for that [ي] which becomes posterior [to the ج] in the *pl.* after being prior [to it] in the *sing.*, vid. the letter of prolongation converted into Hamza in فَعَالِل [246, 683 (case 3), 717] (Sn).

§. 727. Every (M) [final] , occurring fourth or upwards is converted into ي [685 (case 4)], when the letter before it is not pronounced with Damm [below] (M, SH), whether that letter be pronounced with Fath [below] or Kasr [685 (case 1), 724] (Jrb), as (1) أَغَزَيْتُ [685] (M, SH), غَاَزَيْتُ [685 (case 4, b)], رَجَيْتُ *I hoped*, تَرَجَيْتُ *I hoped* (M) and تَغَزَيْتُ *I was equipped for raiding* (SH), تَغَاَزَيْتُ [685 (case 4, b)] (IY), اسْتَرْشَيْتُ *I demanded a bribe* (M) and اسْتَغَزَيْتُ [685] (SH); and their *aors.* [in most cases] (M): (a) every *v.* whose *pret.*

is of four or more letters, except تَفَعَّلَ , تَفَاعَلَ , and تَفَعَّلَلْ , has the penultimate of its *aor.* pronounced with Kasr [404] ; so that its ل , when a و , is converted into ي [685 (case 1, a), 724], because final and preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr, as يُغْزِي and يَسْتَغْزِي : and they make the *pret.* accord with the *aor.*, saying أَغْزَيْتَ and اسْتَغْزَيْتَ : (b) similarly they convert the و , into ي in [the *pret.* of] تَفَعَّلَ and تَفَاعَلَ , as تَغْزَيْتَ and تَغَاذَيْتَ , because تَفَعَّلَ and تَفَاعَلَ are *quasi-pass.* of فَعَّلَ and فَاعَلَ [486, 487] ; so that, since the و , is converted into ي in the *o. f.*, it remains so after prefixion of the ت of *quasi-passivity* (Jrb) : (2) يَرْضِيَانِ and يُغْزِيَانِ [719] (M, SH) and يَشَايَانِ [685 (case 4, c)], in the *aors.* of غَزَى and رَضِيَ and : شَأْ (3) مَلْهِيَانِ [229, 626, 629] (M), *du.* of مَلْهَى [327] (IY) ; مُصْطَفِيَانِ [*du.* of مُصْطَفَى *chosen, elect*] ; مُعَلِّيَانِ [*du.* of مُعَلَّى] (M), *pass. part.* of عَلَّى *raised*, *aor.* يُعَلِّي (IY) ; and [similarly (IY)] مُسْتَدْعِيَانِ [*du.* of مُسْتَدْعَى (327)] (M) : contrary to يَدْعُو and يَغْزُو [404, 719-721] (SH), where the و , though fourth, is not converted into ي , because the letter before it is pronounced with Damm (Jrb). The final و , fourth or upwards, preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [above], is converted into ي on two conditions, (1) that

its conversion into ا be not allowable because of (a) quiescence of the و, [684 (condition 1), 719], as in أَغْزَيْتُ and اِسْتَغْزَيْتُ [above]; (b) ambiguity [684 (condition 6, g, a), 719], as in يُغْزِيَانِ and يَرْضِيَانِ [above], and اَعْلِيَانِ [du. of اَعْلَى higher]: (a) that is because, their object being alleviation, the و, so long as its conversion into ا continues to be possible for them, is not converted into ي, since ا is lighter: (2) that it be not followed by an inseparable letter, making it virtually medial, as in مِدْرَوَانِ [228, 229, 721]. The و, mentioned is converted into ي, (1) because it occurs in a place to which lightness is suitable, since it is fourth [or upwards] and final; while extreme alleviation—I mean its conversion into ا—is impracticable, as we have mentioned [in the first condition]; so that it is converted into a letter lighter than و, vid. ي: (2) as is said [by IHsh in the Commentary on the IM (MAR)], because it is converted into ي in some variations [685 (case 4, a), as أَغْزَيْتُ and غَاَزَيْتُ [above], the aor. of which is أَغْزَى and أُغَاَزَى: (a) as for تَغْزَيْتُ and تَغَاَزَيْتُ [above], although the و, is not converted into ي in their aors., as اَتَغْزَى and اَتَغَاَزَى, still they are derivs. of غَزَيْتُ I equipped for raiding and غَاَزَيْتُ [above], the و, of which is converted into ي [685 (case 4, b)] (R): (b) Akh says that, since they say اِشْأَى in the aor. [of اِشْأَ], pronouncing [the ع]

with Fath [482, 685 (case 4, c)], it resembles the *aor.* whose *pret.* is **فَعَلَ** with Kasr, because the normal *pret.* of **يَفْعَلُ** is **فَعَلَ** [482]; and therefore it is treated like [the *aor.* of] **رَضِيَ** [above] and **شَقِيَ** *was wretched*, so that they say **يَشَأْيَانِ** [above], as they say **يَرْضَيَانِ** and **يَشَقْيَانِ** (IY) : (c) this reason [ascribed to IHsh] is weak, as you see, since (a) it does not apply to **أَعْلَيَانِ** [above]; (b) if conversion of the **و** into **ي** in the *pret.* were necessitated by its conversion in the *aor.*, much more would it be necessitated by conversion in the *pret.* itself, and **غَزَيْتُ** [for **غَزَوْتُ**] ought to be said because of their saying **غَزَى** [626, 629, 632, 724]; (c) the *aor.* is a *deriv.* of the *pret.* in form [404], then how has the case been reversed? (R). By saying “when the letter before it is not pronounced with Damm” [above], Z [followed by IH] guards against such *vs.* as **يَغْزُو** and **يَذْعُرُ** [above], and *ns.* as **تَرْفُوءٌ** [283, 385] and **عَرْفُوءٌ** [248] (IY). [Z and] IH ought to say “when the letter before it is not pronounced with Damm, and its conversion into **†** is not allowable”, in order to exclude such as **أَغْزَى** *He equipped for raiding*. Nor is the saying “when the letter before it is not pronounced with Damm” [to be taken] without restriction; but the condition is that the letter before it should not be

pronounced with Damm in the *v.*, as يَدْعُو [above]: whereas in the *n.* the و is converted into ي, [notwithstanding that the letter before it is pronounced with Damm,] as أَذِلَّ and تَغَارِ [721]; [while in عَرَقُوْهُ and قَرَقُوْهُ conversion is prevented not, as IY makes out, by the Damma before the و, but by the ة after it, which is inseparable, so that conversion is barred by the second of the two conditions mentioned above]. And, in place of saying “when the letter before it is not pronounced with Damm”, [Z and] IH should rather say “when the letter before it is pronounced with Fath”, [Kasr having been provided for in §. 724] (R).

§. 728. The *cat.* of قَرَى and هَوَى is [treated as] sound [in the ع, which, though mobile and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, is not converted into ة (Jrb)], because of the two transformations (SH). For in قَرَى [729, 730. A], the ع and ة of which are و, s, the [second] و is unavoidably converted into ي [685 (case 1, a)]; so that, if the first were converted into ة, two transformations would be combined in a *tril.*, which is not allowable: while in هَوَى *fell down* [302, 713] you transform the ة by converting it into ة [684, 719]; so that you have no means of transforming the ع, from fear of two transformations (R). And the *cat.* of طَوَى [302, 703, 713, 724] and حَبَى [697, 698, 703] (SH),

notwithstanding that two transformations would not be combined in it, if they converted the ع into ا, is also [treated as] sound (Jrb), because it is subordinate to [the cat. of (MASH)] هَوَى [above] (SH): for فَعَلَ with Fath of the ع [482] is the principal [form of unaugmented *tril. pret.*], because of its lightness and frequency; and, since the ع is sounded true in the principal, it is sounded true in the subordinate (Jrb). Or [their omission to transform the ع in three of the *vs.* mentioned, vid. those which are on the measure of فَعَلَ with Kasr of the ع, is (R)] because [every hollow *v.* of the *conjug.* of فَعَلَ, whose ع is converted into ا in the *pret.*, has its ع converted in the *aor.*, as خَاف, *aor.* يَخَاف, and هَاب, *aor.* يَهَاب: so that, if they said قَاى, طَاى, and حَاى in the *pret.*, then (R)] يَقَاى, يَطَاى, and يَحَاى would have to be said (SH) in the *aor.*; whereas, in the *aor.*, Damm of the ج, when a ي, is eschewed [720], even with quiescence of the letter before it, contrary to the *n.*, as طَبَى and آى [720] and رَاى [723], because the *v.* is heavy. And the like may be said of هَوَى also, because every hollow [*v.*] of the *conjug.* of فَعَلَ, whose ع is made quiescent by conversion into ا [in the *pret.*], must have the ع of its *aor.* made quiescent, the vowel thereof being transferred to the preceding letter, as قَالَ, *aor.* يَقُول, and بَاع, *aor.* يَبِيع [697, 703]; and it would [therefore]

be necessary to say يَهْيُ for the *aor.* of هَيَّ ; whereas a double ي [below] does not occur at the end of the *aor.* *v.*, because the final is the seat of inflection, while the *v.* is heavy ; though that is allowable in the *n.*, because it is light, as حَيَّ [697, 698]. Or their omission to transform the ع of طَوِيَّ and حَيِّي [729] may, as before mentioned [703], be accounted for by the fact that transformation of their ل , which, if the letter before it were pronounced with Fath, would be worthier of transformation, because it is the final of the word [703, 719], is prevented [by the preceding Kasra]. And, in the *n.*, they say حَيَّاء [684 (condition 10, b, c), 730. A], دَوَّاء [300], and نَوَّاء *date-stone* : while غَايَة and غَاي [684 (condition 10, b), 723], رَايَة and رَاي [723], and آيَة and آي [683 (case 1, c, b), 684 (condition 10 b, α, γ, b-d), 723] are anomalous, by rule [e. g.] غَوَّاء or غَيَّاء , more properly the former, because the *cat.* of طَوِيَّت is more numerous than that of حَيِّي [698]. We call that [conversion of the first of the two unsound letters into ا] anomalous, because conversion of the last, as in هَوِي [above] and نَوِي [697], is more appropriate. Fr and many of the Ancients say of آيَة that it is quiescent in the ع , the *o. f.* being آيَة and آي ; but that the quiescent ع is converted into ا , because of the Fath of the

letter before it, as in طَائِي and يَاجُل [684, 703] and غَابُ [pl. of غَابَةٌ *a thicket* (MAR)], which [conversion] is more appropriate here, because of the combination of two ى s: while Ks says that it is orig. آيَّة, on the measure of فَاعِلَةٌ; but that they dislike the combination of two ى s, the first of which is pronounced with Kasr; so that the first is elided. But, according to all [three] accounts, آيَّة is not free from anomalousness in conversion or elision. And it is possible to account for غَايَةٌ [above], ثَايَةٌ [684 (condition 10, b, α, α), 723], and رَايَةٌ, in the [last] two ways (R). Incorporation is frequent in the cat. of حَيَّ [731], because of the [combination of (Jrb)] two likes (SH), as حَيَّ [730. A, 747]: but some do not incorporate, because analogy requires what is incorporated in the pret. to be incorporated in the aor.; so that the [double] ى [above] would have to be vocalized with Damm (Jrb), [as] حَيَّ [above], aor. يَكَيَّ [below] (KF). S says "Incorporation is more frequent; but the other [method] is [good] Arabic, frequent" (R). Most of them incorporate [the ع into the ج when the ج is mobile (IY)], saying حَيَّ and عَيَّ with Fath or Kasr of the ف [below], as لَيَّ or لَيَّ is said for the pl. of أَلْوَى [716] (M). Incorporation is more frequent because the combination of two mobile likes is deemed heavy.

But, for allowability of incorporation in such [a formation], i. e., where the two unsound letters are mobile, it is stipulated that the vowel of the second be inseparable [731], as *حَيَّ* *he lived*, du. *حَيَّا*, pl. *حَيُّو*, and *حَيَّتْ* *she lived*, du. *حَيَّتَا* (R). The Kur has *وَيَحْيَا مَنْ حَيَّ عَنْ بَيِّنَةٍ* VIII. 44. *And he that should live might live after a manifest sign*; and (M) the poet (R) 'Abid (M), [or] Ibn Mufarrigh (Jh on *حَيَّ*), says

عَبُّوا بِأَمْرِهِمْ كَمَا * عَيْتَ بَيِّضَتِهَا النَّعَامَةُ

جَعَلَتْ لَهَا عُودَيْنِ مِنْ * نَشَمٍ وَآخَرَ مِنْ ثُمَامَةٍ

(M, R), cited by As (IY), *They boggled over their business, as the ostrich*, or, in the version of the [S,] Jh, [and M], *الْحَمَامَةُ* *the pigeon boggled over her egg, when she put for it two twigs of the tree called nasham, of which bows are made, and another of the weak plant called panic-grass* (MAR). If the vowel of the second [unsound letter] be [imported] on account of an adventitious, [and] separable, letter, incorporation is not used, as in [the fem.] *مُحْيِيَةٌ* *quickenning* and [the du.] *مُحْيِيَانِ* *quickenened*, where the vowel is [imported] on account of the *ḥ* in the *ep.* [below] and of the *l* in the *du.* [228], both of which letters are adventitious, [and] separable from the word : and similarly with the inflectional vowels [16, 404], as *أَنْ يُحْيِيَ الْمَوْتَى* LXXV. 40. [551] and

رَأَيْتُ مُعِيًّا *I saw a مُعِي* [248]. But, if the vowel be naturally inseparable, as in حَيَّ [or حَى (Jh, KF)], or be [imported] on account of an adventitious, [but] inseparable, letter, as in أَحْيَيْتُ [or أَحِيَّتُ (S, M)], *pl.* of حَيَاء *vulva*, where the ة is inseparable [265 (case 6, a, a)], contrary to the ة of the *ep.* [265 (case 1, a), 266], then incorporation or display is allowable, for which reason أَعْيَاءُ or أَعْيَاءُ is allowable in the *pl.* of عَيْتُ *boggler*, because the ا [of أَفْعَلَاءُ] is inseparable. And, in this [second] sort also, incorporation is more proper, as it is in [the first, like] جَيَّ [above] and أُحَيَّ [below]. The reason why, for allowability of incorporation, it is stipulated in this *cat.*, contrary to the *cat.* of يَرُدُّ *restores* and يَمَسُّ *touches* [731], that the vowel [of the second homogeneous letter] be inseparable, is that, in the sound [formation], a vowel of some kind is inseparable from the second, unless it be invaded by what necessitates its quiescence, as in يَرُدُّنَ [402, 406] and لَمْ يَرُدُّ [663]: whereas, in the unsound, as مُعِيَّةُ [248] and رَأَيْتُ مُعِيًّا [above], the second is [often] made quiescent without the invasion of anything, as مُعِي [248]; so that they do not approve of incorporating a letter into what is quasi-quiescent [731]. And, when the [first] ي is displayed, whether necessarily, as in مُحْيِيَّةُ [above], or allowably,

as in حَيَّ [above], then, (1) if it be pronounced with Kasr, its Kasr is better made faint than clear [730], in order that display may be like incorporation, since Kasr [of the ي] is deemed heavy : (2) if it be pronounced with Fath, as in حَيَّان du. of حَيَّا [684 (condition 10, a, α, β)], its Fath may be made faint ; but should rather be made plain, because it is not deemed heavy : (a) here incorporation is not allowable, because the | of dualization is not inseparable. He that displays the [first] ي in حَيَّ says حَيُّوا with a single ي , like خَشُّوا *they dreaded*, as

وَكُنَّا حَسْبَنَاهُمْ فَوَارِسَ كَهْمَسِ
حَيُّوا بَعْدَمَا مَاتُوا مِنْ آلِ الدَّهْرِ أَعْصَرَا

(R) *And we had accounted them to be horsemen of Kahmas, [a man of Tamīm celebrated for horsemanship and valour (IY),] father of a clan of Rabī'a Ibn Hanzala, who, after they had died, lived, in reputation for valour, through ages of time (Jsh). The ف is [said to be] sometimes pronounced with Kasr [above] (SH) in the act. حَيَّ (R), when incorporation takes place. Some retain the Fathā of the ف , for lightness ; while others pronounce [the ف] with Kasr, for affinity [to the ي], as they say لِيَّ or لِيَّ , with Kasr or Damm of the ل , for the pl. of آلِيَّ [above]. But, it is said, this*

requires consideration, because the Damma before the incorporated ی in لِيَّ is heavy, so that it is proper to flee therefrom to Kasra; whereas the Fatha before the incorporated ی in حِيَّ is light, so that it is not proper to flee therefrom to Kasra: and therefore we should rather say that those who incorporate by transferring the vowel of the [first] ی to the letter before it pronounce the ح with Kasr; while those who elide the vowel without transfer retain the Fatha (Jrb). Apparently, however, this [assertion that the ف is sometimes pronounced with Kasr in the *act.* voice] is a blunder copied by IH from the M [above]; whereas S cites only حِيَّ in the *pass.*, like فُرُون لِيَّ [below], with Damm and Kasr, *pl.* of قَرْنُ أَلْوَى [twisted horn (MAR)], in the *n.* (R). Similarly (M) incorporation is allowable in (SH) [the *pret.* of] every *pass. v.* [of this *cat.*], as هَذَا الْمَكَانِ حِيَّ فِي This place was lived in [below] and (IY) حَوَى and أُسْتَحْيَى and أُحْيَى, for (M) the *pass. prets.* (Jrb) حِيَّ and (IY) أُحْيَى and أُسْتَحْيَى (M, SH) and حَوَى (M), because of the combination of two likes (Jrb); contrary to [the *act. prets.* (Jrb)] أَحْيَا and إِسْتَحْيَا [and حَايَا] (SH), because, when the [second] ی is converted into ا, the motive for incorporation does not remain. But it is not so frequent [in أُحْيَى and the

following] as in حَيِّ [above], because here the letter before the two likes is quiescent; while it does not follow that أَحْيَى should be treated like حَيِّ, as أَجَجَّ was sent on pilgrimage is put on a par with حَجَّ went on pilgrimage, because incorporation in that is necessary, contrary to this (Jrb). حَيِّ [above] is constructed with a *prep.* and *gen.*, which take the place of the [*pro-*] *ag.*, since حَيِّ is *intrans.* [436, 438]. You are allowed the option of pronouncing the ح with Damm or Kasr; but Kasr is more frequent, because lighter. Damm is according to the *o. f.* [436]: and Kasr for a kind of alleviation, because the double letter is, in some positions, treated like a single letter, as in دَابَّةً and شَابَّةً [665], where the double ب is treated, according to them, like a single mobile letter, otherwise it would not be combinable with the quiescent ا; that [treatment of the double letter] being [allowable] because the tongue recoils from [both components of] it with one impulse [663, 686 (case 1, α, β), 731]: and therefore, as the occurrence of a [single] ي preceded by Damma, at the end [of a word], is disallowed, so Damm is rare here, though not disallowed; and like it is قُرُونٌ [above], where Damm and Kasr are allowable, but Kasr is more frequent; the rarity of Damm [in قُرُونٌ] corresponding to the disallowance of [it in] أَذْلُو and أَطْبَى gazelles [243, 721] (IY).

If any one say "How is conversion of Damma into Kasra necessary in [the case of formations] other than *فَعْلٌ*, as *مُسْلِمِيٌّ* [685 (case 7), 716], *عَتِيٌّ* and *جُنِيٌّ* [685 (case 9, b, α), 722], and *غُرُويٌّ* [722, 730. A], while both modes [of vocalization] are allowable in *فَعْلٌ*?", the answer is that, *فَعْلٌ* being liable to be mistaken for *فَعْلٌ*, Damma may be retained in it for an indication of the original mode of formation; whereas, in other [cases], one formation is not liable to be mistaken for another: or that what makes the Damm of *فَعْلٌ* allowable before *ي* is the lightness of the formation. Sf says that *لِيٌّ* with Kasr may be said as *pl.* of *أَلَرِي*, like *بِيضٌ* *pl.* of *أَبْيَضٌ* [686, 718], the incorporated quiescent *ي* being treated like the unincorporated; and that *حَيٌّ* for *حَيٌّ* [above] is like *قِيلَ* and *بِيعَ* [436, 706]. Those who incorporate say *أُحْيَا* was quickened, *du.* *أُحْيَا*, *pl.* *أُحْيُوا*; and *أُسْتُحْيَا* was left alive, *du.* *أُسْتُحْيَا*, *pl.* *أُسْتُحْيُوا*; because the vowel [of the second unsound letter] is inseparable: while those who do not incorporate say *أُحْيَا*, *du.* *أُحْيَا*, *pl.* *أُحْيُوا*, like *أُرْمِيَ* was thrown, *du.* *أُرْمِيَ*, *pl.* *أُرْمُوا*. But *أُسْتُحْيَا* has three *dial. vars.*:— (1) this, which is its *o. f.*; (2) incorporation; (3) elision of the first *ي*, as in [the *act.*] *إِسْتُحِيَ* was ashamed

[below], according to Tamīm. [The *act.*] اسْتَحْيَا has two *dial. vars.*:—(1) that of the people of the Ḥijāz is اسْتَحْيَا, *aor.* يَسْتَحْيِي, *act. part.* مُسْتَحْيٍ, *pass. part.* مُسْتَحْيِي, exactly on the measure of اسْتَرْعَى asked to keep guard, *aor.* يَسْتَرْعِي: (2) that of Tamīm is اسْتَحَى [above], *aor.* يَسْتَحِي, with vocalization of the ح, and elision of one of the two ي s: (a) the opinion of Khl is that it is formed from حَيَّ when transformed like هَابَ and بَاعَ [684, 703], as though حَايَ [above] were said; and therefore, as you say اسْتَبَعْتُ I asked to sell from بَاعَ, so you say اسْتَحَيْتُ from حَايَ: (a) the reason why it is formed from the eschewed حَايَ is that the ع of حَيَّ ought to be transformed, since transformation of its ل is impossible: (b) [the *pret.*] اسْتَحَى, according to this, is *orig.* اسْتَحَايَ [below], like اسْتَبَاعَ: but the vowel of the ي is elided, since no ل of the *pret.* is found, in their speech, to be a mobile ي preceded by a quiescent; so that, two quiescents then concurring, the first of them is elided; and afterwards the quiescent ي is converted into ا, because preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as in يَاجُلُ and طَائِي [above]: (c) similarly you say of the *aor.* [يَسْتَحِي] that it ought to be يَسْتَحَى, like يَسْتَبِيعُ: but that the vowel of the [final] ي is elided,

since there is no precedent for it among *vs.* [720]; and afterwards the first *ي* is elided, because of the two quiescents : (d) its *imp.* is *اِسْتَح* : (e) its *inf. n.*, according to this, ought to be *اِسْتَحَايَةً*, like *اِسْتَبَاعَةً* [338]; but is not used : (f) the *act. part.* is *مُسْتَحِي*, *orig.* *مُسْتَحِيَّ*, [like *مُسْتَبِيع*;] but transformed in the same way as the *aor.* : (g) the *pass. part.* is *مُسْتَكِي*, *orig.* *مُسْتَكَاي*, the vowel of the *ي* being elided, as in *يُسْتَكَاي* [720]; and the word then transformed in the same way as *اِسْتَكَاي* [above] : (h) there is a weakness, that will not escape notice, in the opinion of Khl, because of [his] venturing upon the disliked [form *حَاي*] : (b) others, whose opinion is adopted by Mz, say that, in all of these variations, the first *ي* is elided, as [the first *س* or *ل* is elided] in *أَحْسَتُ* *I perceived*, *ظَلْتُ* *I passed the day*, and *مَسْتُ* *I touched* [759], because the property of the two likes is incorporation; and, since this is impossible, the first is elided, because elision is very similar to incorporation : (a) Mz says “ If it were elided because of the two quiescents, [as Khl declares,] it would not be elided in the *du.* *اِسْتَكَايَا*; and they would say *اِسْتَبَاعَا*, like *اِسْتَبَاعَا* ” (R). The verse *تَقُولُ يَا شَيْخُ اَلْحَجَّ* [329. A.] contains evidence that *اِسْتَكِي* [above], *aor.* *يُسْتَكِي*, like *اِسْتَبِي*

took captive, aor. *يَسْتَبِي*, is said; while Ya'kūb and Ibn Muḥaiṣin read *إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَسْتَحِي أَنْ يَضْرِبَ مَثَلًا* II. 24. *Verily God is not ashamed to propound a parable*, with a single *ي*, which is reported to have been read by Ibn Kathīr also, and is the *dial. var.* of Tanwīn. The *o. f.* is [*اِسْتَحِيَ* , aor. *يَسْتَحِي*] with two *ي* s: but the vowel of the *ع* is transferred to the *ف*; and, two quiescents then concurring, the *ل* is said to be elided, the measure [of *تَسْتَحِي* in the verse] being *تَسْتَفْعُ*; or the *ع*, the measure being *تَسْتَفِلُ* (BS). And, as for *حَايَا* revived, aor. *يُحَايِي*, when you put it into the *pass.*, you say *حُوِي*, according to the *o. f.*; or, if you please, you incorporate, saying *حُوِي*, because the vowel of its final is inseparable. But he that says *أُحِي* and *جِي* does not say *يُحِي* [for their aor.], because Ḍamm does not enter [the final of] these *vs.* at all, since the *ل* in them takes the place of Ḍamma, and is not combined with it [720] (IY). In the aor. of [the *pass.*] *أُحِي* and *اُسْتَحِي* you say *يُحَايَا* and *يُسْتَحِيَا* without incorporation, because the vowel [of the second unsound letter, being a vowel of inflection,] is not inseparable (R). As for their abstaining [from incorporation (MASH)] in [the *act. aors.* (MASH)] *يُسْتَحِي* and *يُحَايِي*, [although two likes are combined in them (Jrb),] it is [in order that Ḍamm may

not fall upon the *ى* (Jrb),] lest that [final] whose *Ḍamm* is eschewed [720], [vid. *ى* (MASH),] be pronounced with *Ḍamm* (SH). And so, if you used the *subj.*, saying *لَنْ يُحْيِيَ* *He shall not quicken* [730. A, 731], you would not incorporate, because the *Fatha* is adventitious, being an inflectional vowel [730] that is not inseparable, since it is removed in the *ind.* and *apoc* (IY). Incorporation is allowable only in [the *cat.* of] *حَيَّ* (R), contrary to the *cat.* of *قَوَّى* (SH), although *قَوَّى* has a double , , as *حَيَّ* has a double *ى* [697]; so that *قَوَّ* is not said, as they say *حَيَّ* (R), (1) because transformation comes before incorporation [below] (SH), since conversion of the [final] , into *ى* is a transformation at the end, while incorporation of the *ع* into the *ج* is a transformation in the middle; and the former is more appropriate, as we have mentioned more than once; for which reason one begins with incorporation in *أَيِّمَةً* before [and to the exclusion of] conversion of the quiescent *Hamza* into ! [661, 684 (condition 10, b, b, γ)] (R); and, when the final , is converted into *ى*, the motive for incorporation does not remain (Jrb): (2) because *قَوَّى* with conversion of the [second] , into *ى* is lighter than [*قَوَّ*] with incorporation of one , into the other; and the method [that is] conducive to increase of lightness should be pursued rather than what is not so (R). We say that

transformation comes before incorporation [684, 721, 729, 730] because the cause of transformation makes transformation necessary; whereas the cause of incorporation does not make incorporation necessary, but allowable; which is proved by the fact that sounding [the ,] true in the *cat.* of رَضِيَ [685 (case 1, a), 724] is absolutely disallowed, whereas dissolution [of incorporation] in the *cat.* of حَيَّ is allowable (Jrb). And [similarly (R), or, in some MSS (MAR),] therefore, they say يَحْيَا and يَقْوَى [719, 730. A] (SH); not يَكْحَى [above], although they incorporate in the *pret.* [حَى], nor يَقْوُ (R): (1) because transformation comes before incorporation (R, Jrb); and, when the [final] ي in يَحْيَا and , in يَقْوَى is converted into ا, the motive for incorporation does not remain (Jrb): (2) because the word is lighter with transformation than with incorporation: (3) because the vowel of the second [unsound letter, being a vowel of inflection,] lacks the inseparability, which is the condition of incorporation in such [formations], as above stated (R).

§. 729. Having spoken about قَرَى [728] and its likes, vid. those [vs.] whose ع and ل are , s, so far as concerns transformation and incorporation, IH [now] points out that double , is peculiar to فَعَلَ with Kasr of

the ع (Jrb). They do not form from the *cat.* of قَوًى any [فَعَلَ with Fath (R),] like ضَرَبَ *struck* [482], nor any [فَعَلَ with Damm (R),] like شَرَفَ *was noble* [482], from dislike to [the combination of two , s in (R)] قَوَّوتٌ and قَوَّوتٌ [730. A] (SH), when the *nom. pron.* is attached to the *pret.* [قَوَّوَا or قَوَّوْ] (R), because they dislike the combination of two , s more than the combination of two ى s (Jrb). As for فَعَلَ with Damm, if it were formed therefrom, two , s would be produced without attachment of the *pron.*, because the [first] و , which is an ع , would not be converted [into ا], since the cause of [such] conversion would not exist in the ل , as we mentioned in the case of حَيًى and طَوًى [703, 728]; nor would the second [و ,] be converted into ى on account of the Damma before it, as in اَلَّذِي [243, 721], since that [conversion] is [found only] in the ن., [not in the v.,] as you see in such as سَرَوٌ [721] (R). They therefore deviate to فَعِلْتُ , in order that the [second] , may be converted into ى , and the heaviness be removed by the difference of the two letters, on the principle of their action in حَيَّانٌ [698, 730. A], *orig.* حَيَّيَانٌ ; and, since [in حَيَّانٌ] they convert the lighter [letter] into the heavier, in order that the form may be lightened by removal of reduplication, *a fortiori* [in قَوًى] they convert

the heavier into the lighter for removal of reduplication. For that reason they say قَوِيْتُ *I was strong* [730. A], orig. قَوَوْتُ, the ج, which is a , , being converted into ي, because [quiescent and] preceded by a letter pronounced with Kasr [685 (case 5)]; and the ع being [treated as] sound [728], because the ج is transformed. This [avoidance of double ,] is when the ع is orig. mobile (IY). But [such as (IY, SH)] قَوَّةٌ [685 (case 1, a, α), 697, 698] (M, SH) and صَوَّةٌ (SH) *a mark [of stone (MASH)] on the way* (Jrb, MASH), بَوٌّ [698] (M, SH) and كَوٌّ *Kaww* [698, 730. A, 734], a name of a place (IY), and جَوٌّ [685 (case 3, b, d, β) (SH), and حَوٌّ [684 (condition 10, a, α, α), 730. A] (M, Jrb), where the ع is orig. quiescent (IY), are tolerated, [i. e., pardoned and permitted (Jrb),] because of the incorporation (M, SH), by which the word is lightened. In the v., however, even if incorporation came before transformation [728], that [double ,] would not be allowable, as it is in the n., from the heaviness of two , s in the v., which is itself heavy (R).

§. 730. They say, (1) [in اِنْعَالٌ (493. A) (M), like اِحْمَارٌ (482) (IY),] (a) اِحْوَاوِي became blackish red (M, SH), اِنْعَالٌ (R) from حَوَّةٌ [672] (M, R), orig. اِحْوَاوَوٌ (IY, R), converting the second , [at the end (IY)] into ا.

(M), because mobile and preceded by Fatha [684, 719] (IY); (b) *aor.* (R) يَخَوَّارِي (M, SH): (2) similarly, in اِنْعَلَّ [493. A], like اِحْبَرَّ [482] (R), (a) اِرْعَوَى (SH) *refrained (from foul conduct)*, from رَعَا *forbore*, *aor.* يَرْعُو (MASH), *orig.* اِرْعَوَوْ, like اِحْمَرَّر [730. A] (R); (b) [*aor.*] يَرْعَوِي (SH). They do not incorporate (M, SH), but transform (R), (1) because transformation comes before incorporation [728] (R, Jrb); and, when the [final] و is converted in اِحْوَاوِي and اِرْعَوِي into ا, and in يَخَوَّارِي and يَرْعَوِي into ي, the motive for incorporation does not remain (Jrb): (2) because the word is lighter (R, MASH) with transformation than with incorporation (MASH): (3) because incorporation, if they said اِحْوَاوُ, *aor.* يَخَوَّاوُ, would reduce them to that vocalization of و with Damm, which they eschew in such as يَغْزُو and يَسْرُو [719—721] (M); but [IY asserts that] Z's saying "because incorporation يَسْرُو" is not correct, since vowels of inflection are not heavy upon double و, as هَذَا عَدُوٌّ *This is an enemy* [643, 720] and عَتُّو [685 (case 9, b), 722] (IY): (4) because the [inflectional] vowel [728] on the final of the *aor.* is adventitious (R). And [for the *inf. n.* of اِحْوَاوِي (M, R, Jrb)] you say (1) اِحْوِيَوَاءُ (M, SH), according to some (IY),

like ^واِحْمِرَار [332, 391] (R), without [conversion and (R)] incorporation [685 (case 7)] (IY, R, Jrb), because the ^و is adventitious in the *inf. n.*, on account of the Kasra, being *orig.* the ^ا in ^واِحْوَاوِي [685 (case 1, a)]; and, by reason of its adventitiousness, is not taken into account, as the ^و in ^وسُوَيْر and ^وقُرُور [685 (case 7, b, b, β), 716] is not taken into account, because it is a *subst.* for the ^ا [in ^وسَايِر and ^وقَبَاوِل]: (a) properly, however, the ^ا in the *v.* is a *subst.* for the ^و in [its *o. f.*] the *inf. n.* [331] (R); [and, according to Jrb, incorporation is omitted] in order that the *inf. n.* may correspond to its *v.* in appearance (Jrb): (2) ^واِحْوِيَاء (M, SH), with incorporation (Jrb), the [only (R)] form mentioned by S (IY, R), *orig.* ^واِحْوِيَاو, like ^واِحْمِرَار [above] and ^واِشْهِيَاب [391, 667]: (a) they convert the middle ^و into ^و, because ^و occurs quiescent before it, as in ^وسَيِّد and ^ومَيِّت [685 (case 7, a, α), 703, 716]; this ^و being substituted for the ^ا [of ^واِحْوَاوِي], because of the Kasra before it [685 (case 1, a)]: (b) the last ^و is converted into Hamza, because it occurs as a final after an *aug.* ^ا, according to the rule in such as ^وكِسَاء and ^ورِدَاء [683 (case 1), 723] (IY). But those who say ^واِشْهِيَاب [for ^واِشْهِيَاب (R, Jrb), by eliding the ^و (IY, Jrb) for alleviation, because the *n.* is long (IY),] say ^واِحْوِيَاو (M, SH) for ^واِحْوِيَاو [above] (R, Jrb), by

eliding the *ي*, because *إِخْوَرَاءَ* is heavier than *إِشْهِيَابَ* (Jrb); so that two *و* s are combined, as two *ت* s are combined in *إِقْتِتَالُ* [756], although *إِخْوَرَاءَ* is not of the same *conjug.* as *إِقْتِتَالُ* [492] (R): and they do not incorporate (IY, Jrb), (1) because the two *و* s are medial, as they do not incorporate in *إِقْتِتَالُ*, because the two *ت* s, though alike, are strong as being in the middle; and are not considered like the *د* s in *شَدَّ* and *مَدَّ* [731], which are at the end (IY): (2) because the letter before the two likes is quiescent, as in *إِقْتِتَالُ* (Jrb). Those, however, who incorporate in *إِقْتِتَالُ*, [not regarding the quiescence of the letter before the two likes in such a formation as this (Jrb), and say *قِتَالُ* (M, R, Jrb), ought by analogy to (Jrb)] say *جِرَاءَ* (M, SH), incorporating one *و*, into the other; and transferring the vowel of the first *و*, to the *ح* before it, so that they dispense with the *conj.* Hamza (IY). For two *و* s, one of which is incorporated into the other, are not deemed heavy in the middle, as [they are] at the end; so that one says *حَوَى*, *aor.* *يَحْوِي*, with Fath of the *ح* in both, and *حَوَى*, *aor.* *يَحْوِي*, with Kasr of the two *ح* s, [*inf. n.* *جِرَاءَ*,] like *قَتَلَ*, *aor.* *يَقْتُلُ*, [*inf. n.* *قِتَالُ* [756]. When from *حَيَى* and *مَي*, you form a [*pret.*] like *إِخْبَرَّ* and *إِخْبَارَ* [above], you

say *اِحْيَا* [730. A] and *اِرْمِيَا*, and *اِحْيَا* and *اِرْمَايَا*, transformation coming before incorporation; *du.*, *اَحْيِيَا*, and *اِرْمِيَا*, and *اِحْيَايَا* and *اِرْمَايَا*, incorporation not being allowable, because the vowel on the last [ي] is adventitious, on account of the ا of the *du.*; *pl.*, *اَحْيَوُا* [and *اِرْمَوُا*], and *اِحْيَاوُا* [and *اِرْمَاوُا* (S)]: but, when the vowel is inseparable, vid. in the *pass.*, as *اُحْيِيَ* and *اُرْمِيَ*, and *اُحْيِيَا* and *اُرْمِيَا*, *du.* *اُحْيِيَا* [and *اُرْمِيَا*], and *اُحْيِيَا* [and *اُرْمِيَا*], *pl.* *اُحْيِيُوَا* [and *اُرْمِيُوَا*], and *اُحْيِيُوَا* [and *اُرْمِيُوَا*], incorporation is allowable, as *اُحْيِيَ*, *orig.* *اُحْيِيَ*, the ي pronounced with Damm being then pronounced with Kasr, as in *مُسْلِمِي* [685 (case 7), 716], *du.* *اُحْيِيَا*, *pl.* *اُحْيِيُوَا*; and *اُحْيُوَا*, *du.* *اُحْيُوَا*, *pl.* *اُحْيِيُوَا*: but the و in *اُحْيُوَا* [above], like that of *سُوِرَ* [above], may not be incorporated. And you say, (1) in the *aor.* [*act.*], *يَحْيِي* and *يَرْمِي*, and *يَحْيَايَا* and *يَرْمَايَا*: (2) in the *act. part.*, *مُحْيِيَّة* and *مُرْمِيَّة*, incorporation not being allowable, because the vowel [of the last unsound letter] is adventitious; but Kasr being made faint rather than clear, as we said [728]: (3) in the *inf. n* (a) of *اِحْيَا*, *اِحْيَا*: (b) of *اِحْيَايَا*, *اِحْيَايَا* with incorporation: (a) those who do not incorporate in *اَحْيَوُا*

[above], because of the *ی* 's being a *subst.* for the *!* [in *إِحْوَايَ*], ought not to incorporate here also ; but [without incorporation] it would be deemed heavy. Those, however, who incorporate in *اِئْتَلَّ* , *aor. يَقْتَلُّ* , *inf. n. اِئْتَلَّ* [above], say *حَيَّا* [730. A], *aor. يَحْيِي* , *inf. n. حَيَّاء* (R).

§. 730. A. This being the end of the chapter on Transformation, let us make such additions to it as are suitable. When two *ی* s are combined, (1) if the last be not a *ج* , then, (a) if the first be quiescent, it is incorporated, as *بَيَّع* and *بَيَّاع* [714 715]: (b) if the second be quiescent, or both be mobile, each of them is in the predicament of a single [*ی*], as *بَيَّيْتُ* [274, 686, 721]; and similarly *يَانَ* and *يِيَان* , when you form words like *بَاع* [684, 703] and *هَيَّام* [686, 714] from *يِينُ* [698]: (2) if the last be a *ج* , then, (a) if the first be quiescent, it is incorporated into the second, as *حَيَّ* [697, 698]: (b) if the last be quiescent, both are preserved, as *حَيَّيْتُ* [698]: (c) if both be mobile, then, if conversion of the second into *!* be allowable, it is converted, as *حَيَّاء* [684, 728]: but, if such conversion be not allowable, then the vowel of the second is either inseparable or not:—(a) if it be inseparable, then, (α) if incorporation of the first into the second be not allowable, it is best to convert the

second into , , as حَيَوَانٌ [698], where incorporation [of the first ي into the second] is not allowable, because فَعْلَانٌ from the reduplicated, as رَدَدَانٌ, is not subject to incorporation [731]; nor may the second be converted into ا , for lack of commensurability with the v. [712]; but it is converted into , , because the combination of two mobile ي s is deemed heavy, while it is impossible to alter that heaviness by the lighter method of incorporating [the first into the second] or converting the second into ا ; the second, not the first, being converted [into ,], because by it the sensation of heaviness in the combination is produced; while the ج , notwithstanding that the final ought to be a light letter, is convertible into , , because the inseparability of the ا and ن make it medial, as they say of [the , in] عُنْفَرَانٌ and حَيَيَانٌ [721]: but S says that the regular form is حَيَوَانٌ, so that he does not convert the second [ي into ,]; while حَيَوَانٌ, according to him, is anomalous: and so, in فَعْلَانٌ from قُوَّةٌ, he says قَوَوَانٌ [below], as will be seen (R); for the first , is like the , of عَوَرٌ [707]; while the last , is strong, like the , in نَزَوَانٌ [719], and becomes equivalent to the sound; and they do not deem them heavy, when pronounced with Fath, as they say لَرَوِيٌّ [302] and أَحَرَوِيٌّ [300] (S): and so you say حَيَوَانٌ, on the measure of السَّبْعَانُ [236, 686 (case 2, c)], from حَيَى; and do not

incorporate, as you do in رَدَدَانٌ, where you say رَدَانٌ [731], because transformation comes before incorporation; but S makes the regular form حَيَّانٌ with incorporation, because he does not convert [the second ي into و] in such [formations]: (β) if incorporation be allowable, you may incorporate or not, as حَيٌّ or حَيٍّ [728, 747]; and [similarly, in حَيَّانٌ from حَيِّتٌ (S),] حَيَّانٌ with Kasr or حَيَّانٌ: but incorporation is more frequent, as before mentioned [728], since it is lighter: (b) if the vowel of the second be not inseparable, as in لَنْ يُحْيِيَ [728, 731], both [ي s] must be sounded true, [and] displayed; while the Kasra of the first is better made faint. When three ي s are combined, (1) if the last be a ل, then, (a) if the first be incorporated into the second, (α) when that is in a v. or part., the third is treated as though it were not preceded by ي, as حَيَّا [281], aor. يُحْيِي, act. part. الْمُحْيِي, pass. part. الْمُحْيَى, like عَرَّى denuded, aor. يُعْرِى act. part. الْمُعْرِى, pass. part. الْمُعْرَى: (α) the reason why the third [ي] preceded by Kasra, notwithstanding that this [combination of ي s and Kasra] is deemed heavy, is not elided, as forgotten, in the v., as يُحْيِي [for يُحْيِي], as it is in مُعْيَةٌ [below], is only that the vowel of the ع in the v. may be spared, since

through it the measures of the *v.* vary; while the measures of the *v.* must be observed, as before explained in accounting for the impossibility of converting the , of such as يَدْعُو into ي [721]: (β) then the *part.*, as الْمَكِّي, is treated like the *v.* in respect of omission to elide the third ي as forgotten: (b) when that is not in a *v.* or *part.*, then, (α) if conversion of the third [into ا] be allowable, vid. when the double [ي] is pronounced with Fath, and the last is final, it is converted, as إِيَاءٌ, on the measure of إِرَزَّةٌ goose [here supposed to be for إِرَزَّةٌ], from أَرَيْتُ *I betook myself, repaired*, orig. إِيَوَيْتُ [on the measure of إِنْفَعَلَةٌ], then إِيَوَيْتُ [661], [then إِيِيَّةٌ (685, case 7),] then إِيِيَاءٌ [684]; (β) if that [conversion of the third] be not allowable, either because, though the double [ي] is pronounced with Fath, the last is intermediate, as being followed by a letter constitutionally inseparable in every position, like the non-dualistic ا and ن, or because, [though the last is final,] the double [ي] is pronounced with Damm or Kasr, then, in the first case, the third [ي] is converted into و, as حَيَوَانٌ, on [the measure of] فَيَعْلَانٌ from حَيَى, because it is heavier than حَيَوَانٌ [above] with a single ي; but, according to S, حَيِيَانٌ, as [implied] above: and, in the second case, the Damma [of the double ي, if it be pronounced with Damm,] is

converted into Kasra ; while the third [ى , whether the double ى be pronounced with Kasr or Damm,] is elided as forgotten, because the [three] ى s, together with Kasra of the double ى , are deemed heavy at the end ; as مُعِيَّة [281], orig. [مُعْيِيَّة , then] مُعِيَّة ; and as حَيِّ , on the measure of كَنْهَيْل [394], from حَاي , orig. حَيِّ , then حَيِّ , and then حَي : and so, in this second [case], the last [ى] is elided as forgotten, even though it be followed by an inseparable letter, as in the *dim.* of أَشْرِيَان , on the measure of أَنْبَجَان [fermented dough (MAR)], from شَيْ [inf. n. of شَوَى he roasted meat (Jh, KF)], where you say أَشْيِيَان , then أَشْيِيَان , and then أَشْيَان : but IAl differs from S about that [formation] which is commensurable with the *v.*, and whose initial is an augment like that of the *v.* ; for here he does not elide the third as forgotten, but says أَحْي as *dim.* of أَحْرَى [281], as before stated in [the chapter on] the Diminutive : (b) if the second be incorporated into the third, then, (a) if the letter before the first be quiescent, none of them is altered, as طَبِي and تَرَابِي [302] in the *rel. n.* ; and رَمِي , on the measure of بَرَطِيل [long stone (MAR)], from رَمَى : (b) if the letter before the first be mobile, then, (α) if the first (ى] be the second [letter] of the word, [all] the ى s are preserved, as حَيِّ ,

like ^{هَجَفٌ} [375]; and ^{حِيٌّ} [below], like ^{قُدُّ} [375, 724],
orig. ^{حِيٌّ} with Damm of the ع; and ^{حِيٌّ} *shamefaced,*
bashful, modest, [like ^{غَنِيٌّ} *independent, wealthy* (KF),]
 from ^{حِيَاءٌ} *shame*; because the word is light; (β) if the
 first [ى] be the third [letter] of the word, it is made a
 , , whether the letter before it be pronounced with
 Fath, as when you form a [word] like ^{حَمِصِيصَةٌ} [274,
 303], [*n. un.* of ^{حَمِصِيصٌ} (KF),] from ^{رَمَى}, in which case
 you say ^{رَمَوِيَّةٌ}, [*orig.* ^{رَمِيَّةٌ} (S),] like ^{رَحَوِيَّةٌ}, [*orig.*
^{رَحِيَّةٌ},] in [the *fem.* of] the *rel. n.* (R) from ^{رَحَى} [294,
 300, 686] (S); and do not convert the first ى into ا, either
 in the *rel. n.*, because the vowel [of this ى] is acci-
 dental [300, 684 (condition 2), 719], or in the *non-rel.*,
 because it is incommensurable with the v. [703, 712]:
 and so, when you form [a word] on the measure of
^{حَلَكُوكٌ} *intensely black* [below] from ^{رَمَى}. you say ^{رَمَوِيٌّ},
orig. ^{رَمِيَوِيٌّ}, then ^{رَمِيِيٌّ} [685 (case 7)], then ^{رَمِيِيٌّ}, [like
^{رَمِيِيٌّ} (724) and ^{حِيِيٌّ} (above),] and then ^{رَمَوِيٌّ}: or with
 Kasr, as ^{عَمَوِيٌّ} [294, 301, 686], where you convert the
 Kasra into Fath, in order that the , may be preserved:
 and, in these *exs.*, one of the ى s is converted into , ,
 because the [three] ى s are deemed heavy; but, although
 alteration is more appropriate in the final, the last is not

converted, as in حَيَوَانٌ [above], because it is strong through the doubling; and, for this reason, the third is not elided, as in مَعِيَّةٌ [above]; while, in the *ي* of relation, elision and conversion would be more extraordinary, because it is a sign [282, 294]: (*γ*) if the first [*ي*] be the fourth [letter] of the word, then, if it be before the *ي* of relation, it is elided, according to the soundest [opinion], as قَاضِيٌ [282, 301], because of the combination of *ي* s, together with the heaviness of the word, and the first's being the final of the word, since the *ي* of relation is adventitious; but قَاضِرِيٌ is allowable, as before stated [301]: whereas, if it be not before the *ي* of relation, it is not elided, because it is not the final of the word; but is converted into *و*, as when it is the third [letter] of the word [case (*β*) above]: you say رَيْمِيٌّ, on the measure of خَيْتَعُرٌّ [398] from رَمِيٌّ, *orig.* رَيْمِيٌّ, the *و* of which is converted into *ي*, and incorporated into the last *ي*; and the Damma then converted into Kasra, and the *ي* [before the double *ي*] into *و*: and similarly بَنْكَوِيٌّ, [*orig.* بَنْكَيْيٌّ], like خَنْفَقِيٌّ [677], from بَنْكِيٌّ *wept*: (*c*) if none of them be incorporated, then, (*a*) if the third be entitled to conversion into *ا*, it is converted, as when *a* [*v.*] like اِحْمَرٌ is formed from حَيِيٌّ, in which case you convert the third into *ا*, as اِحْيَا

[730]: and then, if you incorporate, as in اقْتَتَلَ [756], you say حَيَّا [730]; but, if not, you convert the second into و, as اِحْيَوِي, as in حَيَوَان [above]: (b) if the third be not entitled [to conversion into ا], as when you form a [n. حَيِّي,] like هُدَبْدُ [contracted from هُدَابِدُ *very thick milk* (MAR)] or جَنْدِلُ [296, 392], from حَيِّ, you may elide it as forgotten, because the heaviness is more than in مُعَيَّة [above]; so that you say حَيَّا or حَيَا, by converting the second into ا, because mobile [with the inflectional vowel] as a final, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath [684, 719]: or you may convert the second into و, as in حَيَوَان [above]; so that the third is preserved, because the combination of ي s ceases; and the word then becomes حَيَو or حَيَوِ, [acc. حَيَوِيَّا or حَيَوِيَّا]: and similarly, when you form a [n. قَضِيِّي,] like جَحْمَرَش [401], you say قَضِيَّا, by eliding the last [ي] as forgotten, and converting the second into ا; or قَضِيَو, by converting the second into و, [and preserving the third]: (α) the third is not converted into و, [like the second in حَيَوَان,] because [و is heavy, while] the end of the word is worthier of alleviation [than the middle]; and also [because], if you converted it into و, the combination of the first two ي s would remain unaltered:

(β) as for the first [حِ ي], it is not converted, because the heaviness arises from the second and third : while in حَيِّ ي [above], like جَبَدِل , the first is not converted, because its analogue is not converted into ل in the $v.$, as حَي ي [728]; so that, *a fortiori*, it is not converted in a $n.$ not commensurable with the $v.$ [703, 712]: (2) if the last حِ ي be not a ل , [all] the حِ ي s remain unaltered, without conversion or elision, as أُسْوَار *dim.* of أُسَيْر (R), which is foreign, arabicized, the *archer*, or *horseman*, of the Persians (Jk). And, when four حِ ي s are combined, (1) if the two last do not denote *relation*, then, in forming [a word], (a) from حَي ي [728], (α) on the measure of جَحْمَرِش [401], you say حَيِّ ي , incorporating the first into the second, so that they become like a single حِ ي : and [then] (α) you convert the third into و , as we said of [the second in] the [$n.$] formed on the measure of جَنَدِل [above]; so that the fourth is preserved, as حَي و , [acc. حَي و ي]: or (β) you may elide the last as forgotten, because it is heavier than in مُعَيَّة [above]; so that the third is converted into ل , because mobile as a final, and preceded by a letter pronounced with Fath, as حَيَّا : as we said before [about حَي و and حَيَّا]: (b) like سَلَبِيل [368, 401, 674], you say حَي و ي : (c) like قَرَطْعَب [401], you say حَي ي , the second double [حِ ي] not being

converted into و , as [the second single ی is] in حَيَوَانُ [above], because it is the final of the word, and is therefore not changed into a heavier letter : nor being elided, as [the final single ی is] in مُعَيَّيَّةُ [above], because its elision would be an elision of two letters : (α) the combination of the two [double ی s] is tolerated, because their doubling strengthens them ; and, since such as طَيِّتٌ [302] and أُمِّيَّةُ [299] are allowable, according to one saying, notwithstanding that the two first [ی s] are the termination of the word [أُمِّيَّةُ and طَيِّتٌ], the ی of relation being adventitious, this is more excellent : (d) like قُدْعِمِلٌ [401], you say حَيَّيْ , incorporating the second into the third ; and [then] elide the fourth, as [you elide the third] in مُعَيَّيَّةُ [above], which [elision] is more appropriate here ; and do not convert the double [ی] into و , because by the doubling it becomes strong, like a sound letter ; so that حَيَّيْ remains : (b) from قَضَى *judged, decreed*, on the measure of قُدْعِمِلَةٌ [401], you say قُضَيَّةٌ : (α) Mz allows only قُضْرِيَّةُ , [with elision of the first ی , and conversion of the second into و ,] as in the *rel. n.* [قُضْرِي (299)] : but others, together with قُضْرِيَّةُ , allow قُضَيَّةٌ with two double [ی s] more often than أُمِّيَّةُ [above] : (b) what I hold is that only قُضَيَّةٌ with two double ی s, is allowable, since the two last [ی s],

being strong through the doubling, are not elided, as the third is elided in ^{مُعَيَّة} [above]; while the two first are not the end of the word, so that the weaker, meaner, of them, [vid.] the quiescent, should be elided, as in ^{أُمَوِي} [299]: (c) from ^{شَوِي} [above], on the measure of ^{عُصْفُور} [396], you say ^{شَوِيَوِي}; and then convert the two و s into ي s, and incorporate them into the two ي s [685 (case 7)]; so that it becomes ^{شِيِي}, the Damma of the first double [ي] being converted into Kasra; and Kasr of the ف also being then allowable, as in ^{عَتِي} [685 (case 9, b, a), 722]: (a) S says ^{شَوَوِي}, by analogy to ^{طَوَوِي} and ^{حَيَوِي} *rel. ns.* of ^{طَي} and ^{حَي}; and ^{شِيِي} or ^{شِيِي}, as ^{طَيِي} [302] is said: (d) from ^{طَوِي} [728], on the measure of ^{بَيْقُور} cattle, you say ^{طَيُوَوِي}: and then convert (a) the first و into ي, incorporating the quiescent ي into it; and (b) the second و into ي; incorporating it into the last ي: and then change the Damma of the [second] ي into Kasra; so that you say ^{طَيِي}, and ^{طَيَوِي} also, like the *rel. ns.* [^{حَيَوِي} and ^{حَيِي}] of ^{حَي} [302]: (2) if the two last [ي s] do denote *relation*, as in the *rel. ns.* of ^{حَي} and ^{طَي} [302], ^{عَلِي} [302, 684 (condition 6, b, and g, b)] and ^{قَصِي} [299], ^{تَكِيَّة} [299] and ^{مَكِي} [301], the predicament of the four ي s has been already

explained in the chapter on the Relative Noun : (a) it has also been mentioned [in the chapter on the Diminutive] that the *ى* of the *dim.*, if the *rel.* formation invade the *dim.*, is elided, as ^{أُمَوِيّ} [above]; but, if the *dim.* formation invade the *rel. n.*, is not elided, as ^{أَرَبِيَّة}, with two double *ى* s, *dim.* of ^{أَرَوِيَّة} [281]. All of this is the predicament of the *ى* s. And, as for the predicament of the *و* s, we say that, when two *و* s are combined, (1) if their second be quiescent, then, (a) if it be final, the first cannot be pronounced with Fath or Damm, except when the second is adscititious, as in ^{لَمْ يَرَوْا} *They quenched not their thirst* and ^{مُرَوِّ زَيْدٍ} *quenchers of Zaid's thirst*, because, at the end of the word, which is the seat of lightness, they deem two *و* s without incorporation to be heavy, for which reason they do not form a [v.] like ^{قَوَوْتُ} or ^{قَوَوْتُ} [729]; so that, if the two *و* s were in one word, the first would unavoidably be pronounced with Kasr, in order that the second might be converted into *ى*, as ^{قَوَيْتُ} [729]: (b) if the last be medial, their combination is allowable, as ^{قَوُولٌ} [714]: (2) if both be mobile, then, (a) if that be at the beginning of the word, the first is converted into Hamza, as ^{أَوَّاصِلٌ} [683, 699]; (b) if it be in the middle, then, (a) if incorporation be allowable, you incorporate, as when you form ^{فَعْلَانٌ}, with Damm of the *ع*, from ^{قُوَّة}, in

which case you say قَوَّانٌ, according to [S and] Mb : (α) the proper [course], however, is not to incorporate ; but to convert the second into ي and the Damma before it into Kasra, as [قَوِيَانٌ] already mentioned in this chapter [721], because transformation comes before incorporation : and this is the saying of Jr : (b) if incorporation be not allowable, as when you form فَعْلَانٌ, with Fath of the ع, from قُوَّةٌ ; S says that you say قَوَّانٌ [above], as he says حَيَّيَانٌ from حَيٍّ : (α) the proper [course], however, is to say قَوِيَانٌ [below], because two و s are deemed heavy ; so that, when alleviation by incorporation is not allowable, you alleviate by converting one of them into ي : and, since the [second] ي is converted into و in حَيَّوَانٌ [above] from dislike of two ي s, *a fortiori* the second [و] in قَوَّوَانٌ is converted into ي, because و is heavier [than ي] : (c) if you form فَعْلَانٌ, with Kasr of the ع, [you say قَوِيَانٌ, because (S)] you convert the second [و] into ي on account of the Kasra, since transformation comes before incorporation : (c) if that be at the end, then, (α) if the first be permanently pronounced with Fath, the second is converted into ا, as اَلْقَوَى [Note on Part I, p. 908, ll. 15-17], يَقْوَى [719, 728], and اَقْوَى *stronger* : (α) as for [the retention of the second و in] طَرَوَى *rel. n. of* طَى [302], it is because

the Fatha of the first is accidental [684 (condition 5)]; while in قَوَّيْ *rel. n.* of قَوَّيْ *strong*, it is because the vowel of the second is accidental [684 (condition 2)]: (b) if the first be pronounced with Kasr or Damm, the second is converted into ي, as قَوَّيْ [685 (case 1, a), 728, 729], and قَو on the measure of عَصْدُ [368], from قَوَّة: (3) if the first of the two, s be quiescent, then, (a) if they be in the middle, both are preserved from conversion, as [قَوَمَ and] قَوْلَ *He reported* [such a one] *as having said* [703], except in such [pls.] as قَوْلُ [722], as before stated: (b) if they be at the end, then, if the word be (a) *tril.*, they are not converted, as قَو and حَو [729]; except when the letter before them is pronounced with Kasr, as قَي *desert*, on the measure of حَبْر *ink*: (b) of more than three letters, the [double, when] preceded by a letter pronounced (α) with Fatha, is sounded true, as غَزَو [on the measure of فَعَلَّ]: (β) with Kasr, is necessarily converted into [double] ي, as غَزِي, on the measure of فِلَز [375]: (γ) with Damm, is converted into [double] ي, allowably in the *sing.*, as غَزُو or غَزِي, like عَتُو or عَتِي [685 (case 9, b, a), 722]; and necessarily in the *pl.*, as دَلِي [243, 685 (case 9), 722]. When three, s are combined, (1) if the last be a د, then (a) if the first be incorporated into the second, the

third is converted into (a) ا , if the letter before it be pronounced with Fath, as تَقَوَّى strengthened himself and اَلْمُقَوَّى the strengthened: (b) ي , if the letter before it be pronounced with Kasr, as يَقْوَى strengthens and اَلْمُقَوَّى the strengthener; or Damm, as قَوِّ , on the measure of بُرْثُنْ [392], from قُوَّة: (b) if the second be incorporated into the third, the double [و] is converted into double ي , whether the letter before it be pronounced with Fath, as قَوَّى , on the measure of هَجَفْ [375] or قَبَطَرْ [245, 392]; or Kasr, as قَوَّى , on the measure of فَلَزْ [375]; or Damm, as قَوِّ , on the measure of قُبْدْ [375, 724], that Damm being converted into Kasr, and Kasr of the ف being then allowable, by imitation, as in عَتَّى [722], from the heaviness of the , s preceded by a mobile, contrary to such as حِيَّ [above], since ي is lighter [than و]: (a) [in the preceding exs. under case (b) the first of the three , s is the second letter of the word:] and similarly [the double و is converted into double ي], when the first of the [three] و s is the third [letter] of the word, and the letter before it is mobile, as غَزَوَّى , on the measure of حَلَكُونْ [above]: whereas, if it be quiescent, then, if the first [و] be pronounced with Fath, the whole are preserved, as غَزَوَّ [below], on the measure of قَرَشَبْ [397] or قَرَطَعِبْ [401]; but, if with Damm or

Kasr, the double [و] is converted into [double] ی , and the Damma into Kasra, as مَقْوًى [685 (case 8), 722] and غُرًى [722, 728]: (c) if none of them be incorporated, you convert the last into (a) ا , if the letter before it be pronounced with Fath, as [اَقْوًى , orig.] اَقْوَوَّ on the measure of اِحْمَرَّ [730]: and then, (α) if you incorporate, you say قَوًى [730, 756]: (β) if not, you convert the second [و] into ی , on the analogy of قَوِيَّانَ [above], which [conversion] is more appropriate here [at the end of the word]; so that you say اَقْوِيَا , aor. يَقْوِي : (b) ی , saying قَوًى [for قَوَوًى] , like جَنْدَلٌ or هُدَيْدٌ [above], from قَوْءٌ , because of the Kasra on the letter before it: (α) the first [و in قَوَوًى] is not incorporated into the second, notwithstanding that the vowel of the second is inseparable [728], in order that the form of co-ordination [with فُعِلَ] may be preserved, and also because resemblance to the v. is lacking [731]: (β) it is better, however, not to form such augmented ns. unconnected with the v. [330] as lead to heaviness like this: (2) if [the last of] the three [و s] be [not a ل , because of their being] combined in the middle [of the word], they remain unaltered, as قَوُولٌ , on the measure of سُبُوحٌ [384]; and اَقْوَوَّلٌ [below], like اِغْدَوْدَنَ [482, 483]: (a) Akh converts

the last [و] in اِقْوَوَل , and therefore the second also [685 (case 7)], into ي ; but S does not mind that [combination of و s], because they are in the middle : (b) Akh ought to say قَوِيل for قُوَل ; but excuses himself by the plea that the و of prolongation is light : (c) Akh does not convert [the third و in] اِقْوَوِي , because the middle [و] is like ا , for which it is a *subst.* : do you not see that, for a similar reason, the initial of وِي pass. of وَارَى [683, 699] is not necessarily converted into Hamza ? And, when four و s are combined, then, (1) if the third be incorporated into the fourth, the third and fourth must be converted into و , as قَوِي , on the measure of قَرَطْعُ [401], from قَوَّة , because قَوو is heavier than such as غِرْو [above] : (2) if the third be not incorporated into the fourth, the last is converted into ا , if the letter before it be pronounced with Fath ; and into ي , if it be pronounced with Kasr : while the third (a) remains unaltered, according to S, as (a) قَوو [below], on the measure of جَحْمَرِش , because it is then [in the middle,] like [the third و in] اِقْوَوَل [above] ; (b) قَوو , on the measure of قُدْعِل ; (c) اِقْوَوِي , on the measure of اِغْدَوَن : (b) is converted into ي by Akh, who says (a) قَوِي , like جَحْمَرِش ; (b) قَوِي , like قُدْعِل ; (c) اِقْوِيَا , like

إِغْدَوْدَن : for, deeming the [combination of] و, s heavy, he converts the one near the end into ی : (α) the third و in قَوِّو [above], like جَحْمَرِشْ , [orig. قَوِّو , then قَوِّو , and then قَوِّو ,] is not converted into ا , as the و of قَوِّو [728] is not converted. And God best knows the right ! (R).

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